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O. S. H. Bunje

THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF King HENRY THE EIGHT

WRITTEN
By the Right Honourable
EDWARD
Lord HERBERT of *Cherbury*

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TO THE KINGS Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Most Excellent and most Gracious
SOVERAIGNE,

I Present here in all humble manner unto Your Maiesty a Worke, the Authority whereof is solely Yours: not yet so much because it tooke its first beginning from Your Majesties particular, and (I may say) unexpected commands; but that the parts thereof, as fast as I could finish them, were lustrated by Your gracious

Eye, and conſummated by your judicious Animadverſions; beſides, the ſubſtance thereof, in all home affairs hath been drawn chiefly out of your Majeſties Records. So that by more then one Title it craves Your Majeſties protection. As for the defects, I no way preſume to intereſſe Your Majeſty in them: let them all fall on my ſelfe. Though as I have endeavoured to ſet down the truth impartially, I hope they will not be ſo great or many, as to exauctorate the reſt. I am not yet ignorant that the King, whoſe Hiſtory I write, is ſubject to more obloquies, then any ſince the worſt Roman Emperours times. But I ſhall little care for cenſure, as long as the teſtimonies I uſe doe aſſure and warrant me: ſince I intend not to deſcribe him otherwiſe, either good or bad, but as He really was. Onely where he holds any doubtfull part, I conceive it will be but juſt to give a favourable conſtruction. For if even private men will expect the like in their owne caſe, it will be much more due to Princes: both as a reverence belongs to their perſons, and that they above all others muſt be thought to endeavour the common good, who will ſuffer more then any elſe in a generall calamity. How farre yet I make uſe hereof to aſſert this King, my free Pen doth every where

where declare; Since I give not this interpretation, where arguments to the contrary convince me. Nevertheleſſe, as many things will be required to an intire narration of publique actions; in difficult times; I cannot affirme them, beyond thoſe memorials which have beene delivered to posterity. And if thus they may be obscure, so againe where they sufficiently appeare in their causes, their nature yet is often found so perplext and intricate, as it will not be easie for after times to define their qualities; Few of this sort being so sincere, as to imploy no inconvenience, while the advantage of many is seldome obtained without the detriment of some. Neither ought this to seeme strange, if in the present constitution of the affairs no better expedient could be offered; Reason of State pretending no farther, then to procure the greater good. So that if some mixture of ill be discovered therein, it might yet conduce to the generall, by the same reason that certaine noctious ingredients, being put into Antidotes, make their operation more Powerfull. Which yet my reader I hope will not so understand, as if I thought any rude hand could temper them; Every ill being not proper for this composition in this kind, but that onely which is opposite to the maladie: nor every one a fit

Patient,

Patient, but thoſe only who are of infirme, and crazie conſtitutions. So that it will be needfull that a carefull and able perſon both diſpence and exhibite it. *I* wiſh yet that good Princes may ſeldom uſe this maxime, it being (at beſt) but a dangerous ſuſpected wiſdome. Since State-government, where it is well adminiſtred, will rarely need ſuch helps, no otherwiſe than extreame and laſt remedies. Therefore in my opinion, recourſe ſhould not be had to them, but where other meanes faile; The practiſe of vertue and piety being alone a juſt exerciſe for a healthfull and well conſtituted Common-wealth. Neither will there be any danger this way of diſtraction; Thoſe cauſes which make men good, uniting them beſt. Onely *I* hold it requiſite, that a due diſpoſition and order be obſerved: no vertue being proper but in its place. Therefore though ſome one or other be ſtill ſo pertinent, as there is no occaſion totally to recede from them; yet experience teacheth, that neither fortitude hath been alwayes ſucceſſefull, nor temperance ſafe, nor juſtice it ſelfe opportune: the fury and inſolence of outragious people having in ſome inſurrections grown to that exceſſe, that it hath been more wiſdome to paſſe by a while, than to puniſh them. So that untill a due election and choice be had, even ver-

tue,

tue it ſelfe will be obnoxious. For which purpoſe therefore, each of them hath its ſtation or orbe aſſign'd. That ſo whilſt ſome deſcend, others ariſing in the Horizon of government, may maintaine a perpetuall viciſſitude and revolution. There being (I dare ſay) no reaſon for any to decline to ill acts or vices, if they comply with the right vertue; their harmonique ſyſteme being ſo admirably fram'd, that ſome one or other will eternally beare a concordant part. Of all which your Majeſty being ſo great a maſter and example, that you had rather merit than heare a due commendation: I ſhall only pray that the vertues which are eminent in your perſon, may be ſo viſible and exalted, in your happy and long government, that to all ages you may be renowned and glorious. Thus in all true devotion reſteth

Your Majeſties moſt faithfull
Subject and Servant.

ED. HERBERT.

THE LIFE AND RAIGN OF King Henry the eighth.

Together with which is briefly represented A generall History of the Times.

IT is not easie to write that Princes History, of whom no one thing may constantly be affirmed: Changing of Manners & Condition alters the coherence of parts, which should give an uniforme description. Nor is it probable that contradictories should agree to the same Person: so that nothing can shake the credit of a Narration more, then if it grow unlike it selfe; when yet it may be not the Author, but the Argument caused the variation. It is unpossible to draw his Picture well who hath severall countenances.

I shall labour with this difficulty in King *Henry* the eighth; Not yet so much for the generall observation (among Politiques) that the Government of Princes rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but that this King in particular, (being, about his declining age, so diverse in many of his desires, as he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at last into such violent courses; as in common opinion derogated not a little from those vertues which at first made him one of the most renowned Princes of Christendom.

Concil. Trid. l. 1.

His education was accurate, being destined (as a credible Author affirmes) to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, during the life of his elder brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his father choosing this as the most cheap and glorious way for bestowing of a younger son. For as he at once disburdned his Revenues, and the publike from the change incident to so great a person, so he left a passage open to ambition; especially ever since *Eugenius* 4. had declared the place of a Cardinall above all other in the Church. Besides, he considered it would be no little security to his posterity, that this Dignity was conferred on one who had interest in the conservation of the Crown. By these meanes not onely the more necessary parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even those of ornament; so that, besides his being an able Latinist, Philosopher and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious Musitian; as two intire Masses compos'd by him, and often sung in his Chappell, did abundantly witnesse. These were qualities which invested in excellent and well form'd Personage, made him every way recommendable. To which againe, a great courage and active spirit being added, he seem'd to hold that strong temper of Authority, which made him esteem'd and redoubted both at home and abroad. Had his age answered his youth, or expectation, none of his predecessours could have exceeded him. but as his exquesite endowments of nature engaged him often to become a prey of these allurements and temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; so his courage was observed by little and little to receive into it some mixture of self-will and cruelty.

Vid. Consti. *An°.* 1440.

I am the more particular in his description, that Princes actions are not alwaies drawn from reason of State, but sometimes even from inclination and humour. They have many waies to be wise, and seldome erre while they keepe their estate and reputation. Nothing is so easie as to raigne, if the body of Government be well framed. Let the counterpoises of reward and punishment go aright, the Wheeles of this great clock seldome faile. This King used both well as long as his means and complection suffer'd him; though at last, passing these bounds on either side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers irregularities.

June 28. 1491.

The time of his birth was *June* 28. 1491. and of his comming to the Crown *April* 22. 1509. when though he might be thought apter for delights then businesse; yet, as he followed the advice of able Counsellors, fewer errours were committed then when all things were swayed by his owne arbitrement; for as they were selected (out of those his Father most trusted) by the Dutchesse of *Richmond* his Grandmother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent Lady) so he took their impressions easily, both out of a diffidence of his own strength in the mannaging of the weighty affaires of his Kingdome, and a desire he had to be free to those exercises

1509. April 22.

which

which moſt ſorted with his youth and diſpoſition. And certainly it was a happy conjuncture for him, ſince, if the firſt part of wiſdome conſiſt in an ability to give good counſell, the next is to take it; the condition betwixt both being ever moſt obnoxious to danger. But that their names may be known to poſterity, I ſhall mention them as they are upon Record. 1509.

William Warham Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.
Richard Fox, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Secretary, and Lord Privy Seale.
Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*.
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the Kings Houſhold.
Sir *Charles Somerſet* Lord *Herbert* of *Gower*, *Chepſtow*, and *Rayland*, Lord Chamberlaine.
Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Maſter of the Wards, and Conſtable of the Tower.
Sir *Henry Wyat*.
Thomas Ruthall, Doctor of Law.
Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, Controller.
Sir *Henry* *Marney*, afterwards Lord *Marney*. *April 9. 1532
Sir *Thomas Darcy*,* afterwards Lord *Darcy*. * 1511.

The frame of this Counſell was of Schollers chiefly, and Souldiers. Among the former ſort I finde the Archbiſhop *Warham* much celebrated by the learned *Eraſmus*; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mentioned with honour, in the Hiſtory following. So that their choice proceeded rather from their ſufficiency in the buſineſſe they were to diſcharge, and care of that authority they muſt ſupport, then from any private affection. Inſomuch that notwithſtanding the high reverence they bore to their Princes perſon, they were obſerved ſo to love the proſperity of his affaires, as they would not onely impartially adviſe, but often modeſtly conteſt with him in any thing for his good. Beſides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counſell. So that, without divulging any ſecret, or deſcending from the dignity of their place to require advice from their inferiours, they moved in their own Orbe. This held up the Majeſty of the Counſell. Onely I finde it ſtrange, that among all theſe there was not ſo much as one that I may call ſtiled from the Common Law; which though I cannot commend, (wiſdome evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not was ſo tempered, as, when any difficulty in this kinde did ariſe, the Counſell learned in the Law was ſent for. However, it ſeems that King kept them at a diſtance towards the beginning of his Raigne, though towards the middle and latter end I finde ſome were (through their great abilities) received into the body of his Councell; yet ſo, as the

1509. King was noted not to admit reaſon of law everywhere, for reaſon of State. Therefore he uſed to take their advice obliquely, and no otherwiſe then to diſcover how ſafe his own deſignes were, and ſo with leſſe danger to vary from them. Which deviations yet he would ſo regulate, as his actions at home had ſtill, if not their ground, yet at leaſt their pretext from the Common-law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been ſo long intercepted in the Civill warres of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regall authority, both in his fathers time and his, to appeare in, and enter.

The firſt Office performed by theſe Councellors was mixt betwixt piety to their deceaſed Prince, and duty to their new; it being the beſt continuance of that Regall authority which ſhould never die, to revive the memory thereof in that way onely which is permitted, being Pompe and Ceremony. This appeared not
May 9. onely in a great Funerall, but by that magnificent Structure in *Weſtminſter*, where the Chappell having been finiſhed by *Henry* the ſeventh himſelfe, had the Tombe afterwards added and perfected by his Executors 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the Chappell coſt onely 10000 li. (or, as others ſay, 14000 li.) and the Tombe 1000 li. yet as moneies did runne then, it might be thought a ſumptuous Monument.

April 23. *Hall.* While the Obſequies and Rites were preparing (the particulars whereof *Hall* after his manner relates) King *Henry* retired himſelfe from *Richmond* (where his father died) privately to the Tower of *London*, both that he might with more leaſure adviſe with his Councell concerning the preſent affaires of his Kingdome, as alſo the better to avoyd thoſe ſalutes and acclamations of the people, which could not but be unſeaſonable, untill the lamentations and ſolemnity of his fathers funerall were paſt. He thought not fit to mingle the Noyſes. Here then it was in the firſt place reſolved to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted right to the Crown by the union of the White-Roſe and the Red in his perſon, then any King ever delivered unto us by warrantable Hiſtory. For this end he found or took occaſions. In one kinde *Henry Stafford*, brother to the Duke of *Buckingham* ſerved for example, who (upon I know not what ſuſpition) was apprehended preſently, and committed to the Tower, which yet ſeem'd afterwards ſo frivolous, as, to repaire this diſgrace, he was the ſame yeere made Earle of *Wiltſhire*. In the other kinde, Doctor *Ruthall* became the object, being (together with one of his Councell) made the ſame day Biſhop of *Dureſme*. Thus, though it ſeems he haſted to take upon him the reall marks of Soveraignty, yet he ſo temper'd them, as to leave his ſubjects in hope of an even hand. Beſides that he might ſhew himſelfe gracious to his ſubjects, he not onely confirmed the pardon his father gave a little before his death for all offences, ſave Murder, Felony, and Treaſon, (to which generall abolitions doe

not

not properly reach) but for further performance of his Fathers laſt will cauſed a Proclamation to be made; that if any man could prove himſelfe to be then wrongfully deprived of his goods by occaſion of a certain Commiſſion for Forfeitures; He ſhould have (upon due complaint) condigne ſatisfaction; whereupon ſo many Petitions were preſently exhibited againſt Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudly* Eſquires (employed lately for taking the benefit of Penall Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Councell, where *Empſon* ſpake to this effect. 1509 April 25.

Right Honorable and others here preſent:

I Have remarked two cauſes in generall, that move Attention. One is the greatneſſe, the other is the ſtrangeneſſe and novelty of Argument. Both theſe concurre ſo manifeſtly in the affaires now queſtioned, that I will not much implore your patience. Though on the other ſide, conſidering my violent perſecution, I cannot but thinke it a favour, that I may ſpeak for my ſelfe; but (alas) to whom? That King my Maſter, whom I ſhould appeale too, as my ſupreme Judge and Protector, abandons me to my enemies, without other cauſe yet, then that I obey'd his Fathers commands, and upheld the regall authority. That people, on whoſe equall tryall I ſhould put my life, ſeek my deſtruction, onely becauſe I endevoured to execute thoſe Lawes whereof themſelves were Authors: what would have happened to me, if I had diſobeyed my King, or broak my Countreys Lawes? Surely, if I have any wayes tranſgreſſed, it is in procuring that theſe Penall Statutes might be obſerved, which your ſelves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then ſubmitted, both your Perſons, Eſtates, and Poſterity; and if this be a crime, why doe you not firſt repeale your proper Acts? Or if (which is truth) they ſtand ſtill in full force and vertue, why doe you not vindicate from all imputation both your ſelves and me? For who ſaw ever yet any man condemn'd for doing Juſtice? Eſpecially when by the chiefe diſpencer thereof (which is the King) the whole frame of the proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, whoever ſaw man on theſe termes not rewarded? And muſt that which is the life and ſtrength of all other actions, be the ſubverſion and overthrow of mine? Have you read or heard in any well govern'd Countrey, that the infractors of Lawes made by Publique Vote, and conſent eſcaped without puniſhment, and they only puniſh'd who labourd to ſuſtain them? or when you had not read or heard any ſuch thing, could you imagine a more certain ſigne of ruine in that common-weale? And will you alone hope to decline this heavy judgement? when contrary to all equity and example, you not onely make preſidents for injuſtice and impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruell death on thoſe who would maintaine them; as if this might be a fit guerdon for thoſe who (I muſt tell you) everywhere elſe would have been thought the beſt Patriots; what can we expect then,

1509. then, but a fatall Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the ſacrifice. Onely, if I muſt dye, let me deſire that my enditement may be entred on no Record, nor divulged to forrain Nations, leſt if they heare, in my condemnation, all that may argue a finall diſſolution in Government, they invade and overcome you.

Whereunto was anſwered briefely. That he receiv'd a great deale of liberty to ſpeak ill, as well as to doe: That hee ſhould find at laſt, he was puniſh'd for paſſing the bounds of his Commiſſion from the late King, and in a Law ſevere enough to the Common and poorer ſort of people, to have yet exacted on them unjuſtly. The chiefe parts of his accuſation (that I can find) were,

Holinſh. 1. That he had committed divers perſons to priſon, without ſuffering them to anſwer till they had compounded for their fines.

2. For ſearching unduly mens eſtates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call in Capite; without that the parties could be permitted to a Traverſe, till they had payed great Fines and Ranſomes.

3. That Wards, being come to full yeares, were not allowed to ſue out their Livery, till they had paid an exceſſive Compoſition.

4. That Outlaw'd perſons could not be allow'd to ſue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the profit of their lands for two yeare, upon pretence that it was according to Law.

5. That he uſurped upon the juriſdiction of other Courts, in hearing and determining divers matters properly belonging to them.

6. Laſtly, that whereas a priſoner being indicted for theft, in the City of *Coventry*, to the value of one pound, was by the Jury acquitted, the ſaid *Empſon* conceiving the evidence to be ſufficient, committed the Jury to priſon, till they entred into Bond to appear before the King's Councell; where the matter being againe conſidered, it was ordered they ſhould pay eight pounds for a Fine (which was thought ſo heynous, as, at a Seſſions being held afterwards at *Coventry*, a particular indictment was fram'd againſt him, and he found guilty.) How many of theſe Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the laſt King's Commiſſion, appeares not to me. Howſoever, for the preſent, they

* April 23. were * Committed to the Tower.

This *Empſon*, reported to be a Sive-maker's ſonne in *Torceſter*, from this meane beginning, by his wit and induſtry, came to be of Councell to King *Henry* VII, and Maſter or Surveyor of his forfeits in divers kinds; in which place he ſerved as an inſtrument, for raiſing great ſums to the King. *Dudley* (a Gentleman of Birth, and

* 1503. ſuch parts as he was) choſen Speaker of the Parliament Houſe * 19 *Henry* VII, aſſiſting him. Theſe men (call'd by *Polydore Virgil Indices Fiſcales*) having, it ſeemes, exceeded their bounds, were deteſted of all, but eſpecially the poorer ſort, who found it eaſier to

hate,

hate, then to pay. To ſatisfie their complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary wayes of Juſtice: the Promoters they uſed being ſo ſeverely puniſh'd in the mean time, betwixt the Pillory and ſhame, that they dyed all (a few dayes after) in priſon, ſave one *Giovanni Baptiſta Grimaldi*, who, foreſeeing the ſtorme, took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*. 1509.

All clamors being thus ſilenc'd, the next care was, that the Crown might be put on the Kings head, with that ſolemnity, which in former times was uſed. This was not yet ſo ſpeeded, but that the King's Counſell thought fit firſt to adviſe with him concerning Marriage. About which many Propoſitions being made, the graver ſort told him, that the ſame reaſons which made his wiſe Father chuſe to match with *Spaine*, (firſt by marrying his eldeſt ſon *Arthur* to *Katharine* daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and, after *Arthur's* death, by treating a match between the ſaid Lady and Him) were in force ſtill. That his pretences being on *France*, no Alliance could be uſefull on that part. Beſides, that betwixt great Eſtates adjacent to one another, ſuch jealouſies uſe to riſe, that they may make Peace ſometimes, but never friendſhip. That leagues and confederations have in them the nature of harmonicall accords which jar in the ſecond, but agree in the third intervall. Therefore, that he ſhould match with *Spain*, or at leaſt with ſome Prince, that might joyn with him, when there ſhould be queſtion of oppoſing *France*, which, ſince the late * union of the Dukedome of *Brittaine*, he was to conſider as a potent and dangerous neighbour. As for the houſe of *Burgundy*, and *Low-Countryes* (which was come to the hands of *Maximilian* the Emperor, by his match with *Mary* daughter and heire to the laſt Duke called *Carolus Audax*) hee needed not feare any thing, unleſſe he would willfully provoke them; the cauſes of love on that part ſeeming to be perpetuall; as being founded upon the mutuall neceſſity of thoſe Ports and Havens, which, upon all foule weather the Shipping muſt reſort to, on either ſide; and, lately again confirm'd by a new contract of *Charles* Grandchild and heire of *Maximilian*, with *Mary* the King's Siſter [which yet held not,] it was then conſidered, whether hee might not immediately take the ſaid Lady *Katharine*; and the rather, that the Treaty had not onely been diſpenſed within the time of *Henry* the ſeventh, his Father; but ſome offence lately taken by *Ferdinand*, becauſe it was deferr'd ſo long; (for perfecting whereof therefore hee had ſent ample Commiſſion to his Ambaſſador here (as I find by our Records, about this time;) And to conduce hereunto, was alleaged (as *Polydore* hath it) the Law, *Deuter.* 25. of marrying the Brothers wife; and, to helpe this againe, the Princeſſe *Katharine* proteſted her ſelfe to be a Virgin, offering to be tried by Matrones. It was added alſo, that the Lady was preſent, and that ſaved time and charges; beſides, ſhe had given ſo much proofe of vertue and ſweetneſſe of condition, as they knew not

* 1499.

1508. Decemb. 16.

1503.

Polyd. Virg. Hiſtor. Angl.

where

1509. where to paralell her. Againe, when she were to depart the Kingdome, a great Dower must follow her, which should be transported yearely out of the Kingdom. All which motives were corroborated by the above-mentioned dispensation, obtained divers
1503. yeares before from *Julius* 2. who, as he was a stirring and warlike Prelate, and had his ends upon King *Henry* the seventh, in the wars then begun in *Italy*, made no great difficulty to grant it; and the rather, that he could not bee ignorant, that all the children which should be gotten betwixt them, would be firme to the Papacy; since, if ever they renounced the Pope's Authority, they should disclaim the power by which themselvs were made legitimate. A Messenger therefore having been sent to *Rome*, *Anno* 1503. (*Ferdinando's* power and mediation concurring) obtained a License from the Pope, many of the Cardinalls, in vaine, opposing it; whereof more amply, when we shall have occasion to speake of the Divorce.
June. 3. Thus, upon the third of *June*, being about six weekes after his Fathers death, he espoused the Lady *Katharine*.
June. 24. Their Coronation yet was differr'd till the 24. of the same moneth.
June. 29 The magnificences thereof, being by *Hall*, *Hollinshed*, and others set downe, are by me purposely omitted. Not long after the King, who had left off Mourning, was forced to take it again, for his Grand-mother, the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond* and *Derby*, a vertuous Lady, and a great benefactor to both our Universities, by whose advise (as is said) cheifely the King's Counsellors were chosen: whom she so disposed, as they might deliberate well among themselves alwayes, before they gave their advise to this young King, as not thinking fit (at that age) he should be distracted by difference of opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her life; though, afterward, some smothered jealousies brake out into open faction. Insomuch that *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, out of a competition for being most eminent in
Polydor. the King's favour, became at last not sufficiently united between themselves. But, as it is a rare felicity in Princes to make election of able Councellors, so it is no lesse to order them aright. For, as secret combination for their own ends usually brings them too close to one another, so ambitious opposition keepes them too far off, the true distance being that only, which a just emulation to do their Master service gives.

In which posture yet unlesse they be studiously kept, without being suffered to decline to either extream, many inconveniences must follow in the administration of publique affaires.

Now though these two (as *Polydore* relates) had brought all businesses within their verge, (*William Compton* chiefe Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and who was next in favour to them, being more attentive to his profit, then publique affaires:) I doubt not yet, but their fellow Councellors were admitted oft; though, for not being acquainted, perchance with all the premises, they were

hardly

hardly able to ground a ſolid adviſe. The Biſhop was an old and confident Councellor to King *Henry* the ſeventh, and knew all the myſteries of State. The Earl of *Surrey* was (indeed) later in credit, yet a brave and underſtanding Nobleman, though (as *Polydore* obſerves) his Eſtate was much waſted by the Civill wars (his Father *Iohn*, who was made Duke of *Norfolk* by *Richard* the third, having been killed in *Boſworth* field on his ſide, and the Earl himſelf kept priſoner in the beginning of *Henry* the ſevenths Raign.) Howſoever; his very place of Lord Treaſurer, (which he held ever ſince the 16. of *Henry* the ſeventh) made him much in requeſt; as one who both kept and diſpenſed that Maſſe of wealth, left by *Henry* the ſeventh; which (if we may beleeve Authors) was 1800000 pound ſterling. A greater ſum (doubtleſſe) then any King of this Realme before had in his Coffers. And ſuch as might be thought effectively quadruple to ſo much in this Age. It ſeemes yet, ſo great a part of it was by the Kings order, diſtributed to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Biſhop, who was Lord Privy Seale, and did remember how hardly it was gotten, repined thereat, and thereupon did ill offices to the Earle, as if (ſaith *Polydore*) he parted with it too eaſily, or, perchance, made advantage to himſelf thereby. But that we may leave theſe things to the credit of *Polydore* (in whom I have obſerved not a little malignity,) I find it reſolved between them, that, in imitation of his Father (who inſtituted firſt a Band of 50. Archers to wait on him) ſome Horſe-Guards ſhould be likewiſe ready alwayes, to attend his Perſon. The number propoſed was but 50. But, as every one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Cuſtrell (as our Hiſtory calls it, but being truly Couſtillier) or a kind of Ambactus, or Servant belonging to him, beſides three great Horſes for his own uſe, ſo it grew to a conſiderable number: Of theſe *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex* was Captain, and Sir *Iohn Peachie* Lieutenant. But whether this might raiſe ſome jealouſie among the people (which yet my Authors mention not) or that their expence were greater than that it could continue after the rate it began, (both they and all their Horſes being trapped in Cloth of Gold, Silver, or Goldſmiths worke) I find it diſſolv'd at laſt, and came to nothing.

1509. 1485. 1500. 1485.

This yeare a great Plague begun at *Calais*: which though it conſum'd many Perſons, was not thought ſufficient yet to keep off an enemy. So that Sir *Iohn Peachy*, with 300. men, was ſent thither, to defend the place; by whoſe good order the Town was ſecured.

Empſon and *Dudly* being (as is aboveſaid) Committed to the Tower; New and ſtrange crimes were found and objected againſt them, as appears in their indictments upon Record, wherein, they are accus'd of conſpiracy againſt the King and State; and, firſt, that during the ſickneſſe of the late King, in *March* laſt, they ſummon'd certaine of their friends to be in Armes at an houres warning; and, upon the death of the ſaid King, to haſte up to *London*. Out of

1509. which & other circumstances, it was collected by the Jury, that their intent was to seiz on the person of the new King, and so to assume the sole government; or when they could not attain this, to destroy him.

Of which crimes, how improbable soever, *Dudley* in his Tryall at Guild-hall in *London*, July 16. 1509, and *Empson* at *Northampton*, Octob. 1. were found guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treason, and so remanded to the Tower.

July. 16. October. 1.

Our King being thus setled in his Throne, took severall prospects upon all his Neighbouring Princes.

In *Scotland* (then) Raign'd *Iames* the fourth, being of a middle age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother in Law by the Match of *Margaret* (whom *Henry* the seventh gave him *Anno* 1503.) Howbeit, as he held a stricter Cotrespondence with *France*, then stood with the Interest of our Kingdome; some Jealousies of State arose, betwixt *Henry* the seventh and him, which yet were past over a little before our King's coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty Confirm'd.

1503.

In *France Loüis* the twelfth, an old and warlike Prince Raigned; who studiously yet conserv'd the Peace made betwixt *Henry* the seventh and himselfe 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and settle in the *French* Crown the Dukedome of *Brittaine* claimed by him in *Anne* his wifes right, (being not only a large addition to his Dominions, but of great neerneſſe and consequence to this Iſland) and that he might be freer to attend his designes in *Italy* (whereof in its due place.) For which reasons also he had concluded (by the meanes of *James* the fourth) a League with *Iohn* King of *Denmarke*, and *Sweden* then powerfull by Sea, by which, that King was bound to assist him, in case of Invasion.

1498.

1499. Apr. 30. du *Tilles*.

In *Arragon Ferdinand* an Antient and Politique Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in *Castilla* by the right of *Isabell* his wife, Inheritrix thereof, who dyed 1504. By this Lady he had one sonne who deceased 1497, and 4 daughters. *Isabell* the eldest being married to * *Alphonso* Prince of *Portugall*, and afterwards to *Manuell* King thereof, * dyed without Issue, whereby *Ione* the second daughter became Heire of *Castilla* in the Right of her Mother; and had by her husband *Philip* (son to *Maximilian* the Emperor) *Charles* and *Ferdinand* (Emperors successively) and 4 daughters, *Leoneta*, *Katharine*, *Mary*, and *Isabel*. This *Philip* shortly after his * coming to the Kingdome of *Castilla* in the right of *Ione* his wife * dying, and she through some Indisposition of mind or body proving unapt for Government, *Ferdinand* reassum'd his power in regard of the Minority of his Grand-Child *Charles*. *Mary* 3d daughter to *Ferdinand* was wife to the foresaid *Mannel* King of *Portugall*, in place of her deceased sister. And for the Match of *Katharine* with *England*, the following History will sufficiently speak it.

* 1490. * 1498.

* 1504. * 1506.

In the Empire *Maximilian* (though chosen only King of the Romans) appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and

by

by the match he had made with *Mary* daughter and Heire of *Carolus Audax* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*; by which not only his eſtate there, but all the Low-Countries deſcended to him. Nevertheleſſe, as he conſidered of what importance it was for his deſign's to make a firme alliance with *England*, He firſt offered a League 1503. to *Henry* the ſeventh and (for conſolidation thereof) his daughter *Margaret, Dowager* of *Savoy*; and, when that faild, did procure a kind of Contract *Decemb.* 16. 1508. betwixt *Charles* (afterwards Emperor and not above eight yeares old) his Grand-child, and *Mary* (afterwards Queene of *France*) younger daughter to *Henry* VII. Neither of which marriages yet taking effect, the reſultance was only a peace and friendſhip, eſtabliſh'd upon the firſt propoſition of alliance betwixt them; of which alſo *Maximilian* was no leſſe glad (as having ſecured the Low-Countries thereby) then *Loüis* XII was for *Brittaigne*. And they had reaſon; the adding of the one to *France*, and the other to the houſe of *Auſtria* being not only the greateſt ſtrengthning our moſt ſuſpected neighbours ever had, but a weakning of us, while we loſt two of our beſt and uſefulleſt confederats; ſo that, the permitting thereof ſo eaſily, may be thought a greater indulgence than could ſtand with reaſon of State, had not a conſumption, and wearineſſe, through our long civill and inteſtine diſſentions at home occaſion'd it. For the inhabitants of both Countries wanted not pretext to diſpute the right of their Princes: In *Portugall* Reigned *Manuel* of whoſe matches having formerly ſpoken, I ſhall adde little more, than that he had already made divers diſcoveries towards the *Eaſt Indies*.

1509. 1503. Dec. 16. 1508. 1501.

In the Low-Countries, *Margaret Dutcheſſe* of *Savoy*, being by her Father *Maximilian* appointed Regent thereof, and having alſo the charge of her Nephew *Charles* his Education (who was borne at *Gaunt* 1500) recommended to her, ſhe many wayes approv'd herſelf a diſcreet Lady; as appears, not only by the bringing up of her Nephew; (to whom in that part of learning call'd *humaniores Literæ*, ſhe gave *Adrian* of *Utrecht* (afterwards Pope) for Tutor; and for State-buſineſſe *Anthoine de Croy, Seigneur de Chieures*, an able Perſon, who inſtructed him therein as ſoone as poſſible he was capable of it;) but alſo by the many good offices ſhe did afterwards to our King, and all other Chriſtian Princes.

1508. 1500.

In the Papall See *Julius* the ſecond, a warlike Prelate, preſided; who having far more and other deſigns than ſtood with the dignity and function of an Eccleſiaſticall Perſon, adventured to trouble all things. As ſuppoſing himſelfe not onely priviledged, by his Place, from all attempts of Forraine Princes; but that the power of Peace and War did ſo immediately depend on him, as he ſhould, at leaſt, not want occaſion, to exerciſe his charge of Arbiter of their differences. Towards which alſo, becauſe he knew how much our King could contribute, he paſſionately deſir'd a ſtrict League with him, which likewiſe was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

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1509. As for the Great Turke *Bajazet* the ſecond, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Chriſtendome, our King look'd on him at a diſtance, and no otherwiſe then as he ſtood in Relation to his confederates.

Having thus ſurvay'd the preſent Monarchs in particular, he forgat not, to take into his ſpeciall conſideration the State of *Venice*, which about this time did much inlarge it's Territories, ſo that, notwithſtanding the oppoſition not only of the chiefe Chriſtian Potentates, but even of the Turks themſelves, they extended their Dominions every way: Inſomuch, that the Pope, *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* and *Loüis* the twelfth had, the laſt yeare, being 1508, enterd, at *Cambray*, into a League againſt them, the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould not deſiſt untill they had recovered all thoſe places which the *Venetians* had taken from them; upon confidence yet, that the firſt Conqueror ſhould reſtore to any of the confederates that which belong'd to him. And that *Loüis* the twelfth ſhould be Generall of the Armyes; and Perſonally preſent in the Expedition. To which alſo he was the more diſpos'd, that the Venetians had gotten from him ſundry places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit as theſe affaires did not directly concerne our King, ſo he tooke the more leaſure to attend the event, and to prevaile himſelfe thereof.

1508. Dec. 9.

By this time it was thought fit, for many reaſons, but eſpecially for contenting the Commonalty, which ſeemed to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous proceedings of *Henry* the ſeventh, to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empſon* and *Dudly*, formerly not only expoſed to the revenge of all men, but publiquely condemned (as is above related) were attainted of High Treaſon. And here, I ſhall, in ſequence of ſome before me, touch a little upon the Lawes enacted the firſt yeare of this King, as far as they may concerne the more Hiſtoricall and Politicall parts. I find, therefore, divers of theſe Statutes, by which King *Henry* the ſeventh took advantage of the People, Repealed, explained, or limited. Among which the Benefit of Forfeitures for Penall Lawes was reduced to the Terme of three yeares next preceding. Inſomuch that the principall ſcope of this Parliament ſeemed to have reference to *Empſon* and *Dudly's* buſineſſe, which was ſo repreſented, (by the Lower-Houſe of Parliament chiefely) that the King was willing to reſtraine his owne Authority in ſome ſort, that he might enlarge the Peoples confidence and affection towards him. Laſtly in this kind, ſome untrue Inquiſitions found by *Empſon* and *Dudley*, as alſo ſome aſſurances of Lands paſt to them were annihilated and made voyd. Beſides which, I find little materiall, ſave only that a Sumptuary Law againſt exceſſe of Apparell was repealed, and a new one, a little more decent ſubrogated.

$15\frac{10}{09}$ Regni. 1. Jan. 21.

As now then our King was in high eſteeme with his people for Juſtice, ſo was he no leſſe redoubted abroad, for the hopes hee gave,

gave, of being an Active and Couragious Prince. All which was the more regarded, that his Treasure was so great, as he might be thought able, suddenly, and without the delays usuall in raising of moneys, to execute his Designes. 15$\frac{10}{09}$.

Therefore divers Ambassadours repaired to him from *France*, *Denmarke*, *Scotland*, and other places, who were magnificently entertained.

The busineſſe of the French King (*Loüis* the twelfth) was chiefly to keepe good correspondence between the two Countries, while himselfe went on with his wars in *Italy*. In sequence hereof also *Tillet* saith there was a peace made between *England* and *France* this yeere *March* 23. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July* 1498. *Louis* the twelfth had given caution unto *Henry* the seventh to pay that which remained of 745000 Crownes, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* the eighth, and the said *Henry*, 13 *Novemb.* 1492. Now the said *Louis* the twelfth did stipulate to pay the remainder of the said sum.

March 23. 1510. 1498. *Tillet.* 1492. March 23.

That of *Scotland* was Congratulation in King *James* the fourth his Brother in Law and sisters name, with confirmation of the late treaty of Peace; Containing also some propositions tending to the penetrating of our Kings present designes, that they might frame their Counsels accordingly, which was with some relation to *France*.

That for *Denmarke* was chiefly to establish a better course for trade; for which purpose a * Statute was repealed at this Parliament, which did inhibite our men other Traffique towards *Denmarke* and *Iseland*, then to a place called *Northbarne*.

*8 *Henry* the sixth. 1429.

The King finding now all things safe both abroad and at home, took those liberties which became his youth; yet were not his exercises sportfull alone, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Armes. Therefore though some relate that he used singing, dancing, playing on the Recorder, Flute and Virginals, making Verses, and the like: yet his more serious entertainments were study of History and Schoole-Divinity, (in which he especially delighted,) Justs, Turneys, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the Two-handed-Sword, and Battle-axe. These, againe, were set forth with costly Pageants and Devises; and those so frequently, that it tooke up not onely much time, but consumed a great part of the Treasure. Of which who desires to see more may peruse *Hall* and *Hollinshed*, who have many particularities worth the looking on, for him that hath so much leasure. Together with these yet he used sometimes Tennis and Dice; at which certaine Strangers used to play with him; till, finding their cheatings, at length he chased them away.

Empson and *Dudley* lying now in prison, condemned and attainted by Parliament, the importunate clamours of the People prevailing with the King in this yeeres Progresse, he not onely restored divers Mulcts, but for further satisfaction to the Commonalty (by

1510. Aug. 18. (by a ſpeciall Writ) commanded to have their heads ſtrucke off, *Auguſt* 18. doing therein (as thought by many) more like a good King, then a good Maſter.

Feb. 24. *Julius* the ſecond having recovered what he deſired in *Italy*, by his wars the laſt yeere, was contented now to accept the ſubmiſſion of the Venetians, with whom (his Confederates being not privy thereunto) he made peace *Feb.* 24. 1510. being jealous of the greatneſſe of the French in *Italy*, (with whom he had alſo this quarrell that they defended *Alfonſo d' Eſte* Duke of *Ferrara* againſt him) he endeavoured all he could to oppoſe them; And to this purpoſe he inclined *Ferdinand* by giving him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, King *Henry* the eighth he ſollicited by calling to his minde the glory of his Anceſtors, &c. and offering him the honour to be *Caput fœderis Italici*, Our King upon this ſends *Chriſtopher Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* to reſide at *Rome*, and treat of theſe matters. In the meane while the Pope and the Venetians proceed, and attempt *Ferarra*, *Genoüa*, and other places. But, as they proſpered not, he layes hold on his ſpirituall Sword, and excommunicates *Eſte*, with all his Adherents. *Loüis* the twelfth on the other ſide cals a Synod of the French Church at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Queſtions touching the Popes late actions and his Authority were propoſed, and reſolved againſt him, and his Excommunication pronounced voyd. It was alſo decreed, that an Admonition ſhould be ſent to him, to imbrace Peace, and Moderation; which if he refuſed, he ſhould be ſummoned to call a Free and Generall Councell (according to the Decree of the Councell of *Baſile.*) *Loüis* having proceeded thus farre, communicated the matter to *Maximilian* (whom as yet the Pope had not wonne from him) and joyning alſo with themſelves the Cardinals *Bernardine*, *Briſonet*, and others, they ſummoned a Councell to be had 1 *Sept.* 1511. at *Piſa*, commanding the Pope to appeare there. While theſe things were doing, the French under *Chaumont*, came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay ſick, and beſieged it, forcing him to ſuch hard conditions, as upon the comming of reliefe he would not ſtand to. Howſoever, this beſieging of the Pope being given out, ſounded ſo ill, that our King preſently made a League with *Ferdinand* for his defence; which was an engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we ſhall ſee in its place.

Sept. Dupleix.

1511. Jan. 1. The firſt day of this yeere, being 1511, the Queen was brought to bed of a ſonne, which therefore in the name of a New-yeeres-gift was by her preſented to the King. But as the Childe lived not fully to the latter end of the next moneth, ſo the greatneſſe of Joy did more then expire in the ſhortneſſe. Notwithſtanding which, it is ſaid the youthfull Parents were ſoon comforted, reputing with themſelves, that in Children (as in Silver veſſels) little is uſually loſt, but the faſhion: But it fell not out ſo well, for it pleaſed God, that no Heires Males ſhould remaine betwixt them two.

Speed.

two. In the mean time *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* being not ignorant in what estate his daughter was, sent Ambassadors to performe his due Complements on that occasion, and withall to sollicite the King for Assistance against the Moores in *Africke*. He had already conquered those in the Province and City of *Granada*; through the streets whereof as he rode triumphantly 1492, assured news of those great Riches, discovered in the Indies by *Columbus*, was brought him. Which I therefore remember, because (to use the Spanish phrase) I thinke it the greatest *Coyuntura* that ever happened; he having at the same time reduced his dominions in *Spaine* to an intireneſſe, and received news of that immense Treasure in another World. His demand was presently granted by our King, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* sent with 1500 Archers (the Souldiers then in request) to *Ferdinand*, with whose helpe he intended to revenge the losse received the * last yeere at *Gelves* in *Barbary*. Howbeit, as *Iulius* the second being much pressed by the French (whose affaires prospered in *Italy*) required the help of *Ferdinand* against them; He desisted from his enterprise, and resolved to succour the Pope; whereupon also our men, richly rewarded, did returne home.

15 $\frac{10}{11}$ Feb. 1492. June 1. Aug. 30. 1510.

In like manner *Margaret* Regent of the *Low-countries* obtained of the King 1500 Archers to assist her against the Duke of *Gueldres*, though Confederate of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Iames* the fourth. These therefore under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, lately * made Warden of the Cinque-ports, presently after their landing were met by the said Lady Regent, and thereupon united, and recommended with much favour and particularity to the rest of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave Cavaliere, and our English, I have not expresly set downe, both for that the Lady Regent joyn'd not any considerable forces with them, for the exployting great Actions; and that themselves were not free to attempt any thing by themselves. Howsoever, I finde they were licensed to return, (not without great testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the Troups, Sir *Edward Poynings* found that not fully a hundred of his men were wanting.

May. June 9. 1509.

The Kings Authority over the Narrow-Seas (studiously conserved ever by his Ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessened by the Piracies of *Andrew Breton* (whom our Chronicles call *Barton*) a Scottish man. This *Breton*, in revenge of his Fathers death, as also other Injuries, having in vaine sought redresse in Flanders for a Ship taken from his said father by some Portugals, obtained Letters of Merke from *Iames* the fourth, upon condition yet, he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seized on divers of our lesser Barques (upon pretence of carrying Portugals goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which inconvenience, the two sonnes of *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* (Lord Treasurer

1511. rer, and Earle Marſhall of *England*) were imployed. The younger called *Edward*, being Lord Admirall, commanding in one Ship; and *Thomas* the elder brother, in another. Thereupon (in ſeverall places, though at one time) they inveſted *Bretons* two Ships; which, though the Scottiſh Writers make to be farre leſſe then ours, maintained a cruell fight: the obſtinate Pirate (though ſo grievouſly hurt that he died on the place) encouraging his men with his whiſtle, even to his laſt breath. But our Engliſh purſued their point ſo, that at laſt they forced theſe Ships, and brought them (together with the men that remained) away, and preſented them to the King; who, upon their ſubmiſſion, graciouſly pardoned them; ſo that they would depart out of his Kingdome within 20 daies. *James* the fourth hearing of this, ſent to require ſatisfaction, as being againſt the Treaty betwixt them. But it was anſwered, That it did not become a King to impute breach of Treaty to his Confederates and Allies, onely for doing Juſtice on a Pirate. The Meſſenger, rather ſilenced with this anſwer, then ſatisfied, returnes to his King; who, when occaſion was offered, failed not to ſhew how ill he took the death of *Breton*.

Buch.

Aug. 2.

The Pope being freed from ſiege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his wars againſt the French; goes in Perſon againſt *Mirandola*, and by compoſition takes it; but, not long after looſes *Bononia* to the French, led by *Gaſton de Foix*, his whole Army being routed. Yet was not this a greater affront to him, then the Councell to be held at *Piſa*, a City now in the hands of the Florentines, whom therefore *Julius* preſently interdicts, and ſhortly after expelling *Soderinus* (Governour thereof by meanes of *Charles* the eighth of *France*) reſtores the family of the *Medices*, who were formerly expulſed. The Princes alſo and the Cardinals who ſummoned this Councell being Excommunicate, &c. notwithſtanding which they proceed. But being ſleighted by the Citizens of *Piſa*, they tranſlate the Councell to *Milan*; but finding no better reſpect there, they remove it to *Lyons* in *France*; where they ſummoned *Julius* to appeare, and anſwer, and finally ſuſpended his Authority. Upon this, the Pope thunders againſt *France*, expoſing it, (together with *Navarre*, whoſe King favoured *Lewes*) to the Conquerour; and, to abbrogate the Councell of *Lyons*, he ſummoned another to be held at the Lateran in *Rome*, *April* 19. 1512. Unto this Councell our King ſent his Commiſſioners, being *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Dowra* Lord Prior of Saint *Iohns*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, *Febr.* 4. 1512, as appears by our Records. In this Councell the ſentence of Excommunication was confirmed againſt the Authors of the other Councell, and the Acts of it reverſed. Not content herewith, he ſent alſo to *Ferdinand*, and to King *Henry* the eighth (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Armes, and fall upon *France*. Not neglecting together to uſe all meanes for withdrawing

Jan. 2. *I. de Serr.* May.

Feb. 4. 1512.

1511.

1510. Sept.

drawing *Maximilian* from the French party. For though he had joyn'd with *Lewes* to call the Councell at *Pisa*, (first rough-hew'd at * *Tours*) and did still adhere to him: yet, as the Pope and *Ferdinand*, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantagious conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary party, and *Lewes* exposed to the danger. The principall Agent which the Pope used to our King was *Christopher Bambridge*, who had resided a while at *Rome*; and for this service was thought to deserve the Cardinals Hat, which also he obtained in *March* 1511. In the mean while, the businesse being brought to our Councell Table, some spake in this manner.

Hist. Pont. Ciaconii, &c.

That a fairer opportunity was never offered, whether he desired to maintaine the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his owne Right in *France*. That either of these were just considerations, but both together not to be pretermitted. To further these designes, he should not onely have the Assistance and Blessing of his Holinesse, but of his Father in law. Besides which, it was possible *Maximilian* the Emperour might joyn herein; however he and *Lewes* the 12th, had of late concurred in their designes. That it was probable, his subjects in *France* retained still a due memory not onely of their Allegiance, but of the benefit received from the Crown of *England*. Besides, that in *France* their never wanted discontented Persons, who would joyn with his Forces. And for his Coffers, they were not so full in any Kings time; to which againe he could not doubt but a large supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in contribution when there was no question of warre with that Countrey. As for the Difficulties he should finde in the Enterprise, they were not considerable. *Loüis* the twelfth being not onely deeply engaged in a warre in *Italy*, but having lost his best men there; so that before he could give order for his affaires at home, he might be oppressed; or, when he would leave his pretences on *Italy*, to look to his own Countrey, that would yet free the Pope from the danger he was in, and consequenly give his Majesty the Honour of performing his intentions.

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the businesse, opined thus; That the Kings Title indeed in *France*, especially to the hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the occasion faire; and many circumstances besides conducing to this great businesse: yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a war against so potent a neighbour; unlesse there were more then possibility of effecting our purposes. This they might consider by comparing these times with the former. And if, when all *Guyenne*, *Anjou*, *Tourane*, and for a long while *Normandy* was ours; And when, besides this, the Duke of *Bretagne* was our friend, and the house of *Burgundy* an assured Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our designes in that Countrey, what hope is there now to

1511. attaine them? Are we ſtronger now then at that time? or can we promiſe our ſelves better ſucceſſe? Let it be granted, that as many Battels as we have fought againſt the French, have been almoſt ſo many Victories; what was this Kingdome the better for them? Who can ſay he made a Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time then that of *Edward* the third; and was yet the Countrey ever more poore or weary of the wars. If you will not believe our Hiſtories, looke even on our Records, and you will finde not onely how the Treaſure of our Kingdome was much exhauſted, but even the people themſelves glutted with their proſperity. And ſhall we truſt now to better daies? what though with our 12000. or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000. or 60000? ſtands it with reaſon of Warre to expect the like ſucceſſe ſtill? eſpecially, ſince the uſe of Armes is changed, and for the Bow (proper for men of our ſtrength) the Caleever begins to be generally received. Which, beſides that it is a more coſtly Weapon, requireth a long practiſe, and may be mannag'd by the weaker ſort. Let us therefore (in Gods Name) leave off our attempts againſt the *Terra firma*. The naturall ſcituation of Iſlands ſeemes not to ſort with Conqueſts in that kind. *England* alone is a juſt Empire. Or, when we would inlarge our ſelves, let it be that way we can, and to which it ſeems the Eternall Providence hath deſtin'd us; which is, by Sea. The *Indies* are diſcovered, and vaſt Treaſure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and, if the Spaniard or Portugals ſuffer us not to joyn with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equall to that of ſuccouring *Julius* the ſecond, be wanting; Since, by converting thoſe Infidels to the Chriſtian Religion, there will be a larger field opened for doing of good, then by eſtabliſhing a doubtfull and controverted head of the Church: the Councell of *Piſa* having determined both to depoſe him, and ſubſtitute another.

But our young King, with whom zeale to doe the Pope ſervice, and Ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King *Henry* the ſixth was in poſſeſſion, and which our Civill-warres onely loſt, declin'd this ſober advice, and adheared to the former. And that, eſpecially, for two reaſons, urged by way of ſupplement; whereof, the one was, that there was new hope *Maximilian* the Emperor would be wonne to his ſide. The other was, that he underſtood from *Rome*, the Pope had an intention to take away the Stile of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from the *French*, (which their Hiſtorians confeſſe) and tranſferre it on him; which he thought would be a perpetuall glory to the Nation.

Hereupon it was reſolved, together with calling a Parliament, to ſend (by *John Young* Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the Roules) unto

unto *Loüis* the twelfth a Monitory Ambaſſage, requiring him to deſiſt from war againſt the Pope. But *Loüis*, whether out of his own courage, or that he thought the Emperour aſſured to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a peace, (he having been privately advertiſed that our King reſolved war) regarded not at his advice; Our King therefore, that he might have more then one Title to invade *France*, ſent to require his Patrimoniall Inheritance of *Anjou, Guyenne, &c.* and, in caſe of refuſall, to denounce warre. This then being proclaimed, Leavies were commanded, and moneys granted by Parliament (which began *Febr.* 4.) were raiſed. While theſe things were doing, I ſhall obſerve my former method, and by the way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to Hiſtory. 1511.

That becauſe Money, Plate, and Jewels being Tranſported out of the Kingdome, had impoveriſhed it, a double value ſhould be payd by the offenders. 1511. Feb. 4. *An. Regni* 3. Parl. 1 H. 8.

There was alſo confirmed an Order formerly taken, concerning Eſcheators, Commiſſioners, and finding and turning of Offices; which it ſeems had relation to *Empſon* and *Dudleys* proceedings. Becauſe alſo unlawfull Games kept men from ſhooting in the Long-Bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better underſtanding of which Act, another paſt, whereby the Croſſe-Bow alſo was forbidden.

There were likewiſe certaine great Priviledges granted to men that went beyond Sea with the King. As alſo Penalties ordain'd for Captaines that abridged the number of their Souldiers, or detain'd their wages; as alſo for Souldiers departing without Licenſe.

At this Parliament alſo the King was pleaſed to reſtore *John Dudley* ſonne and heire of *Edmund Dudley* lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his Raigne, he conferred the place of Lord Admirall of *England*, as ſhall appeare in this Hiſtory.

About this time there was one *Hieronymo Buonviſo* a Luccheſe, who, being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his friends in *Italy*, obtained ſo much favour from the Pope, as to be made a kinde of Agent here. This man being acquainted with all the Popes buſineſſe, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewiſe the Kings and Councels anſwers to his Negotiations, became ſo expert in all thoſe affaires, that being corrupted by the French, (who gave him a Penſion, as I finde in our Records) he diſcover'd many things that much concerned either ſide. And from hence it aroſe chiefly, that *Loüis* the twelfth was ſo particularly informed of our deſignes, that he uſed many preventions, as may be obſerved in the following Hiſtory.

The War with *France* being thus determined, it was conſulted in what part we ſhould begin. And though that of *Callais* ſeemed the moſt ready way, yet, becauſe *Ferdinand* promiſed to joyn with

$15\frac{12}{11}$ the King in this war, (which was call'd *Holy*) it was by his consent resolved to land somewhere in the Spanish Dominions; and that from thence both their Armies (being united) should joyntly invade *Guyenne*. For better understanding of which project, I must observe, that both the Kings (besides that of vindicating of *Julius* the second) had their severall designes, as will appeare afterwards. The Generall named by the King was *Thomas Grey* Marquesse of *Dorset*, with whom went besides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, sonne and heire to the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Persons, and about 10000 Souldiers; among whom I finde in the Spanish History, there were about 5000 Archers, who besides their Bowes and Arrowes, carried Halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their Arrows were shot, and then took up againe to doe execution on the Enemy. An excellent part of Military Discipline, and yet not remarkable by our English Chroniclers. These men about the third, or as the Spaniards have it, the eighth of *Iune*, (being shipt in Spanish Vessels) arrived at *Passage*, a Port in *Guipuscoa*, where one *Faderique* Bishop of *Siguenea*, (an able person) attended them. This Bishop after he had assured them of their welcome, and that the Duke *d' Alva*, Generall of the Spanish forces, with 1000 barded Horse, 1500 Gennets or Light-horse, and 6000 Foot would shortly joyn with them, did much cheere our men after their long Sea-voyage. In the mean while *Iohn d' Albret* (King of *Navarre* in the right of his wife *Catharine de Foix*) having the Spanish Army in *Arragon* on the one side, and the English on the other of his Kingdom, thought himselfe in some straits. And the rather, that the Pope having lately excommunicated him, for assisting the French, and by a Bull dated *March* 1. 1512, exposed his Kingdome in prey to the Conqueror; He suspected *Ferdinand* had some designe upon him. Neither was he deceived; For, that he might be drawn away from *Loüis*, or at least that a quarrell might be pickt against him, *Ferdinand* sends to require that he would declare himselfe; pretending some jealousie of his proceedings ever since *Loüis* the twelfth (who was advertised of this Holy League, as it was termed) had required his helpe, or when he would refuse, threatned him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* also, the English Generall sent to him, not onely to remember the ancient League and friendship betwixt the two Nations, when the English were in possession of *Guyenne*; but, thereupon (as well as in the name of the Church) to require his helpe in this Holy warre. The King of *Navarre* in this perplexity (for he was urged no lesse to the contrary by the French) protested that it concerned him to be Neutrall, he being as much in danger of loosing *Bearne* on the French, as *Navarre* on the Spanish side. Yet, whether to gaine time, or indeed really to shew his forwardnesse,

Curita.

June 3.

neſſe in this Church affaire, he offred (upon ſecurity given that neither *Ferdinand* nor the Engliſh ſhould moleſt him) that for four moneths ſpace, the States of *Navarre* ſhould (by their Oathes) ſolemnely aſſure him of all amiable uſage in that Country; and before that time he doubted not, but *Bayone* (which was the key to *Guyenne*) would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the Engliſh. But this was not thought ſufficient; therefore it was demanded that the King of *Navarre* would depoſitate ſome Townes as cautionary on that behalfe. But as he ſtill excuſed himſelfe, the Engliſh and Spaniſh (who had ſeparatly treated before) thought now joyntly to ſend their Agents to the King of *Navarre*, ſo that *Antonio de Acuna* Biſhop of *Camora*, and Sir *John Stile* (reſident Ambaſſadour for our King in *Spaine*) were preſently diſpatch'd to him. Being admitted to audience, their demand was, to have the Fortreſſes of *Eſtella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, conſigned for their ſecurity in the enterpriſe of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* proteſting ſtill that it concern'd him to hold Neutrallity, was at laſt preſſed to make a finall anſwer. Here then hee agreed that *Viana*, and ſome other places of leſſe ſtrength than thoſe demanded, ſhould remaine as pledges of his fidelity: Yet, before this could be ſetled, the French were come to the Confines of both Jurisdictions: where the Engliſh, being deſirous to give ſome proof of their valour, without any order from their Generall, paſſed over the River of *Vidaſſona*, which divides *Guipuſcoa* from *Guyenne*, to skirmiſh with the French. This grew at laſt ſo hot, that the Marqueſſe was conſtrain'd to paſſe over the reſt of his Army to disingage them, which being done, he retir'd againe to his Campe neere *Fuentarabia*, in good order. Hereupon the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* began to complaine, that the delay of *Ferdinand* had given the *French* time to raiſe theſe Forces to oppoſe them; and together demanded briefly his cleere reſolution, what he meant to doe in the point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was anſwered, that, ſince the King of *Navarre* would not admit a way through his Dominions, he muſt be forc'd; neither did hee thinke that *John* would take it ill to ſuffer a little violence, when it were for nothing elſe, but to ſhew the *French*, that he did not voluntarily conſent thereunto. The Marqueſſe replyed, that, this being no part of his Commiſſion, hee muſt firſt acquaint the King his Maſter with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the *French* Army increaſed, and that the ſuffering them to come nearer might fruſtrate his deſignes in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alba*, without more delay, to inveſt *Pamplona* the chiefe Towne of *Navarre*, entertaining in the meane while *John's* Ambaſſadours with hope of an Accommodation, who ſeemed alſo to beleeve it, untill they heard of the Seige. The induſtrious *Ferdinand* that he might draw alſo the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* to aſſiſt him, uſed theſe reaſons, That the paſſage to *Bayone* by the way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow having the Sea on one ſide, and on the other ſide the huge Mountaines of

1512.

Navarre

1512. *Navarre* and *Bearne*; ſo that, if they ſhould undertake the Seige at *Bayone* without aſſuring themſelves of the Countries behind them, they might be ſhut up on every ſide, whenſoever *John* ſhould declare himſelfe for the *French* party. Therefore that he ſhould proceed according to military rules, and prevent this inconvenience by ſeizing firſt on all the Avenues. The Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* hereupon calling a Counſell of warre, returned this anſwer; That hee deſired to looſe no time, and therefore thought it the beſt courſe for both to divide the Armies: And that *Ferdinand* ſhould enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he tooke the way of *Bayone*. Yet the King who ſtill purſued his Deſigne, ſeeming not ſatisfied herewith, deſired rather that both the Armies might paſſe joyntly through *Navarre*. The Spaniſh marching ſtill firſt, and making way for the Engliſh to follow. But the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* anſwer'd againe, he might not tranſgreſſe his Commiſſion, which permitted him not hoſtilely to enter into *Navarre* upon any termes. Inſomuch that now almoſt ſix weekes were ſpent in thoſe Treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the Engliſh, reſolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promiſing the Marqueſſe yet from thence to fall on *Guyenne*; not doubting (on this aſſurance) but the Marqueſſe would ſtay, and at leaſt ſerve as a Countenance to his enterpriſe. Hereupon the Duke of *Alva* being Commanded to
* July. 22. * proceed, (without hurting any yet but thoſe who reſiſted) ſoon
* July. 25. after * took *Pamplona*, which when our Marqueſſe heard, he teſtified much diſcontentment, both as he found *Ferdinand* kept not his promiſe, and as his victuals were much ſhortned on this occaſion, he having been abundantly ſupplyed before from *Navarre*.

In the meane while *Ferdinand*, to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the Marqueſſe might give, ſends to *England* a Meſſenger on purpoſe, with account of his Actions, and to deſire a more ample Order to the Marqueſſe to aſſiſt him; not neglecting, the while any occaſion either for reducing the beſt part of *Navarre* to obedience,
July. 31. or * entitling himſelfe to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all particulars of this affaire, do much confirme the Spaniſh Hiſtory.

Being thus advanced, He thought fit againe to ſollicite *John*
Auguſt. King of *Navarre* (now retired towards *Bearne*) that he would joyn in this Holy-warre. And that he might doe ſo the better, He temper'd Threats and promiſes in a more effectuall manner: The Biſhop of *Camora* and Sir *John Stile* hereupon were diſpatch'd again, requiring his finall Anſwer. But the Duke of *Longueville*, being come with puiſſant forces neere to thoſe parts, they made bold to detaine the Biſhop, not without terrifying him, with worſe uſage; giving leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to returne. Things being brought to theſe extremities, *John* King of *Navarre* thought fit to go to the French Court, to excuſe himſelfe for ſuffering the Spaniſh to become ſo ſoon Maſters of *Navarre*. Neither had he, it ſeemes, any

way

way to make this ſo credible, as by permitting the French with the ſame facility to ſeaze on *Bearne*. Thus was this King, in ſhort time, diſpoſſeſſed of all his Eſtate, only for not knowing how to behave himſelfe, either like a friend or enemy. 1512.

Now *Loüis* the twelfth, though not ſo much as hoping that the Engliſh and Spaniſh ſhould ſtand thus devided, yet as he deſir'd rather a Warre in that Country, than his owne, ſo he prepared as if he were at once to ſuſtain both their Forces; commanding the Duke *de Longueville*, to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great. For though *Salvatierra*, was kept by *Iohn*, as long as hee Treated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandoned it to the French, and retir'd himſelfe to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayone* then the French enquartered their Army, though for having 5000 in that City (daily reinforced by new Levies) it ſeem'd not to ſtand in ſo much need of defence. This while the Duke *de Alva* requires an Oath of obedience from thoſe of *Pamplona*, and in generall from the reſt of the chiefe Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it, upon the termes agreed on, which was for foure monethes, and till they had given proof of their Neutrallity in the buſineſſe of *Guyenne*. But the Duke replyed, that King *Iohn* being fled away to the French, and therein having declar'd himſelfe an enemy both to him and this Holy-warre, He would now accept no Oath, but that of a ſimple Obedience to his King and Maſter: Upon this enſued diſputes and diverſities of Opinions; All which yet were moderated by the Spaniſh Army, which did not much inſiſt upon reaſon having power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduced, *Ferdinand* ſends the *Mareſchall Aquilera* to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, proteſting that his Army ſhould paſſe the Mountaines at Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; And this he did to try whether it would move him yet to joyne Forces. But the Marqueſſe, who was informed that the place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an intire Conqueſt of the Dominions of *Iohn*) as well as to *Bayone*, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the Spaniſh Army. *Ferdinand* on the other ſide, taking this as a delay, would not omit the proſecuting of his intentions, laying (in the meane while) all the fault on the Marqueſſe ſlackneſſe. But no man ought to blame any Generall in this kind, unleſſe he knew his Inſtructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke *de Alva* who conſidered of what moment diligence is in great Affaires, ſends ſome away preſently to ſeize on Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was performed; though the French were now entring that Country. To make this good alſo, the Duke himſelfe (by the King his Maſter's Commandment) followes with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again ſends to invite the Marqueſſe. But as the Engliſh could not paſſe thither, but by a place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almoſt untrodden paſſage) or another way farre about (for either

1512. ther of which, they wanted Horſe to draw their Ordnance) ſo was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joyning the Armyes. Howſoever, it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many delayes) to acquit himſelf ſo farre, as to ſeeme at leaſt roundly to goe on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Maſter-peice was, together with performing his own intentions, now to have brought his offer to our King, within the compaſſe of probability. He conſidered alſo, that, alone, he was to weake for the French Forces, ſo that he had more then one reaſon to ſollicite the Engliſh Army.

Being in this Poſture, he begins to thinke what remain'd to be done: On the one ſide, he had the honour of diverting the French from their great deſignes in *Italy*, (for *Loüis* began now to attend his home Affaires) and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other ſide, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, (only *Eſtella* excepted, which he took afterwards) and paſſed the Mountaines, He ſeemed ingaged to ſecure his Conqueſts. Therefore he thought on nothing now but going on; truſting, for the reſt, to the Negotiation of *Martin de Ampios* whom he had ſent to our King. And this Man (if we may beleeve the Spaniſh Hiſtory) obtained that the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* ſhould doe whatſoever he was adviſed by *Ferdinand* for the Holy-Cauſe. But, before this Inſtruction could come, the Marqueſſe, who ſaw winter now approaching, and very neer 3000. of his Men ſicke or dead of diſorder, and drinking thoſe hot Wines, and for the reſt ſuffering much for ſcarcity of victualls, and laſtly being advertiſed that the French had fortified *Bayone*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterprize. Therefore hee ſent the Treaſurer of his Army, and Sir *Iohn Stile* to *Ferdinand*, to repreſent thoſe difficulties, and to acquaint him with his determination to be gone. At laſt, though with much adoe, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement) provided ſome Ships for the Engliſh; But before they could depart, the Marqueſſe, betweene diſcontent and ill diet ſo diſtempered himſelf, that he fell ſick, the Lord *Howard* being ſubſtituted, in the meane while, for Command of the Army. While yet they made ready for their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windſore* the Herald, commanding the Army to ſtay; promiſing withall to ſend a New ſupply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlaine. But the Souldiers ſo mutined, that at laſt the Generalls were conſtrain'd to embarque themſelves and come home (about the end of *November*) to *England*. Whereupon, *Ferdinand* (who deſired now only to maintaine what he had gotten) turnes himſelf to other Arts; labouring (by *Maximilians* mediation) to withdraw the French from aſſiſting *Iohn*. The conditions being that *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* their Grand-Child ſhould match with *Reynera*, or *Reynee*, ſecond daughter to *Loüis* the twelfth (which yet was but colourable as appeares in their Hiſtories) and, that the French ſhould condeſcend hereunto, it was no little motive, that they

Curita.

Sept.

Novemb.

they had acquired so much in *Bearne*; so that keeping their possessions on either part, much Treaty pass'd, without any other effect, than that *John* on both sides was outed: Though, for ostentation, *Richard de la Pole* (calling himselfe Duke of *Suffolke*) as I find by our Records, was appointed by *Loüis* to attempt the recovery of *Pamplona* though in vaine. And thus ended this voyage, to the grief of our King, who seemed so much offended with the ill successe, that hee purposed once to punish the principall Authors of it. But his Generall excus'd himselfe by the narrownesse of his Instruction, and partly layd the fault on *Ferdinand*, who being bound by promise to furnish the Army with many necessaries, yet failed. Lastly they made it appear that *Ferdinand* never intended any thing but the Conquest of *Navarre*, (which therefore his successors hold to this day.) ¶ Though this voyage were improsperous, yet I find by *Polydore*, that Sir *Edward Howard*, who Conducted the Marquesse to *Spaine*, having with the Fleet first Cleared the Seas from Enemies, Landed at a little Bay in *Brittaine*, and Marched seven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning some Townes) hee brought away rich spoyles. Not Contented herewith yet, he put his Men on shore at *Conquet*, and divers other places; where the *French* still receiving the worse, they at last desired a Parley. The substance whereof was, That the English would leave off this kind of desultory, and Cruell Warre; which tended onely to the burning of Villages, and ransacking the poore. But hee replied, Hee was not to take his directions from them. Besides, that it was the part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not shamefully to sue for Mercy. After which, and a banquet in his Ship, they were dismissed, and our Admirall return'd home. ¶ The *French*, in the meane while, making great preparatives by Sea, Our King thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to Twenty Ships under the Command of his Admirall, Five and Twenty more under the command of the choyceſt of those Gallants that attended him; placing in the chiefe Ships call'd the *Regent*, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Master of his Horse, and Sir *John Carew* in the *Soveraigne*; Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford* went with sixty of the tallest Yeomen of his Guard. This brave Fleet, chancing to meet thirty nine Saile coming out of *Brest* in *Brittaine*, assaulted them; where two of the greatest Ships on both sides being grappled, fell on fire by some accident, or as the *French* will have it, by the desperate Courage of *Primauguet* (barbarously, as I conceive it, styl'd by our Chronicles Sir *Piers Morgan*) and so were consumed. The Captaine of the English Ship (being the *Regent*) and of the *French* (called the *Cordeliere*) together with the Souldiers in them, perished all, save only a few *French* who saved themselves with Swimming. Howsoever,

1512.

October.

May.

May. 23. *Hall.*

June. 1.

Aug. 10. Bellay.

1512. the reſt of the *French* were ſo terrified herewith, that they made away preſently, ſome to *Breſt*, and ſome to the Iſles adjoyning, To repaire this loſſe, our King builta Ship, the greateſt ever knowne before, though *Buchanan* and *Leſle* ſay, that *James* the fourth, King
1506. of *Scotland* made one; whom the Engliſh and *French* King deſiring afterwards to imitate, failed ſo much, that they were not able to make it ſteer.

The King finding now that buſineſſes were growne to ſome extremity, betwixt the two Nations, diſcloſes his deſigne of going in Perſon into *France*, as chooſing rather to make warre in his enemies Country, then to attend it at home. This alſo that he might the better performe, He is adviſed to diſcover what correſpondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had ſent a good while ſince Sir *Robert Wingfield* to Negotiate with *Maximilian*, and draw him to his party, neither found hee much difficulty therein: The Emperour being glad that the warlike diſpoſition of our King turn'd it ſelfe againſt *France*: So that, with aſſurance of his affection, he incourag'd our King to goe on. For *Maximilian* was now falne off from the *French*, both that the Pope ſtrongly procur'd it, and that he thought it beſt to adhere rather to *Ferdinand* and his Grand-Child's intereſts: For pretext whereof yet alleadging only ſome breach of Article of the Treaty of *Cambray* on *Loüis* his part. The *French*, on the other ſide, joyning with the Duke of *Ferrara*, prepared to defend themſelves; raiſing for this purpoſe a puiſſant Army, under the command of *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, Governour of *Milan*,
April. 11. who (in the name of the *Piſan* Councell) fought the Battaile of *Ravenna*, which being wonne for his King, he loſt for himſelfe, as dying (almoſt wilfully) againſt a little Body of the Enemies, when the victory, for the reſt, was gotten. Howbeit, the *French*, under *Monſieur de la Paliſſe* proceeding took *Ravenna*, and divers other places, which they delivered to a Cardinall *Legate* in the name of the *Piſan* Councel, ſo that they were now (together with this City) Maſters of *Milan*, *Genoüa*, *Bononia*, and *Florence*. Nevertheleſſe, as the Contrary part, led by *Raymond de Cardona*,
Sandov. Vida del Carl.v. (Vice-roy of *Naples* under *Ferdinand*) had in the name of the Holy-League, brought huge Forces into thoſe parts, the *French* were forç'd to quit all thoſe places, within the ſpace of two Moneths: (as *Sandoval* hath it,) *Maximilian Sforza* (ſonne to *Lodovico*) whom the *French* had diveſted, being reinplac'd in *Milan*, to hold it in the name, or at leaſt under the protection of the *Suiſſe*, whereupon alſo the Duke of *Ferrara* (unable any longer to ſubſiſt) humbled himſelfe to the Pope, and was pardoned. *Maximilian* yet, not content with theſe victories, would have added to them *Vicenza* detain'd by the *Venetians*. But they refuſing, the Pope, whether deſirous to conſerve *Maximilian's* friendſhip at what price ſoever, (ſince he had now diſavowed the *Piſan* Councell) or that perchance hee thought

thought not himſelfe ſufficiently reveng'd on the *Venetians*, joynes in the Enterpriſe. 1512.

Ferdinand in the meane while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double treaty. On the one ſide therefore, he not only joyned offices with our King to *Maximilian* for this purpoſe, but incourag'd him to repaire the imputation of ſlacknes laid on the Engliſh in their voyage to *Spaine*, deſiring yet that if he ſent any Army againe into thoſe parts, it might be under the Command of his Generall. While, on the other ſide, he ſecretly Treated with *Loüis* the twelfth, for the Match above mentioned; promiſing alſo to aſſiſt him in his affaires in *Italy*. That Politique King's intention being, by one meanes or other, to divert the French from aiding King *Iohn* to recover *Navarre*: (who yet I find * dyed of griefe not long after.) Laſtly our King remembring how the Scots have uſually holpen the French, and being inform'd, beſides, that *Iames* the fourth did reſent ſtill the death of *Breton*, and ſome other Affronts, he ſends *Nicholas Weſt* Deane of *Windſor* and Doctor of Law, to know how he ſtood affected: and the rather, that he was informed King *Iames* had an Army on Foot. To which he anſwered, That he loved and eſteemed alike, both *Henry* the eighth, and *Loüis* the twelfth; and therefore that he thought it his beſt, to be Neutrall in any difference betwixt them. *Weſt* replied, that he might do well to ſignifie thus much by Letters. But King *Iames* ſaid, that the ſending any Declaration of Neutrallity under his Hand might argue he inclin'd a little to the Engliſh ſide, and conſequently might breed a ſuſpition; eſpecially when *Loüis* the twelfth could not bee Ignorant of the favourable audience given him, and there withall diſmiſt him. Upon whoſe return; our King taking this Cautelous anſwer into mature conſideration, found it aroſe from a private League betwixt *Loüis* and *Iames* (which our Records furniſh us) to this effect. 1516.

Becauſe the King of *England's* Predeceſſors have often ſought to endammage both Princes and Realms, therefore they Combine to reſiſt the ſame; and one to aide the other perpetually againſt the ſaid King. May. 22. I.

If the King of *England* ſhall at any time wage warre againſt the King of Scots, the King of *France* and his ſucceſſors ſhall wage war withall their power againſt the King of *England*, and the Scottiſh King promiſeth the like. II.

Neither King ſhall ſuffer his Subjects to ſerve or aide the King of *England* againſt the other. III.

Neither of the two may take Truce with the King of *England* without the other give his conſent, or be comprehended therein if he pleaſe. IIII.

If the ſaid *Loüis* deceaſe without Children, and there be ſtrife about the ſucceſſion, the King of Scots ſhall not intermeddle, but V.

1512. accept him who ſhall be made King, for his friend, and defend him againſt his adverſaries, if the King of *England* aſſiſt them. And the ſame *Loüis* promiſes to doe, if the Scottiſh King deceaſe without Iſſue.

This Convention ſhall be confirmed by the Pope, and neither of the Contrahents ſhall procure nor accept any abſolution from the Oath.

Our King underſtanding this, Reſolv'd to ſend his Treaſurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* into *Yorkſhire*, and the Northerne parts, to have an Army in readineſſe, in Caſe the Scots ſhould ſtirre in his abſence. Together with all this proviſion, He thought fit to call a Parliament, where, beſides enacting divers good Lawes (whereof I ſhall hereafter mention ſome) He obtained two fifteenes and foure demies. He had alſo a kind of Subſidy, called Head or Poll-money, That is, of every Duke ten Markes; an Earl five pounds, a Lord foure pounds, a Knight foure Marke, every Man valued at eight hundred pound in Goods, foure Marks: and ſo after that rate till him who had forty ſhillings in wages, who paid twelve pence, after which every one who was above fifteen years of age, paid foure pence. Order was alſo given that Bulwarkes, Brayes, and Walls, ſhould be rais'd in his Caſtles and ſtrong-holds on the Sea ſide, whereſoever it was needfull.

Regni 4. Novemb. 4.

1513. *Julius* the ſecond, expecting now the ſucceſſe of that warre hee had kindled againſt the French, * dyes; In whoſe place was choſen Cardinall *Giovanni de Medici*, by the name of *Leo* the tenth. This Pope, purſuing his Predeceſſors deſignes, incourageth our King to warre againſt *France*. But He having now accompliſh'd the Age of twenty one years, needed little invitation and the rather that he was aſſured by his Ambaſſadours, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Iohn Young*, that *Maximilian* would really performe his Treaty with him; Only he ſuſpected *Ferdinand*. Therefore (I find by our Records) he ſent into *Spaine William Knight* Doctor of Law; commanding him, together with Sir *Iohn Stile*, to uſe all Arguments to perſwade *Ferdinand*, that the returne of the Engliſh Army was contrary both to his will and command; Offering further, that if he might have aſſiſtance againſt *France* for the conqueſt of *Guyenne*, that 100000 Crownes ſhould be given in hand to *Ferdinand*, and as much more, when it was gotten. For this purpoſe alſo promiſing pay for 6000 Men at ſix pence *per diem* for ſix moneths. But *Ferdinand* now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the Conſervation of his Conqueſt in *Navarre*, cunningly declyn'd this propoſition; as hoping, by a Treaty with *France*, to effect his purpoſes; howbeit he adviſed our King to ſend his Standard Royall with ſome Forces to *Guyenne*; and to try whether the People would follow it; ſince, he ſaid, they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well as by ſome private Advertiſements, that *Ferdinand* Treated ſecretly with *France*, reſolv'd to preſſe him to

Feb. 21.

Jan.

declare

declare himselfe, and therefore by Letters, *June* 17. he requires *Ferdinand* to seale a Treaty against *France*, to which his Ambassadours here had consented. But *Ferdinand* disavowing his Ambassadours proceeding, since the Holy League (as he said) became voyd, upon the return of the Kings Army, discovers withall that he had made a Truce with *France* for one whole yeere, which he advised our King also to accept. The Treaty to which *Ferdinands* Ambassadours entered at this time, was the Treaty here set down, which I finde among our Records, and have mentioned, as being full of designe, how ever eluded. 1513. June. 17.

The first Article of the Confederation made between the Pope, Emperour, Kings of *England* and *Arragon*, against *Loüis* the twelfth, was, to be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies, &c. to give mutuall ayd at the Charges of the Demandant. I.

To denounce Warre within 30 daies after the date hereof, and within two moneths to invade him. *viz.* II.

The Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphin.*

The Emperour in some other fit place.

The King of *England* in *Aquitayne* (or *Guyenne*) *Picardy* or *Normandy.*

The King of *Arragon* in *Bearne*, *Lanquedoc*, and *Aquitane.* Not to desist from Hostility, or make any Truce without common consent.

That the Subjects of the Confederates, serve not the Enemy under pain of loosing life and goods. III.

That the Emperour (if he have not yet done it) shall recall the Authority by him given to the Schismaticall Cardinals, and their Conventicle, and within a moneth after the date of this, signifying his pleasure to them, shall Voyd and Nullifie all their proceedings and Acts in the same. IV.

The Pope shall (at the request of the Confederates) fulminate his Ecclesiasticall Censures against all that oppose this League. V.

The King of *England* shall give the Emperor (towards the great charges he shall be at) 100000 Crowns. VI.

Yet the Emerour by this Treaty will not engage his Grandchild *Charles* (now under his tuition) into this war with *Loüis*. VII.

But this Treaty being refused by *Ferdinand*, our King proceeds by the helpe of his other Confederates, to the war with *France*; the Pope, for the more declaring himselfe, both confirming an Excommunication granted by *Julius* the second against *James* King of Scots in case he should break the Peace and Treaty with the King of *England*, and * granting an Indulgence to all that should assist King *Henry* and the other Confederates, against *Loüis* and the Schismatiques of the Councell of *Pisa.* * March.

All things here being thus disposd for a war; *Maximilian* with some patience attends the comming of our English Army; as being confident, however the businesse succeeded between the two Nations

1513. tions, he could make his advantage thereof. That he might doe this the better, he thought it not amiſſe to enterpoſe ſome difficulties. Neither could he be wholy wonne, till he had obtained of *Henry* 120000 Duckats towards his charge in bringing 3000 Horſe and 8000 Foot which ſhould enter *Burgogne*, as ſoon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While theſe preparations were in hand, our King, to take off *James*, ſends Doctor *Weſt* againe into *Scotland*, where in ſtead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a peace with *France*, promiſing on thoſe termes his friendſhip. But our King being reſolved to proceed, thought fit in the firſt place to cleare the Sea from the French Navy. And therefore ſends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty two Sayle, beſides leſſer Barques, againſt them. The French being informed hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rodes*, (called by our Hiſtorians Prior *John*) with foure Gallies to paſſe the *Straits*, and come to *Britany*, where many good Ships were appointed to joyn with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keepe within the Haven of *Breſt*, then to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in ſight of them. Our men therefore reſolve to attempt them in the middle of their Defences; while they intend this, one of our Ships (under the command of *Arthur Plantaginet*) was caſt away on a blinde Rock. This ſtaid our men a while; at laſt they purſue their deſigne, and enter the Haven, where the French Fleet lay under the covert of many Platforms that were raiſed on the Land. Beſides, they had joyned twenty four Hulkes together, with purpoſe to ſet them on fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our Engliſh ſhould approach them; or (as our Records have it) to keepe the fire from theirs.

April 17. Laſtly, they mored their ſhips as neer the Caſtle as they could, and ſo attended *Pregents* comming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admirall Sir *Edward Howard* conſidering the order in which the French lay, thought fit to advertiſe his King and Maſter thereof, adviſing him withall to come in Perſon, and have the glory of this Action. But our Kings Councell taking this meſſage into conſideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear (as was thought) but ſtratagem and cunning, that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the King was not ſo much invited to the Honour, as danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the overture. Thereupon they write ſharply to him againe (as our Hiſtorians ſay, though our Records mention not this particular) commanding him to doe his duty. Whereof that brave Cavalier was ſo ſenſible, as it cauſed him to hazzard his perſon afterwards ſo raſhly, that it occaſioned his death; the manner whereof was thus, as it is drawn out of our Records: where, by a Letter dated

April 17. from him, *April* 17, it appeares, That, after he had come before *Breſt* with his Navy, he ſent out his Boats, to make a ſhew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the ſhore, to the number

of

of above 16000 (the Engliſh in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over againſt *Breſt*, where he burnt the Countrey in the ſight of the Caſtle; the French ſhips (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more, till Victuals came, whereof he ſtood then in need, though he ſaid he had them at a great advantage, their Galleys being not yet come. Together with which diſpatch unto the King, he ſent Mr. *Arthur Plantagenet*, much diſcouraged as he ſaid by the caſting away of his Ship; and diſabled to ſerve in any other kind, becauſe his ſouldiers that remained were beſtowed elſewhere. After which I finde by another * Letter of Sir *Edward Echingham* (who was preſent in the Expedition) that, *April* 22. ſix Galleys of the Enemies, (being two more then were expected) and foure Foyſts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-ſablon-bay* neere *Conquett*, a little below *Breſt*; which being notified to our Admirall, he himſelfe, being attended with foure choice Captaines, reſolv'd to board them *April* 25. Whereupon entring himſelfe into one of the two Galleys (which onely the Engliſh had at that time) and committing the other to *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was Sir *Thomas Cheny* and Sir *John Wallop*, in the other Sir *Henry Sherborne* and Sir *William Sidney*; *Pregent* (this while) lying betwixt two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deterre our Lord Admirall, who therefore about foure in the afternoon (the ſame day) boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and enterd it with his Sword and Target, one *Carroz* a Spaniſh Cavalier and ſeventeen Engliſh more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be faſtned or grapled to his Enemies; but whether the French hewed aſunder the Cable, or our Marriners let it ſlip for feare of the Ordnance, the Engliſh Galley fell off, and this Noble perſon was left in the hands of his enemies; Of whom therefore our men could give no other account, but that when he was paſt all hope of recovering his Galleys, he took his Whiſtle from his neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean time (who was in the other Galley) fayld not to do his part, untill having ſpent all his ſhot, and ſeen the Admirals Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row-Barges alſo did, as not knowing but the Admirall was ſafe. The ſad newes of whoſe loſſe yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to ſend to the French Admirall, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop* came to know what priſoners were taken; to whom *Pregent* (or Prior *John*) anſwered, None, but a Marriner, who told him, that a certaine perſon they bore overbord with their Pikes was their Admirall. Laſtly, he added (in the Letter) that the French in *Bourdeaulx* had made ſix new Galleys, which were ſhortly expected at *Breſt*, and that our Galleys,

1513.

May 6.

April 22.

April 25.

1513. May 4. Gallies, as he ſaid, could doe the French-men moſt diſpleaſure.

Upon newes of our Admirals death, his place was * preſently beſtowed on his brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wiſely conſidering the advantage of the French Gallies in a Calme, and number of their ſhips, and the danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-weſt, deſired of the King ſo many Souldiers as might both man the Ships, and make good the Landing. But before he came our Fleet (it ſeems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and *Pregent* (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in *Suſſex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that yeere. And now the Lord Admirall having equipped the Navy Royall, ſcoured the Seas, and ſecur'd our Kings intended paſſage. The particularities I ſhall omit, untill (in imitation of *Polydore*) I have ſet down the deſcription of *Thomas Woolſey* (afterwards Cardinall) a man at this time beginning to be in ſpeciall favour with the King, the originall whereof I muſt deduce from his chiefe raiſer and founder, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This Biſhop, being made principall Secretary and Privy Seale, became not onely an able but potent Miniſter of State; having yet difference with the Lord Treaſurer *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, a Noble-man of great courage and experience in Affaires, he ſtood not ſecure. They had often been reconciled by the King; who not onely beſt knew, but often ſuffered moſt for their oppoſition. Yet as the wiping out of blots ſometimes makes them greater, ſo ſatisfactions for injuries ſeldome expiate them ſo totally, but that ſome impreſſion remaines. Therefore they ſtood ſtill at a diſtance, in which condition yet they wanted not their advantages on either ſide. The Biſhop had abundant matter to ſuggeſt; the huge Treaſure, which *Henry* the ſeventh left being ſo exhauſted, that it was now almoſt conſumed; while the Lord Treaſurer in the diſpoſing of this young Kings bounty, ſo ordered buſineſſes, as in facilitating diſpatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treaſurer, on the other ſide, ſayd, that nothing being done without the Kings ſpeciall order, it was through envy onely the Biſhop thus oppoſd him. In theſe termes then they ſtood ſtill, without almoſt concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the Kings diſpoſition; which yet they did not ſo much by mutuall conſent, as by diminiſhing in their turns, every body elſe, that was extraordinarily in his good opinion. At laſt the Biſhop thinking how to better his party, brought in this *Thomas Woolſey*, to which purpoſe alſo Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, and Maſter of the Wards, aſſiſted him. This man, though of mean birth, being obſerved by them to be of a quick and ſtirring wit, and particularly famous for a Diſpatch in *Henry* the ſeventh his time, wherein he uſed extraordinary diligence, was thought a fit Inſtrument for their purpoſes. He was already a Chaplaine in Houſhold, and the Almoner, and from thence raiſed to the place

of

of a Councellor. Being in this neerneſſe he knew as well how to diſcourſe with the King in matter of learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his delights; inſomuch, as (ſaith *Polydore*) he would ſing, dance, laugh, jeſt, and play with thoſe youths in whoſe attendance and company the King much delighted. Briefly, (to uſe *Polydores* words) he made his private houſe *Voluptatum omnium Sacrarium, quo Regem frequenter ducebat*; He omitted not yet in the midſt of all theſe jollities, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, repreſenting ſo all buſineſſes to the King, as he got much credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by thoſe Gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he ſhould ſometimes follow his ſtudies in Schoole-Divinity, and ſometimes take his pleaſure, and leave the care of publique affaires to him: promiſing that what was amiſſe in his kingdome ſhould be rectified. Likewiſe, he omitted not to infuſe feares and jealouſies of all thoſe whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became ſo perfect a Courtier, that he had ſoon attained the heighth of favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdomes, Courtiers have thoſe by which they govern their Princes, when through any indiſpoſition they grow unapt for affaires. Theſe Arts being hopes and feares, which as doores and paſſages to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keepe all others out: and therefore may be termed not onely the two ends of that Thred upon which Government depends, but through their dexterious handling, may be tyed upon what knot they will. Particularly, he deſired to reduce all buſineſſes to himſelfe; for which end he ſpake in this manner: 1513.

Sir, Your Highneſſe hath now ſufficient experience of ſtrange effects which contradictions in Councels bring forth: It is unſafe to believe ſingly either of thoſe on whoſe advice your Highneſſe moſt relyes, and impoſſible to believe both. May your Highneſſe therefore chooſe ſome one, who, being diſintereſſed, may have no paſſion or thought but to ſerve your Highneſſe. All thoſe ſtrong reaſons of State which conclude Monarchy the beſt forme of Government, make for a Favourite in the next place. Inſomuch, that of ſupreame Authority, as of thoſe Pyramidall heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently placed, I dare ſay, there can be none well raiſed, that from the loweſt foundation is not ſharpned by degrees unto its poynt. But, leſt this ſhould be thought looking upwards onely, be pleaſed a while to looke down, and conſider things the other way, and the Proſpective will hold its proportion. For how, *Sir*, ſhould a King conſerve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferiour perſons? Believe me, *Sir*, to diffuſe it overſuddenly, is to take away not onely from the Dignity, but even intireneſſe of it: it being with Authority, as with a Spring or

1513. Fountaine, which, that it may keepe his Course and Name, must be cherish'd and entertain'd, till it grow great, by the Contributions and Concurrences of those lesser Heads that runne into it. Kings must never descend but by steps. The more orders are under them, the higher still they stand. Neither will your other Councellors thinke themselves much lessned this way; for when they may use the ordinary power and sway allow'd them over their inferiours, they will not thinke themselves much concern'd for the rest. Besides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing which way to addresse their suits. To leave them more at large, were to expose them to those delayes and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Againe, it would be unpossible any other way to keepe secrecy in businesse, (which yet is the life of Counsell) or almost to finde out who is the divulger. Moreover, when your Highnesse, in some great and perplex'd affaires, hath occasion to acquaint your Councellors onely with some part of your meaning, what instrument can be so apt as a Favorite? While, if things succeed ill, or otherwise that your Highnesse would not seem to have the advice proceed from you, how easily may your Highnesse disavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your Highnesse finde the many uses you may make of your Favorite. Yet, *Sir*, let me say, I should never advise your Highnesse to see by his Eyes, or heare by his Eares onely. This were to keepe you in too much darknesse and subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able Persons, and such as may not know of each other, by whom your Highnesse may be inform'd, not onely what is done, but even said vulgarly. Thus shall your Highnesse take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtfull and intricate parts of businesse, which require particular scrutiny and examination; your Highnesse, in my opinion, may doe well to have three or foure confident Persons, not yet of the Body of your Councell, with whom separately your Highnesse may advise, before those difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highnesse to speake thereof when you transferre it to the Body of your Councell, and make you discern their opinions. Onely, if any thing be determined, let your Favorite still be the chiefe Actor in the execution. Hereof then your Highnesse may please to advise. Neither will I presume to nominate my selfe otherwise: Onely I will crave leave to say thus much, that, when your Highnesse would, out of your own election, think fit to use my best service herein, I should not doubt but so to establish and conserve your Highnesse Authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest Prince living. Neyther should I feare to fall when any benefit might grow to your Majesty thereby. The young King being perswaded thus, without other advice or consideration adopted *Woolsey*, and thereupon orders him to dispatch his chiefest affairs. This got him not onely estimation and addresses, but Presents

1513.

ſents and rich Gifts from the greateſt Perſons. They again brought him to that inſolency, that he ſeemed not onely to forget his birth, (being a Butchers ſonne) but all his former friends; inſomuch as no man (ſaith *Polydore*) durſt remember him of an ancient acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof (he ſaith) appeared in his outward garment, he being the firſt (ſaith the ſame *Polydore*) among all Prieſts, Biſhops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silke for his uppermoſt Veſtment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Prieſts imitated him, ſome envy was raiſed on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silke was either more rare, or more eſteemed; it being in this age ſo common, that it is become the wearing of every meane perſon. The Gallants of the Court finding now the Kings favour manifeſtly ſhining on *Woolſey*, applyed themſelve much to him. And eſpecially *Charles Brandon*, who, for his goodly perſon, courage, and conformity of diſpoſition, was noted to be moſt acceptable to the King in all his exerciſes and paſtimes. Notwithſtanding all which (ſaith *Polydore*) the King ſadly examined buſineſſes himſelfe; and, howſoever the chiefe truſt was committed to *Woolſey*, did not omit yet (as far as his youth would ſuffer him) to uſe his own judgement in his weightieſt affaires.

All preparations for the expedition to *France* being now haſtened, amongſt which that of victualing the Army was (not without a Sarcaſme to his birth) recommended to *Woolſey*, it was yet controverted whether the King ſhould goe in Perſon. They who oppoſ'd it, urged, firſt their due affection to, and tenderneſſe over him; ſaying further, that, if the King ſhould die without iſſue, (however the ſucceſſion were undoubted in his ſiſter *Margaret*) yet that the people were ſo affected to the houſe of *Yorke*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the Tower, and ſet him up. That the warre in *France* was not of that conſequence (eſpecially ſince, with the death of *Julius* the ſecond, it ſeemed the chiefe cauſes of diſſention ceaſed) that the King ſhould goe in Perſon, and diſſert his owne Kingdome. On the other ſide it was alleaged, that to commit an Army, wherein the flower of his Nobility and Kingdome was, to any one Subject, was not onely unſafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that honour. That it was no new thing (whether they regarded the ancient Kings of *England*, or the moderne Emperor, and two French Kings ſucceſſively) to goe in Perſon, with a Royall Army. That the ſame providence ruled every where. But it was replied, that, till the King had more Iſſue (and that Maſculine) it was againſt all reaſon of State to hazzard the Kindome to thoſe tumults which might follow; to which opinion, as the beſt, it is likely the King would have condeſcended, had not freſh Letters arrived from *Maximilian*, in the Popes name exhorting him, ſpeedily to come; and promiſing that he would not onely give him meeting, but take pay under him. In the meane while it was

1513. thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole* (ſonne of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolke*, by *Elizabeth* ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, who had been made priſoner by *Henry* the ſeventh, and ſo continued many yeeres) ſhould have his Head * ſtruck off; Our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his departure out of the World commanded, (as *Bellay* hath it.) And true it is that he was of a turbulent and audacious ſpirit: but whether any late matter was alleag'd againſt him, doth not ſufficiently appeare to me, by any Record. Though ſome correſpondence with his younger brother *Richard de la Pole* (who I finde by the French Writers commanded 6000 French at the ſiege of *Theroüene*) might perchance accelerate his end.

April 30.

Hall. The King reſolv'd now to goe in Perſon, thought fit yet to ſend his Vanguard before. This was commanded by *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of the Kings Houſhold, who was accompanied with *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of St *Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* Captaine of the Light-horſe, and many other brave Knights and Eſquires, and the number of above eight thouſand, who came

May. to *Calais* in Mid-*May*. Theſe being followed again with the Middleward of about ſix thouſand more, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlaine to the King (whom alſo the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la-ware*, the Barons *Carow* and *Curſon*, and divers other worthy Knights and Eſquires, accompanied) arrived at *Calais* fifteene daies after. Theſe two Lords attending the Kings further directions,

June 17. ſtayd there till *June* 17. when they both in good order of Battell marched towards *Theroüene*, before which Town they arrived upon the two and twentieth following, pitching their Tents about a

June 22. mile off. This Town was fenced with a large Ditch, ſtrong Bulwarkes, and quantity of great Ordnance, which ſhot freſhly, inſomuch that the Baron of *Carow* Maſter of the Ordnance was the

Hall. firſt night killed by a Bullet in the Lord *Herberts* Tent, which came

I. de Serr. ſo neere him, that the French (though erroneouſly) write he was ſlaine there.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* planted himſelfe on the North-weſt, and the Lord *Herbert* on the Eaſt ſide of the Town, whence they made their approaches. In the Towne was a Garriſon of about two thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by *Monſieur Francois de Teligny*, and *Anthoine de Crequy Sr de Pondormy*. To relieve them againe, the French raiſed a puiſſant Army, to which ten thouſand men under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ſix thouſand more under *Richard de la Pole*, brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded, were added.

Hall. In the meane while our King, having conſtituted Queene *Katharine*, Regent, paſſeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the laſt of *June*;

June 30. bringing

bringing with him the reſt of his Army, which was tranſported with about 400 Saile : With him came alſo the *Almoner*, and new Favorite, *Thomas Woolſey*, who, for having lived long in that Town under the Treaſurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the addreſſes of it. The King being viſited by the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brunſwic*, ſtayed here till the 21 of *July*, when, hearing, that the *French* meant to releive *Theroüene*, under the Command of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and Marqueſſe *de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Paliſſe*, as alſo the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d' Anjou*; and *Buiſſe d' Amboiſe* accompanied, he haſtned his departure. His Army conſiſted of about 9000 good fighting Men, beſides thoſe who belong'd to the carriages, which were ſome 2000 or 3000 more. Sir *Charles Brandon* (a little before * Created Viſcount *Liſle*) had the Vantguard, whom the Earle of *Eſſex* (Lieutenant Generall of the Spears) accompanied. In the Battaile the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one Hand with 600 choſen men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the other with as many more; Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royall. The Rereguard being compoſed in great part of the retinew of *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Woolſey* to the number of 800 men was led by Sir *William Compton*. In the ſpaces betwixt, the great Ordinance (among which *Bellay* mentions thoſe call'd the 12 Apoſtles) was drawne, and part of the Carriages diſpos'd. After all theſe yet came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Neville* with 400 Spears. This little but flouriſhing Army was ſcarce entred the *French* Confines neere *Ardres*, when news was brought that the enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir *Rice ap Thomas* (who came from *Theroüene* with 500 Light Horſe to meet the King) joyning with the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Thomas Guilford*, who commanded 200 Archers on Horſe-backe, drew towards the French, but they preſently diſappeared. As they Marched yet, two Peices of Ordnance miſcarried, the one whereof was * loſt, the other ° recovered in deſpite of the French. Upon the fourth of *Auguſt* the King came to *Theroüene*, before which he cauſed a ſumptuous *Pavilion* to be pitched. Sir *Alexander Baynam* Captaine of the Pioners, ſhortly after cauſed a Mine to be made under the Walls; but the French Countermining, it was well diſputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. *Maximilian* being * now come to *Ayre*, it was thought fit an Interview ſhould be made. But the day being very foule, the Ceremony was ſhort.

About two dayes after, *Lyon* King of Armes in *Scotland*, in his Heraulds Coate, comes to the Campe, and deſires leave to deliver a Letter * to the King. *Gartier* brings him in. The King having perus'd the Contents (which were, Expoſtulation for ſome pretended Injuries, and thereupon denunciation of Warre unleſſe he returned) makes a ſharp Anſwer by word of mouth, among other things telling him, that he had left an Earle behind him in the North,

1513.

July. 21.

May. 15.

Hall.

* July. 28.

° July. 29.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 11.

* Dat. Jul. 9.

1513. North, who could very well defend his Kingdome againſt the attempts of his Maſter. But *Lyon* refus'd to carry any verball Meſſage. Aug. 12. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again to anſwer to this purpoſe, That he underſtood this expoſtulation to be nothing but the picking of a Quarrell to aſſiſt the French, and invade him, in his abſence. That hee wiſhed him to call to mind how *John* King of *Navarre*, for ayding the French in the ſame manner, loſt his Kingdome; and adviſed him to take that for a warning. Laſtly, he bid him be aſſured, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was abſent, ſhould be remembred, and requited againe in like meaſure. Before yet theſe Letters could be delivered by *Lyon*, his King and Maſter *James* the fourth was kill'd, as ſhall be afterwards related.

Aug. 12. Upon the twelfth of *Auguſt Maximilian* the Emperor came to the King, in the quality of his Souldier, and therefore not onely wore the Croſſe of Saint *George*, but receiv'd his pay duly, which I find, by ſome, to have been a hundred Crownes *per diem*. Notwithſtanding which, that all due reſpect might be rendered to his Perſon, the King gave order to lodge him according to his dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, for the reſt moſt ſumptuouſly entertaining him the ſpace of two dayes that he ſtayed in the Campe. *Theroüene* was not yet ſo ſtreightly beſeiged, but that on the one ſide which was toward the River *Lys*, there was a way open, on which part the French intended to releive it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be inſtantly made over the ſaid River, by which himſelfe with *Maximilian* (who was now * return'd again) and a great part of his Army paſſed*. This was ſcarce done, when our Light-horſe brought word, that the French were in ſight. Our King thereupon marched towards them. The French at firſt came, as if they meant to fight; but, after a ſlight skirmiſh, fled away in much diſorder, which ſeemed the ſtranger, that the fight was between the Horſemen only, and many of the braveſt of their Nation were among them; Our Men purſued, and tooke *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, Marqueſſe *de Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *Fayette*, *Clermont*, and *Buiſſe d' Ambois*, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The *Seigneur de la Paliſſe*, and *Monſieur d' Imbrecourt* were alſo taken, but agreeing for their ranſome upon the place were preſently let free, or, as others ſay, eſcaped. This Battaile, Aug. 16. hapning the 16. of *Auguſt*, was call'd by the French, *la Journee des Eſperons*, becauſe they made little uſe of any thing but their Spurs, for the good ſucceſſe whereof therefore both the King, and *Maximilian* the Emperor (wearing ſtill his Badge of the Red-Croſſe) did upon the place congratulate with each other, and afterwards aſſiſted at a ſolemne *Te Deum* for this eaſie Victory. Neither had the French better fortune, in ſetting upon a Convoy going with Proviſions for our Army betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Theroüene*, they being repuls'd (as *Bellay* hath it) and *Monſieur*

*Aug. 15. *Aug. 16. *Hall.*

de

1513.

de Plessis slaine. While the French held Battaile with our King, as is aforesaid, part of their Cavaliery which had devided it selfe that it might the better bring in Provision, fell on the quarter of the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas* on the other side of the water; but they were also soone repuls'd, though the Garrison, and Townes-men taking this occasion, sallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord *Herbert* to make a diversion; For that Lord being prepar'd to receives them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few dayes after the *Seigneure de Pontdoring* despairing to keep the place long * yeelded both it, and the Ordnance to the King, upon Condition they might depart with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, and Drums beating in Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor (who as I find it confirm'd in Ancient Manuscripts Diary extant in our Records, still gave our King the precedence) entred the Towne, *August* 24. Aug. 22. Aug. 23. *Diary M.S.* Aug. 24.

This City being gotten, it was now disputed whether our King should hold it; A question which could not but seeme strange as well to the Authors of the Councell as Complices in the hazard, especially since it cost so much, as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it *Spesa intollerabile et infinita*; Howbeit it was at last resolv'd that because it so confin'd on *Maximilians* Territories, and that the Garrison infested his subjects by frequent incursions, that at *Maximilians* intreaty, the Town should be razed, save only the Church and Religious houses; so much did our King deferre to the Emperour *Maximilian* for being his Souldier and taking pay under him. Besides, our King considered that to leave any Troops behind would disable his further designes, for which motives therefore he gave the Towne to *Maximilian*, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not so done, but that the French did shortly after repaire and put it into defence. From hence then the King (being perswaded to it by *Maximilian*) resolves to beseige *Tournay*; But, by the way, being diverted by the Princesse *Marguarites* perswasions (who desired much to see him at *Lile*) he passed three dayes in her Company, and the many faire Ladies that attended her; when remembring himselfe, that it was time to visit his Army (which lay at some distance from him strongly encamped) he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a mile or two, some such mist hapned both to him and all his Traine, that they had lost themselves; neither could they resolve which way to turne, untill a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoycing of them all. The 15. of *Septemb.* the Army (which *Maximilian* had now left, upon pretence of I know not what unsatisfaction which yet was shortly repaired,) set downe before *Tournay*, which thereupon was summoned to yeeld; but the greater part refusing, the King encamping on the North, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* on the South, and the Lord *Herbert* on the West of the Towne began their Batteries. Aug. 27. *Diar. I.T.* *Bellay.* Sept. 12. *Diary of Io. Taylor. M. S. Hall.* Sept. 14. Sept. 15.

1513. Sept. 21. *I.T.Diar.

Batteries. When upon the 21. a Messenger from the Earl of *Surrey* brought the Gantlet, or, as *others say, the Coat-Armour of *Iames* the fourth, as a Token of the Victory obtained at *Flodden*. This, as it rejoyced the King, so it put him in mind of the vicissitude of all wordly things. Therefore he temper'd his mirth with a serious consideration of the events to which Wars are subject. Howsoever, he causèd *Te Deum* to be sung publiquely the day following, and a Sermon to be preached by the Bishop of *Rochester*, who laid all the fault on that King's breach of word. Which day also those of *Tournay* capitulated and yeelded to our King, by the name of *Roy Tres-Chrestien* (as I find in the Originall * contract) upon condition of fidelity, and present payment of fifty thousand Crownes *de Soleil*, and a yearly Pension of foure thousand pound *Tournois* for the space of ten yeares. Whereupon the King, as *John Taylor* Doctor of Law, present at the Seige saith in his Manuscript Latin Diary, gave them leave to enjoy their Ancient Customes and Liberties; upon condition yet they should admit a Garrison. Neither as it seems could they do otherwise; the French being so much discouraged by their late misfortune, that they did not attempt the leiving of it. Thus, on the 24 of *September*, our King entred the Town triumphantly. And here, upon consultation what was next to be done, it was resolved to surcease the Warre for this yeare, Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit also, to leave Sir *Edward Poynings* with a strong Garrison to keep it. Which cannot but seeme strange, to those who consider that *Theroüene* was razed; since *Theroüene* was nearer the English pale, and might bee better defended, and would, besides, have kept the passage open to this. But false Counsells are like false Gemmes; which how counterfeit soever, have (when they are well set) one good light to be seene by. Therefore *Woolsey*, (who was so much Author of this Counsell as he got the Bishoprick of the place thereby) could glose his advise; with telling the King, he might now have confidence in *Maximilian*, as having serv'd under him. Besides, that the razing of *Theroüene* at his request, would put a perpetuall obligation on him. But as for *Tournay*, that it was fit it should be kept, as a trophee of his Victories; and the rather, that *Cæsar* (in his Commentaries) confesseth here, more then in any place else, to have found a valourous resistance. But how well the Arguments were grounded, the sequele will shew. The first use our King made of this Town, was, to repay the courtesies received of the Princesse *Marguarite*. Hereupon she, being invited, came thither, as also her Nephew *Charles* Prince of *Castile*; (afterwards Emperour,) between whom and his Sister *Mary* there had interceded a kind of contract, (as is before related) ever since the time of their Father *Henry* the seventh; which likewise for the present seemed to be confirmed betwixt them, insomuch that they came to divers particularities; Among which one was, that the King should bring her

Hall. Sept. 22.

*Dat. Sept. 23.

Diar. Io. Taylor. M. S. Latin.

Septemb. 24

Septemb. 25. I.T.Diar.

her with him the next Spring. I find alſo ſome overture of a match between *Charles Brandon*, now Lord *Liſle*, and the ſaid Princeſſe *Marguerite*; which, though it tooke no effect, was not yet without much demonſtration of outward Grace and favour on her part. In the meane while, that the Ladies and the Emperour who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their quality and worth, the King, taking the ſaid Lord for his aſſociate, did * hold a ſolemne Juſts there, againſt all commers; which he bravely performed. And now having feaſted the Ladies Royally for divers dayes, hee * departed from *Tourney*, to *Liſle*, whither he was invited by the Lady *Margaret*; who cauſed there a Jouſts to be held in an extraordinary manner; the place being a large Roome, rayſed high from the ground, by many ſteps, and paved with black Square Stones like Marble; while the Horſes to prevent ſliding and noyſe, were ſhod with felt or flocks, (the Latin words are *feltro ſive Tomento.*) After which, the Lords and Ladies danced all night.

1513.

Diar. I.T.

Octob. 11.

Octob. 13.
Octob. 16.
Io. T. Diary.

Yet, as I find by forrain Authors, theſe Jollities were not the only cauſe of his ſtay. For *Ferdinand* (the firſt mover of theſe troubles) hearing that the War againſt *France* was likely to ceaſe for this yeare, ſends *Pedro de Orrea*, and *Juan de la Nuca*, and *Gabriel de Orti* to *Henry* the eighth, with Commiſſion to Treat for a League, by which both Kings, with the Emperor, ſhould ſeverally enter *France* the next Spring: And that, for this purpoſe, each of them ſhould, from their Frontieres, begin the War. That *Ferdinand* therefore from *Navarre* ſhould invade *Guyenne*, with fifteen thouſand five hundred foot, and one thouſand five hundred Horſe of his own ſubjects, and to be paid by him; and ſix thouſand Germans, to bee paid at the rate of twenty thouſand Crownes the moneth, by the King of *England*. In conſideration whereof, the war was to be made in the ſaid King of *Englands* name, and for the recovery of his Patrimony in *Guyenne*. On the other ſide, that the King of *England* aſſiſted by *Maximilian*, ſhould, with ſixteen thouſand foot, and foure thouſand Horſe, from his Territories, invade *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and that they ſhould not relinquiſh this War without mutuall conſent. Laſtly, there was place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Milan*, the Suiſſe, and the Florentines, to enter into this League; which was ſigned at *Liſle* on the 17. of *October*. by *Richard* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* on our Kings part; The *Seigneur de Berghes* chief *Camartro* of the Emperor, and *Gerard de Pleine* Preſident of his Counſell; and *Pedro de Orrea*, *Don Luis Carroz*, and *Iuan de la Nuca Ambaſſadors* of *Ferdinand*. This being done, and the King, for the reſt teſtifying much ſatisfaction, departed thence, and two dayes after, in good order of Battaile, came to *Calais*, having in this voyage beſtowed honour upon divers perſons of worth. Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Thomas Leigton*, Sir *Tho. Blount*, Sir *Henry Sacheverell*, *&c.* being made Knights Bannerets;

Surita.

Octob. 17.

Octob. 17.

Diar. *M. S.*

1513 Bannerets; and Sir *John Maynwaring*, Sir *John South*, Sir *John Digby*, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave order for securing *Tourney*, as well as the rest of his Possessions in those parts, which being done, and the wind proving faire, hee

Octob. 24. shortly came to his Queen at *Richmont*, who had long expected Him.

Having now related the King's expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening occasion) I must return to the Narration of that Battaile, which was fought betwixt *James* the fourth, and *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, commonly call'd *Flodden*-field. This King, retaining in his Mind some rancour for divers Causes formerly related, thought he could not any time more seasonably revenge himselfe, or for the rest give a more acceptable testimony of his love to *Lewis* the twelfth, then now in the Kings absence, by invading his Realme. Therefore, having first denounced war by his Herauld, he sent *Alexander* Lord *Humes*, his Chamberlaine,

Aug. to forrage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, used that diligence, that he overtooke, and fought with him in his Retrait, so that he recovered a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Person, with an Army of sixty thousand (some write

Aug. 22. *Hall.* a hundred thousand) Men, enters the Country, and, after a

Aug. 27. few dayes Seige, takes *Norham*-Castle. *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* hereupon hastens his Army, which consisted of twenty six thousand, appointing his Sonne the Lord Admirall to come by Sea, and meet him at or neere *Alnewick*, in *Northumberland*. This brave Lord

Sept. 4. failed not his * time, bringing with him also about one thousand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken view, and given order in what place every one should fight, he marches towards the King; who had removed his Army to an Hill called *Flodden* (or *Fluidon*) on the edge of the mountain *Cheviot*; where he strongly entrench'd

Buch. himself. The Scottish writers here relate, that many of their country-men (for want of Victualls) secretly fled home, leaving the Kings Troops but thin. Our writers, on the other side, make the Scottish-men much superior in number. Howsoever, the Earle of *Surrey* desired nothing more then to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts so forraged and spoiled that he could not

Sept. 4. long subsist. Therefore on *Sunday*, *Sept.* 4. he thought fit to send *Rouge-Croix* Herauld, with a Trumpet, and Instructions to *James* the fourth, to tell him, that, in regard he had violated his faith and League, and hostilly entred the English ground, that on *Friday* next hee would bid him Battaile, if the said King would stay so long in *England*, and accept it. The Lord *Thomas* his Son, also requir'd *Rouge-Croix* particularly to certifie the King of his Journey by Sea; and that, because hee could meet no Scottish Ships there, hee thought fit to Land, that hee might justifie *Andrew Breton's* death; And added further, as hee looked for no mercy from his Enemies, so

he

he would ſpare none, but the King only, if he came in his hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vantguard of the Battaile. Laſtly *Rouge Croix* was charged, if any were remanded, he ſhould (for preventing eſpiall) bring him no nearer then two miles unto the Campe. *James* the fourth * received this Meſſage gladly, and as he was a Prince of Great Courage, by his own Herauld aſſures the Earl, that he did ſo much deſire to encounter him, that, when he had been at *Edenburgh*, he would have left all buſineſſe for that purpoſe: and therefore wiſhed him to reſt aſſured, he would not faile to abide Battaile the day named, which was *Friday*. This being done, the Herauld delivers a proteſtation from his King and Maſter, in theſe very words, being in anſwer to the former expoſtulation of the Earles. 1513. Sept. 6.

As to the cauſes alledged of our coming into *England*, againſt our Bond and promiſe (as is alleadged,) thereto we Anſwer; Our Brother was bound as farre to us, as wee to him; and when we ſware laſt, before his Ambaſſadour in preſence of our Councell, we expreſſed eſpecially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not elſe. We ſweare our Brother brake firſt unto us. And ſince his Breach wee have required divers times him to amend. And lately we warned our Brother, as he did not us, ore he brake. And this we take for our Quarrell, and with Gods Grace ſhall defend the ſame, at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we ſhall abide. Hereupon the Earle, advancing, came within three miles of *Floddon*; but, perceiving that the King ſtill kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, He ſent *Rouge Croix* againe, with a Letter ſubſcrib'd by himſelfe, his ſonne the Lord Admirall, and divers other principall Noblemen and Knights, where, in reſpectfull termes, they provoked him to deſcend from his fortifications, and fight, in a large Plaine call'd *Milfeild* (which lay between them) upon *Friday* following; alleadging, for this purpoſe, the promiſe they received from his Grace heretofore. But no ſatisfactory Anſwer being given to this, and the Heralds being returned on either ſide, the Earle removes with his Army to ſuch a place, that, if the Scottiſh-men would not leave the advantage of their Site, he might cut of their Victualls, and conſequently draw them down. *James* the fourth hereupon, firing his Hutts, diſlodges covertly, by the benefit of the ſmoake, and keeping ſtill on the higher ground, at laſt he commands a ſtay. Preſently after, the Earl alſo, traverſing ſome Boggs, and Mariſhes till he arrived to the bottome of this Bancke, found the aſcent not very ſteepe, and thereupon incourageth his men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; The Vantguard was led by his two ſonnes, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edmund*; the Battaile by himſelfe, and the Rere by Sir *Edward Stanley*. The Lord *Dacres*, with his Horſe, being appointed as a Reſerve on all occaſions. The King obſerving this well, and judging that it was not without much diſadvantage that the Engliſh Hall. Sept. 7.

1513. liſh came to fight, exhorts his men to behave themſelves like brave Souldiers, and thereupon joynes Battaile. Sir *Edmund Howard* at firſt was in ſome diſtreſſe, by the ſingular valour of the Earles of *Lenox* and *Arguile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his ſuccour, as alſo one *Heron*, the fight was Renewed; The Lord *Thomas Howard* purſued his point better; yet ſo, as he found a brave oppoſition from the Earles of *Cratford* and *Mountroſſe*. The Kings Battaile and the Earles likewiſe maintained together a long and ſharp fight. This while Sir *Edward Stanley*, by force of Archers, conſtrained the Scottiſh to deſcend the Hill, inſomuch that, for avoiding his ſtorme of Arrows, they opened their Ranckes, and therein ſeemed to give one of the firſt overtures for Victory. The King perceiving the diſorder, redoubled his courage, inſomuch that our writers confeſſe he had almoſt overthrowne the Earles Standards. But the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had diſcomfited their oppoſites, coming to ſuccors, and the Lord *Dacres* alſo flying in with his Horſe, the Scottiſh were ſo hardly put to it, that, for their laſt defence they caſt themſelves into a Ring; in that order of fight doing all that valiant Men poſſibly could, to defend themſelves. No man yet did in his Perſon more then the King; Inſomuch, that preſſing on ſtill, he was at laſt kill'd on the place, as our writers have it. The Scottiſh writers yet ſay it was one *Elphinſtone*, who wearing the ſame Armes the King did, was taken for
Buch. him, affirming further that the King fled over the River *Tweed*, and was there (I know not how) ſlaughtered. The fight, continuing three houres, made the event doubtfull, and the execution great. In concluſion, moſt of the nobler ſort, one Arch-Biſhop, and two Biſhops, beſides four Abbots on the Scottiſh ſide were ſlaine there, and about ten Thouſand others. On our ſide (ſayes *Polydore*) there died about five Thouſand, others ſay fewer; ſo that, as it was a Bloody Victory, it might be thought ſomewhat uncertaine, till the next morning, when the Body, ſuppoſed for the King's, and ſo acknowledged by divers of both Nations (as our Hiſtorians ſay) was found among the dead Carkaſſes, having Receiv'd (as our writers have it) a mortall wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill.
Hall. The Scottiſh lay the occaſion of their overthrow chiefely on ſome of their Troopes, that look'd on, and never ſo much as gave ſtroak. But that we may leave theſe things to their Relations, I find after this Battaile the Scottiſh that remain'd, returned home much grie-
Sept. 9. ved for the unfortunate ſucceſſe of that day, being *Sept.* 9. The Earle tooke all the Ordnance, and particularly ſeven extraordinary faire Culverins, call'd the ſeven ſiſters. And ſo after giving God thankes, diſmiſt the greateſt part of his Army, and retir'd himſelfe home, untill newes of the King's coming to *Richmont* brought him thither, taking order in the meane time, that the dead Body, being embalmed, ſhould be carryed firſt to *New-Caſtle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surrey*; though, as that King was Excommunicate, it

may

may be doubted, whether it were buried in any Conſecrate place; ſince I finde by *Breve* dated *November* 29. 1513, and extant in our Records, that our King obtained a Breve from the Pope, for transferring the body to Saint *Pauls* in *London*. Upon condition yet, that the Biſhop of *London* ſhould firſt abſolve the ſaid *James*, and our King *Nomine ipſius aliquam convenientem poenitentiam adimpleret.* 1513. Novem. 29. Records.

Our King now (the Parliament ſtill ſitting) eſtabliſhed an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquiſitions in *France* might recover their debts from thoſe in *England*, as well as the Engliſh from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Perſon that would ſue for the Kings Pardon, upon certaine Articles, ſhould have it. Jan. 3. 15$\frac{14}{13}$. Regni 5.

In this Parliament alſo *Margaret*, daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late wife of Sir *Richard de la Pole* Knight, petitioned, That there, by Act of Parliament, 19 *Henrici 7.* *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* was declared Traytor, and ſo his Lands forfeited; it would pleaſe the King that ſhe might inherit (as being Siſter and next of Bloud) his State and Dignity, and ſo be ſtiled Counteſſe of *Sarum*; which was granted. M. S.

I finde little elſe memorable this yeere among our Hiſtorians, ſave onely a Commotion in *London*; which hapned on this manner. The Villages of *Iſlington*, *Hockſton*, and *Shoreditch* having ſo incloſd their grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accuſtomed freedome and exerciſes; the Apprentices of *London* threw down the Hedges and Ditches, after this manner. A Turner running in a Fooles-coat through the Streets, and crying Shovels and Spades, was preſently followed in ſuch numbers, as all their incloſures were quickly level'd. For which therefore the Lord Major was well check'd, and command given him to prevent further miſchiefe.

The French King, now finding two principall frontier Townes taken, the flowre of his Chivalry made priſoners, while the reſt ran away, his beſt Confederate *James* the fourth kil'd, and the chiefe adminiſtration of Scottiſh Affaires devolved to the hands of *Margaret* Siſter to King *Henry* the eighth, (at leaſt untill ſhe married againe,) A League, in oppoſition to him, ſworn by three the moſt puiſſant Princes of Chriſtendome; The Pope animating all this againſt him, under the odious name of a Schiſmaticke; and laſtly, himſelfe farre ſtrucken in yeeres, begins to thinke how beſt he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winters ſpace; for the warre was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope firſt. To this end he offers ſatisfaction for his obſtinacy; Next, he ſtipulates to give way to the accompliſhing the Popes deſignes in *Bononia*, and elſewhere; to renounce the Councell of *Piſa*, and accept that of *Lateran*, promiſing withall to remand the Cardinall *Bernardino*, (whom as the Pope deſired to have,

1514. have, so he graciously pardoned.) Lastly, whereas great inconveniences might follow, not onely to his Holinesse, but all Christendome, if, by these intestine warres a passage were made open for *Selyme* the Turke to invade it, (who had lately taken eighteene strong places neere *Presburg* in *Hungary*,) He promiseth his assistance against them. All which being taken by the Pope into serious consideration, makes him Relent; and, in sequence thereof, not onely recommends Peace and Unity to all Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, but, shortly after enters into a League against the Turke; for this purpose using those potent Ministers of his the Church-men, who were in favour with their severall Princes. *Loüis* the twelfth also drawes *Maximilian* off, partly by representing the danger above-mentioned in *Hungary*, which (next *Ladislaus*) most concern'd him; and partly by according the demands he made about divers pretences in *Burgogne*; and lastly urges some discontents remaining in *Maximilians* mind, ever since *Henry* the eighth and himself met last, (though in effect they were little more then *Puntiglios*, ordinarily hapning on the Enterview of great Princes,) And for *Ferdinand* he was easily taken off, so that he might enjoy *Navarre*, and for the rest keep his Authority in *Italy*. To which therefore *Loüis* the twelfth condescended, proroguing the * last yeeres Truce with him for twelve Moneths longer. Lastly, because *Henry* the eighth was (without all these) able alone to finde him worke, he offers his Friendship, and Alliance in matching with his Sister the Princesse *Mary*, thought then one of the faireſt Ladies of her time. To strengthen this proposition also, he advertises our King, that *Charles* Prince of *Castile* (afterwards *Charles* the fifth) was treating of a marriage with *Anne* daughter of *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*; And when it were in earnest, that he intended to match with his Sister the Princesse *Mary*, that yet (being but fourteen yeeres old in *February* next) he was not ripe enough for her; (concealing in the meane time that himselfe was as much too old.) He privately also acquainted the King how *Ferdinand* did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy *Navarre*. Together with which, it is probable he did reveale the aforesaid secret Truce made by the Spanish Secretary *Quintana* betwixt himselfe and *Ferdinand* for one yeere more. An Article whereof was, that, during the said Truce, *Loüis* the twelfth should not molest *Milan*. He told him, besides that *Maximilians* designes were on the Venetians, and not on *France*. And that the Levyes in *Flanders* for the warres proposed against *France* the next yeere, were and should be retarded by the Princesse *Marguerite*, purposely, because her Father had other designes. All which was represented to the King by private and confident Messengers, who under colour of treating for the delivery of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and the rest who were Prisoners of warre, negotiated this great Affaire. Our King

Decemb.

*April. 1513.

here

hereupon disdaining to be twice deceived by his Father in law *Ferdinand*, and detesting withall the ingratitude and levity of *Maximilian*, agreed a league with *Loüis* the twelfth upon the seventh of *August* 1514. for the term of their joynt lives and one yeere after. The effect was, That all former offences should be remitted and abolished, Traffique restored, and all Impositions on strangers since fifty two yeeres last past, extinguished. That no Letters of Merque should be granted, but against the principall Delinquents, and that onely in case Justice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea should be maintained on either side. That Rebels and Fugitives should not be entertain'd, but rendered (within twenty daies after Requisition) to their Soveraignes. That they should be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other. That (for mutuall defence of their present Estates) *Loüis* the twelfth should furnish at the requisition of *Henry* the eighth, one thousand two hundred Lances by Land, and five thousand men at Sea, with convenient shipping. And *Henry* the eighth ten thousand Archers by Land, and five thousand men at Sea, with shipping, at the requisition of *Loüis* the twelfth. But if either of the two Kings shall require ayd of the other for the recovery of his Pretensions; then *Loüis* shall lend King *Henry* six hundred Lances onely, and King *Henry* him but five thousand Archers for Land service; the Sea forces retaining the numbers above mentioned. All this to be at the cost of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the said Princes shall be invaded, onely for the cause of this Confederacy, then the other shall ayd him at his own charge. If warre be made by common consent, neither Prince may make peace severally. That the English Merchants should have their ancient Priviledges at *Bourdeaux* restored. That this Treaty should be published and ratified by the Pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) with a Clause of Excommunication on the Infractors. Among the Allies of each Prince, the Scots also were comprehended herein, upon condition, that after *Septemb.* 15. they should make no incursion on the English by publique Authority; and if any were otherwise made, that satisfaction should be speedily given. Besides this, the French Writers confesse there was a Treaty apart, by which *Loüis* promised to pay *Henry* the eighth a Million of Crowns, the said *Henry* rendring him an Obligation, by which *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* father of the said *Loüis*, and other Princes of *France* were bound to pay the said summe. For, whereas *Charles* the eighth, Predecessour to *Loüis* the twelfth, by a Treaty at *Estaples* 1492, bound himselfe and his Heires to pay King *Henry* the seventh and his Heires the summe of 745000 Crownes; and, after the death of the said *Charles*, *Loüis* the twelfth bound himselfe and his Heires to pay so much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the said *Loüis* the twelfth, first to *Henry* the seventh 1498, and after to *Henry* the

1514

Aug. 7. *Du Tillet.*

Tillet.

Orig. Rec. Novem. 3. 1492.

July 14. 1498.

1513. the eighth, 1510. And whereas (beſides this Bond) the aforeſaid *Charles* had bound himſelfe to the Lady *Margarite* Dutcheſſe of *Sommerſet Anno* 1444, to pay her a certaine ſumme of money, which was not yet diſcharged. Therefore, as alſo for confirming the amity betwixt *Loüis* and *Henry*, the ſaid *Loüis* did now bind himſelfe and Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be payd to King *Henry* the eighth, in his Town of *Calais*, at ſeverall times, (*viz.*) *November* 1. next following fifty thouſand Francs; and *May* 1. next; ſo much more, and ſo till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I finde in an Originall thereof, dated *Septemb.* 14. 1514.)

July 22. 1510. March 7. 1444. Sept. 14.

All which minuted by *Loüis de Longuevile* (called by ſome *Loüis d' Orleans Duc de Longueville*) during his reſtraint, was at laſt thus fully concluded. The Princeſſe *Mary* alſo was to be conſigned to him, with convenient ſpeed; Notwithſtanding (ſaith *Polydore*) the King had ſecretly deſtin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was ſo much for her dignity, yet married her not long after. The condition for the Marriage, bewixt the ſaid *Loüis* the twelfth, and *Mary* the Kings ſiſter, were theſe, as we finde them in our Records.

Polyd. Virg.

That, 1. within ten dayes following, Matrimony ſhall be contracted by both Perſons by Proxies *per verba de præſenti*. 2. After the Contract aboveſaid, within two moneths, the King of *England* ſhall ſend and convey her, with Jewels and Houſhold-ſtuffe fitting her Eſtate, to *Abbeville* in *France*; where, within foure daies following the ſaid *Loüis* the twelfth ſhall ſolemnly marry her. 3. King *Henry* ſhall give with the Princeſſe *Mary* foure hundred thouſand Crowns; of which ſumme (in regard of the traduction of the Lady, her Apparels, Jewels, &c.) *Loüis* will be content to accept the one halfe, *i.e.* two hundred thouſand Crowns, and to pay himſelfe the reſt out of the moneys which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King *Henry*. 4. *Loüis* ſhall aſſigne to the Princeſſe *Mary* a Joynture as great as any Queen of *France* (and namely as Queen *Anne* the laſt Queen) hath had. And this during her life ſhe ſhall enjoy, whereſoever ſhe reſide. 5. If *Loüis* die firſt, then, the Princeſſe *Mary* during her life, ſhall enjoy her Dowry and Joynture, and all Jewels which the Queenes of *France* have uſed to enjoy after the death of their Huſbands. 6. If *Loüis* ſurvive the ſaid Princeſſe, then he ſhall have and enjoy her Portion, Joynture, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Cuſtome of *France*.

Auguſt.

While theſe things were in agitation, the King (who called to minde many that had ſerved him with much Fidelity, Courage, and ſucceſſe in his late occaſions and enterprizes) thought he could not doe any thing more juſtly and prudently, then to beſtow ſome condigne Recompence upon them; It being ſuch a Myſtery of State as not onely gives the greateſt luſtre of Regall Authority, but of that conſequence, as being uſed well, there will be

be little need of punishment. The reward to these brave Cavaliers he had selected out for this purpose, the King thought good to invest in honour chiefly. Therefore upon the second of *February*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* was by him created Duke of *Norfolke*; (a Title* before conferr'd on *John* his Father by *Richard* the third, and then againe extinguished.) His eldest sonne, the Lord *Thomas Howard* also being substituted Earle of *Surrey*. Together with which he had an augmentation of Armes for his Atchievement in *Flodden*-field. Sir *Charles Somerset* also, being in *Elizabeth* his wives right, (who was daughter and Heire to *William Herbert*, Earle of *Huntington*) Lord *Herbert* of *Chepstow*, *Gower*, and *Ragland*, was created Earle of *Worcester*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle* was now also created Duke of *Suffolke*; And Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mounteagle*. Lastly, *Thomas Woolsey* Bishop of *Tournay*, was constituted Bishop of *Lincolne*. 1514. Feb. 2. * 1483.

The King, being at some rest now from transmarine Affaires, begins to look towards *Scotland*; upon which he had many advantages. For as the two Prinees, left by King *James*, were very young; his sister Queene *Margaret* (their mother) in Estate of administring all the Affaires there; the chiefe and most active part of their Nobility kil'd; there wanted not many occasions to prevaile himselfe of; whereupon also, either by gentle meanes or otherwise by force, he resolv'd to procure an interest in the Government of that Kingdome. To this it conduced not a little, that those Nobles which remained, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were distracted among themselves. The Queene foreseeing well, that, in this ill condition of Affaires, many inconveniences might follow, in a Countrey, whereof (by speciall Clause of a Testament made by the King before the last expedition,) shee was declared Regent, as long as shee continued unmarried, sends to the King her Brother, to crave his advice and assistance; beseeching him withall, that he would desist from Hostility. The King most generously answered, that, if the Scots would have peace, he would keepe peace; if they would have warre, hee would likewise have war. Thus were all things composed for the present, and *James* the fifth (being not two yeeres old) in Parliament declared King, in *February* 15$\frac{1}{3}$. Yet as not long* after, she tooke to Husband *Archibald Dowglasse* Earle of *Anguis* (one both for birth and other perfections the eminentest she could choose in that Countrey); some Innovations and troubles ensued. For while *Dowglasse* laboured by his private Power to supply that Authority, which by marrying him, she seemed to have lost; the Kingdome was broken into factions. The favourers of *Dowglasse* alleadged, there was no other way to keepe peace, but by submit- * Aug. 6. Feb.

1514. ting all to Queen *Margaret*; for, ſince the King of *England* did therefore onely deſiſt from purſuing his Victory, becauſe the adminiſtration of Affaires was in his Siſters hands; it were beſt to leave them there; to erect any other forme of Government, were to draw the Engliſh in againe; And when all their forces united were not able to reſiſt him abſent, what might they attend from him preſent? Eſpecially, when not onely their chiefe ſtrength was left in the late Battaile, but *Henry* ſhould finde a party with his Siſter, (both in her owne name, and in the King her Sonnes) would make for him. The other faction (whereof *Alexander Humes* was chiefe) urged the Ancient Cuſtome of *Scotland*, which in theſe caſes, he ſayd, did alwaies chooſe ſome Protector or Vice-Roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto deferr'd ſo much to the Vertues of the Queen, that, as long as poſſibly there was pretext for it, by the Kings Teſtament, they had admitted her for Regent: for now, ſince by marriage of *Dowglaſſe*, ſhe had voluntarily relinquiſhed that Power; that the Countrey therefore ſhould reſume their wonted Right and Priviledges. For, if in the moſt quiet and ſerene times, women had beene excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the onely reaſon that moved *Humes*. For, while hee doubted leaſt the ancient followers of his Houſe ſhould by the Power of *Dowglaſſe* be now drawne from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminiſh and weaken either him or the Queenes Authority. Therefore he recommended every where *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, Couſin-German by the Father to *James* the fourth; who, though then in *France*, was yet of great eſteeme at home. This, againe, was ſeconded by the Arts of the French, who could by no meanes ſuffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much leſſe drawn from them. Howbeit *Loüis* thought not fit openly to diſcover himſelfe, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a ſtrait League and Affinity. Therefore hee would not ſuffer the Duke to come into *Scotland*, though not long before * elected Governour; by the Queenes conſent as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; She proteſting * to our King, afterwards, it was extorted from her.) Howſoever, after the death of *Loüis* Hee was ſent over, (as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter) well furniſhed both with Men and Money, to take Poſſeſſion of the chiefe Government of all things, during the minority of the Prince.

* March 13. *Leſle.*

March. 1516.

1515.

While buſineſſes were now in preparation for Peace and Allyance betwixt our King and *Loüis* the twelfth, it was thought fit, for diſcharge of the Kings engagement and honour, to ſend to *Flanders*,

Flandres, to diſcover how in thoſe parts their affection ſtood towards the match propoſed betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Princeſſe *Mary*; and withall to require men for the warre intended the next Spring. But, *Charles* having already broken two Articles of the ſaid Treaty of Mariage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen yeeres of age he ſhould ſend a Proxy into *England* to contract the Princeſſe *per verba de præſenti*; the other, that at a day appointed he ſhould come himſelfe to *Calais* to eſpouſe her; And our Ambaſſadours, finding for the reſt nothing but delay, and irreſolution; the King would no longer omit to give order that his Siſter ſhould neither be ſleighted, nor his Affairs otherwiſe ſuffer detriment. Therefore, after a ſhort proteſtation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was diſcloſed for diſpoſing the Princeſſe *Mary* in any other place, or of making a League with *Loüis* the twelfth) the King proceeds more roundly in his buſineſſe. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies comming to *Suſſex*, by night, and landing there, after a ſhort ſtay was driven backe, and in the retreat, ſhot in the face with an Arrow. Sir *John Wallop* hereupon being ſent into *Normandy*, burnt divers ſhips, and one and twenty Villages, landing many times in deſpight of the French, which ſeemed the more ſtrange, that his Souldiers exceeded not eight hundred men. The French alſo appearing in ſome numbers neer the Engliſh Pale, Sir *Thomas Lovell* was ſent with certain Troops to *Calais*, for the better ſtrengthing of the place; and the rather that *Richard de la Pole* was now gathering forces for ſome great deſigne. But before hee could doe any thing, the Treaty and Peace was made; Among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of *Richard de la Pole* was propos'd, yet *Loüis* would never conſent to it, but ſending him out of *France* gave him an yeerely Penſion.

Loüis de Longueville having now power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de preſent* with our Kings Siſter, She alſo ſent * her procuration to the ſame effect, the Ceremony whereof was ſolemnly held at the Celeſtins in *Paris*, *Septemb.* 14. Newes whereof was no ſooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen conducting her to the Sea-ſide bid her farewell, and recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolkes* care. Shortly after which, landing at *Boulogne*, and being met by ſome principall perſons deputed by the King, ſhe was attended on, and guided towards *Abbeville*; In the way to which, the old King on horſe-backe met and ſaluted her, and afterwards retired himſelfe privately, while ſhee was received into *Abbeville* with much Pompe. Where, on Saint *Dennis* day, *October* 9. ſhee was in Perſon married to *Loüis* the twelfth; who, after beſtowing many Jewels on her, and rich Preſents to thoſe who came along, diſmiſſed

1514. 15.8.

May.

June.

Bell.

Auguſt 22. Sept. 14.

Octob. 3.

Octob. 9.

1514 dismissed all, save a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom I finde Mris *Anne Bollen* daughter to Sir *Thomas Bollen*, as one. Howbeit, occasion was given of bringing over some of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to *Paris*, not long after.

Francois de Valois, Duke of *Angoulesme* and next Heire male to the Crown (having in *May* before married *Clonde* eldest daughter to *Loüis* the twelfth by *Anne* who was Inheritrix of *Bretagne*) desired now, in the Kings declining age, to give some proofe of his valour. Therefore, before the English departed from *Abbeville*, he caused a Justs to be proclaimed; which, for being so extraordinary (the persons and manner considered) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that, in *November* ensuing, he, with nine Ayds, would answer all Comers, that were Gentlemen of Name and Armes, on Horse-backe and on Foot. The Laws on Horsebacke were, that with sharpe Speares they should runne five courses at Tilt, and five more at Randon, being well Armed and covered with pieces of Advantage for their best defence. After this to fight twelve stroakes with sharpe Swords. This being done, he and his ayds offered to fight at Barriers with the same Persons, with a Hand-speare and Sword. The conditions were, that if any man were unhors'd, or fel'd fighting on foot, his Armour and Horse should be rendred to the Officer of Armes. That for this purpose an Arch Triumphant should be set forth, at the *Tournelles*, neere *Rüe* Saint *Antoine* in *Paris*, on which foure Shields should be placed. That he, who would touch any of them must first enter his name and Armes. That he, who touched the first, which was Silver, should run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touched the Golden Shield, should run at Randon, as above mentioned. He that touched the black Shield should fight on foot with Hand-speares and Swords for the one hand; six foynes with the Hand-Speare, and then eight stroaks to the most advantage (if the Speare so long held,) and after that twelve stroakes with the Sword. He that touched the Tawny Shield, should cast a Speare on Foot with a Target on his Arme, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of *Suffolke*, and Marquesse *Dorset*, and his four Brethren, the Lord *Pinton*, Sir *Edw. Nevile*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Chenye*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they so hastned, that before the end of *October* they came to S. *Denis*, where they found the Queen; the solemnities for her Coronation, as also for her reception at *Paris*, being not yet in readinesse. *Francois de Valois*, knowing how good men at Armes the Duke of *Suffolk* & Marquesse *Dorset* were, requested them to be two of his ayds, to which they assented. But while these things were in preparing, *Mary* the French Queen was upon the fift of *November* Crowned in S. *Denis*, the Earle of *Worcester* and D. *West* (who were appointed for this purpose by our King) attending her in the solemnity

May 18. 1514.

Hall.

Novem. 5.

lemnity thereof, & *Francois de Valois* (afterwards King) holding the Crowne (which was very waighty) over her Head. The day following she entred *Paris* with great Pompe, and the morrow after, The Justs began, of which the King and Queen were spectators; the King being yet so weake that hee lay on a Couch. These Justs continued three dayes, in which three hundred and five men at Armes were answered by the defendants; Among which some were so hurt, that they dyed not long after: At *Randon* and *Tourney*, the Duke of *Suffolke* hurt a Gentleman very dangerously, and the Marquesse *Dorset* did no lesse to an other. Then the Duke overthrew a man both horse and Armes, and so did the Marquesse. *Francis* at last being hurt, desires the Duke and Marquesse to fight at *Barriers*; who therefore tooke the first place against all Commers. In the meane while, *Francis* intending an Affront (as was thought) to the Duke, causeth a German (the strongest Person in all the Court) to be Arm'd secretly, and present himselfe at *Barriers*; they both did well; yet the Duke at last with the butt-end of his speare struck the German till he stagger'd, and so the Raile was let fall. The Marquis *Dorset* also foil'd another French-man. Then they took some breath and return'd to fight againe; when the Duke so pommell'd the German about the head, that bloud gushed from his Nose, which being done, the German was convayed away secretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewise, which the reader may find elsewhere. At last our English, with singular honour, returned to their King and Master, whom they found much comforted for the * birth of another Prince, though not living long after.

But the contentment of *Loüis* the twelfth was almost as short; who being aged, and infirme, after some eighty dayes possession, rather then enjoying of his Queene, dyed *January* 1. 1515. leaving behind him no issue male; though otherwise of that esteeme among his subjects, for his care not to oppresse them with impositions longer then his necessities required, that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple*. After him succeeded *Francois de Valois*, above mentioned, a Prince of great hope. His age was twenty one or twenty two; wherein as well as in the most part of his manners, there was much conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodliest Personages, not of their quality only, but of their time. This Prince was Sacred (to use the French terme) at *Reymes* 25. of *January*, 1515. taking on him, together with the name of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*. To which he seemed to have a double Title, both as he was of the house of *Orleans*, to which the claime of the said Duchy belong'd, as also being comprehended in the Investiture made by the Emperour, according to the Treaty at *Cambray*. And because he succeeded as well to the Right, as to the meanes of recovering the said Duchy, he thought on nothing more then how to vindicate the glory his Predecessors had lost in that attempt. His first care was how to assure himself of our King:

1514

November 6
November. 7

Hall.

Novemb.

1515
Jan. 1.

Jan. 25.

1508.

This

1515. This he procures, partly by addreſſing himſelfe to *Woolſey*, who then prevail'd moſt with the King, and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the * laſt Treaty of Peace with *Loüis* the twelfth, (being to endure but till the firſt of *Ianuary* * next,) was (as I find both by ours and the French Records) renewed in the ſame terms, Aug. 7. 1514 * 1516. the 5 of *April* following, April. 5. and prorogued for terme of their joynt lives, and one yeare after. Only better order was given for depredations then before; It being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation ſhould depart out of their Ports, without giving Caution to their ſeverall Admiralls, that no wrong or moleſtation ſhould be done by Sea.

May. 8. *I. du Till.* Upon the 8. of *May*, the French King agreed alſo to pay at certaine dayes a Million of Crownes to our King; (for ſo the French have it,) which whether it were a new ſtipulation, or that formerly agreed on by *Loüis* the twelfth, appears not to me; and *Polydore's* words are obſcure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum*. The May. 15. 15. of *May* following, th. Scottiſh enter'd into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the peace.) Ja. 2. $15\frac{16}{15}$. Neither did our King eaſily beleive that under hand they would have made any other. Notwithſtanding which, the French and *Tillet.* they did, upon the ſecond of *Ianuary* following, privately enter into a League offenſive and defenſive againſt *England*.

Febru. 3. Together with the propoſing of this Treaty (in which the Duke of *Suffolke*, Sir *Richard Wingfeild* Deputy of *Calais*, and Doctor *Weſt*, were employ'd,) our King ſent a Letter to the Queen his Siſter; wherein he deſired to know, how ſhe ſtood affected to her returne to *England*, deſiring her withall not to Match without his Conſent. She, on the other ſide, who had privatly engaged her affection to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, made no great difficulty to diſcover her ſelfe to both Kings; intreating *Francis* to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former *Francis* eaſily agreed, (though once intending to propoſe a match betwixt her and the Duke of *Savoye*;) but our King, for the Conſervation of his dignity, held a little off; However he had long ſince deſigned her to *Suffolke*. The Queene alſo, beleiving that this formality was the greateſt impediment, did not proceed without ſome ſcruple, though proteſting (as appeares by an Originall) that if the King would have her Married in any place, ſave where her Mind was, ſhe would ſhut her ſelfe up in ſome Religious-houſe. Thus, without any great Pompe, being ſecretly Married, the Queen writ March. Letters of excuſe to the King her Brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her ſelfe; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of *Suffolke*, profeſſed that ſhe prefixed the ſpace of foure dayes to him, in which ſhe ſaid, unleſſe hee could obtaine her good-will, he ſhould be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as alſo through the good office of *Francis*, who (fearing leaſt our King by her meanes ſhould contract ſome greater Alliance) did further this marriage,

Marriage, our King did by degrees reſtore them to his favour; *Woolſey* alſo not a little contributing thereunto; while he told our King, how much better ſhe was beſtow'd on him, then on ſome Perſon of quality in *France.* 1515.

Thus having prepared all things for their departure, they tooke their leave of the French Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapiſſeries of *Loüis* the twelfth, to the value of two hundred thouſand Crownes, as the French have it. Among which a great Diamond call'd *Le Miroir de Naples* (as I finde by our Records) was one; though not without much reluctation of *Francis*, who would faine have redeem'd it at a great price. Order alſo was taken for the payment of her Joynture, being ſixty thouſand Crownes yearly. Whereupon the Queene and Duke with all her traine (ſave Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, who ſtayed in the French Court) * began their Journey; to the ſatisfaction of *Francis*, as hoping by their meanes to confirme his ſo much deſired Peace, and Treaty with our King. Thus arriving at *Calais* 25. of *April*, and from thence coming to *Dover*, and after to *Greenwich*; they were publiquely married 13. of *May*. Thus our King's two Siſters, after their being joyn'd with great Princes, did not diſdaine to accept inferiour Perſons for their Husbands. April 19. April. 25. May. 13.

But that I may returne to my propoſed Method in this Hiſtory; I ſhall ſet downe the Lawes enacted in the Parliament (*ſexto* of this King) beginning *February quinto*; where I finde one of their chiefe cares was, to put into better order the former Lawes concerning Apparell; which yet was not ſo well digeſted, but that the yeare following, even the Law it ſelfe Chang'd faſhion. Howſoever, that of Archery, made before, was not only confirmed, but made perpetuall; ſo that, notwithſtanding the uſe of Caleevers or Hand-guns (for Muskets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the conſtancy, if not wiſdome of thoſe times; it being certaine, that, when he that carries the Caleever goes unarm'd, the Arrow will have the ſame effect within its diſtance that the bullet, and can, againe, for one ſhot returne two. Beſides, as they uſed their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to execution on the Enemy with great advantage. I cannot deny yet but againſt the Pike they were of leſſe force, then the Caleevers. Therefore I beleeve the meaning of theſe times was, to command it as an exerciſe to the common people, and for the reſt reſerve it for thoſe occaſions, where they might be of uſe. Howſoever, Hand-guns and Croſſe-bowes were forbidden under certain Penalties, to all Men that had leſſe then five hundred Marks *per annum*. The wages for Artificers alſo was ſetled, and the price of Water-men. A Penalty alſo was impos'd on thoſe who changed Tillage into Paſture. And very good order taken, concerning deceit in Cloth, as being the only cauſe they had not ſo good vent abroad. The Commiſſion of Sewers extending Feb. 5. $15\frac{15}{14}$ Reg. 6.

1515. tending to the making up of the Sea-walls, &c. in *England*, the Marches of *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and *Hames*, (begun *sexto Henrici sexti*, and continued *quarto Henrici septimi*, for twenty five years,) being now upon exspiration, was continued also for ten yeares more. It was commanded also, that the River of *Canterbury* should be deepned. It was provided also, that Wool should not be carryed beyond Sea; which was to the benefit of Clothiers. No second Letters Patents also might be taken, without mentioning the first. Which was very equall, both for the King and Subject. And because divers now, being weary with sitting so long in Parliament, did depart home without License, (they only remaining who factiously combined themselves, with intention to gaine the Major part of voyces, in any thing they desired to obtain) It was ordered they should lose their wages, if they went without the leave of the Speaker, and Common house, to be entred in the Booke of the Clerke of the Parliament.

During the stay of the French-Dowager and her Husband, a Treaty also past concerning the restitution of *Tournay*, upon a sum of Money offer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in exchange thereof, the County of *Guisnes*, or *Ardres*, *Francis*, who desired not any enlarging of the English Pale, fell off, so that our King provided for defence. For which purpose, as well as diminishing his charge in keeping an excessive Garrison, He rais'd a Cittadell there; without that *Francis* thought fit either to interrupt the designe, or otherwise to offend our King; as hoping, by the meanes of *Woolsey*, (to whom, together with the unusefulnesse of *Tournay*, the represented a Cardinall's Hatt) to obtaine his desire. And it was the true bait to take him; hee being extreamly ambitious of that dignity; both as he thought it would secure his greatnesse, and as it enabled him to serve his King and Master's turne. Therefore he had many wayes attempted it, and particularly by the intervention of Cardinall *Hadrian de Castello* an *Italian* (Bishop of *Bath*, and the Pope's Collector in *England*) not omitting together to use the help of *Sylvester* (Italian likewise) Bishop of *Worcester*; and the rather that they were both at *Rome*, where Cardinall *Bambridge* also on our Kings part resided: But this Cardinall dying *July* 14. 1514.
March. 4. 1514. not without suspition of Poyson, our King having lately * given *Woolsey* the Bishoprick of *Lincolne*, he surrendred it now, and * took
Nov. 6. 1514. the Arch-Bishoprick of *Yorke*; and, not satisfied herewith, aspir'd also to be successor in the Cardinall-ship; wherein, becaus it seems, he conceiv'd that *Adrian* Bishop of *Bath* had not served him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Collectorship, and put *Polydore Virgil*
1515. (his Subcollecter) in the Tower (from whence he came not * suddainly, nor without the Pope's mediation) He used therefore, besides his ordinary meanes and friends in *Rome*, the help of *Francis*; who, for the more obliging of him, sent first Newes, that, in *Sept.*
Sept. 7. this yeare, his suite was granted, and the Title of *Sanctæ Cæciliæ*

trans

trans Tiberim * conferr'd on him; for the maintaining of the Charges whereof, he had at this time in Farme at very easie Rates the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, in regard the Bishops of these places liv'd beyond Sea; he got also successively the Bishopricks of [a] *Bath*, [b] *Durham*, and [c] *Winchester*, which he so exchang'd, as hee held ever one of them with his Arch-Bishoprick; he held also in *Commendum* the [d] Abbey of Saint *Albon's*, and many other Ecclesiasticall preferments, and had the disposing of most of the Benefices that fell voyd. Also, shortly after his being constituted Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, *William Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, resigning to the King voluntarily the place of Lord Chancellor, and retiring himselfe from Court, by reason of his age, (or perchance some discontent) to a private life, that Place was conferred on him. Thus were dignities and wealth heaped so fast on *Woolsey*, that, being in his nature insolent, hee grew at length intolerable. Neither could those excellent parts, wherewith he was endowed, exempt him; In so much, that not onely much Arrogance, but extreame Vanity was observed in him, whereas yet nothing commends Church-men so much as a pious Modesty: All degrees of Persons, but especially theirs, being like Coines or Meddalls; to which, howsoever vertue give the stampe and impression, Humility must give the weight. Yet this Cardinall, contrary to all example, is noted by *Polydore* to have used silke and Gold in his outward Vestments and even saddles: He caused also the Cardinalls Hatt to be borne by some principall Person before him, on a great height, (*Loco cujusdam Idoli sacri*,) and, when he came to the King's Chappell, would admit no place to rest it on, but the very Altar; He had besides, his Sarjeant at Armes and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, besides his Crosse-bearer; concerning which it is observed, that he did beare the Crosse of *Yorke* somewhat to the prejudice of that of *Canterbury*, which perchance might be some cause of discontentment to the Arch-Bishop *Warham*. In conclusion, all his Actions were such as argued a haughtier spirit than could become in his Place (as *Polydore* will have it.)

1515. November.

a 1518.
b 1522.
c 1528.
d 1521.

Polyd.

The Pope, being intentive now to a Warre against the Turke, * requires ayde from the English Clergy, desiring our King to give his assistance therein; which they yet (in their * Synod) deprecated, alleadging (by Letter to the Pope dated *November* 25. 1515.) that they were exhausted through their Contribution to the Warre of *France*, at the instigation of *Julius* the second; remonstrating further, that, by a decree of the Councell of *Constance*, the Pope could impose no Tributes on the Church, but in case of necessity, and by a Generall Councell.

*Aug.
*Nov. 12.
Nov. 25.

The twelfth of this Moneth the Parliament sate againe; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing

Novemb. 12. Regn. 7.

1515. venting Tillage to be turned into Paſture. A repeale of Licenſes alſo to ſtrangers for carrying in of *Gaſcoigne* and *Guyenne* wines, or *Tholouſe* Woad was enacted. Which was much to the encreaſe of our Shipping. A time was alſo prefixt, within which all Motions, Suites, Bills, Enditements or Informations popular ſhall be ſued, either for the King or Party, and this ſetled a great deale of quietneſſe. The Act concerning Labourers wages, made the yeare preceding, was alſo repealed, for as much as concern'd certaine Labourers in *London*.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir *Edward Poynings* deſiring to be diſcharged from his Government in *Tournay*, and the adjoyning places of *Mortaigne* and Saint *Amand*, Sir *William Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy* was ſubſtituted; who appointing Sir *Sampſon Norton* to bee his Marſhall, ſo offended the People, that they roſe in Armes: Neither would they bee quieted, till the ſaid Sir *Sampſon* was baniſhed for ever. But, if *Poynings* returned to his Counſellor's place, divers others went away from it. For, beſides the Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, Biſhop *Fox*, offended with the Cardinall, retired himſelfe; deſiring this onely of the King, that hee would not ſuffer the Servant to bee greater then his Maſter. To which the King anſwered preſently, that it ſhould be his Care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould obey and not Command. Then *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* craved leave to goe to his Country houſe: For, as the Kings coffers were much exhauſted by his late warres and Triumphs, ſo not finding it eaſie to ſupply thoſe vaſt expences, which (in Pageants and deviſes) increaſed daily, hee wiſely withdrew himſelfe: *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke* alſo, not long after, following them. For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable (through the Cardinal's oppoſition) to obtaine remiſſion thereof, or otherwiſe to pay it preſently, hee retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinall had his free ſcope and liberty to ſway all things, under Colour of doing the King ſervice. For, whatſoever hee went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the moſt part) in labouring to Reforme, hee did nothing but Innovate. Hence many Clamors aroſe among the People; who being capable of almoſt nothing but their owne Antient Cuſtomes, ſeldome indure a change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none ſo true among them, as thoſe, who traduced the preſent Government; nor ſo wiſe, as thoſe, who ſuſpected moſt, though beyond all probability. There was yet occaſion enough to feare *Woolſey*; being obſerved to have that Aſcendant over the King's diſpoſition, as he knew not how to be ſerious, or all moſt merry, without him. In either of which

ways he ſtill introduced ſomething for his own ends; for no man ſtudied them more. One example whereof I will here inſert. The Cardinall, having for his firſt Biſhopricke, that of *Tournay*, was not yet without an ancient Competitor; one *Loüis Guillart* a French-man, to whom it formerly appertained: This man, grudging to be thus diſpoſſeſt, obtaines from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was reſtor'd to that place, (as farre as words could carry it,) with a Clauſe of *Uſque ad Invocationem Brachij Sæcularis*, both in the City and without. So that the French and Flemmings ſeem'd equally interreſted thereby to procure his Conſervation. Our King underſtanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous conſequence, * writes to the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Worceſter*, his Agents then at *Rome*, to proteſt againſt this ſtrange and inordinate Bull, (as he termes it in his Letters;) commanding them withall (not without ſome threats) to labour that it might be recall'd, as tending not only to the raiſing of Sedition in that City, and Quarrells betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongfull diſplacing of the Cardinall, who, being ſubrogated to the other as well in conformity to the right of his King, as upon the contumacy or negligence of the other (who had not as then done his Homage and fealty for his Temporalties) could not now be remov'd without much ſcandall. Before this, the Cardinall had deſired *Francis* to beſtow on *Guillart* ſome other Biſhoprick: but *Francis* delaying to give ſatisfaction herein, ſo incenſed the Cardinall, that he became his ſecret enemy afterward, (as *Polydore* hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to *Maximilian*, that, notwithſtanding the * late League betwixt *England* and *France*, there was probability, the King would not ſuffer *France* to grow greater by the acquiſition of *Milan* * (*Maximilian* therefore ſent, in the name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, one *Anchiſtes Vis-Conte*, a *Milaneſe*, to implore our King's aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*, in men or money. Of which alſo there was ſome hope ſecretly given by *Woolſey*.) However, our King (in ſo great a cauſe) would reſolve nothing, without communicating the buſineſſe firſt to the ancienteſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors. Therefore recalling *Warham*, *Fox*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *Lovell*, and divers others, he demanded their opinion in full Counſell; where *Woolſey* ſpeaking firſt, alleadged, that *Francis* had already broken the Treaty, by favouring *Richard de la Pole* a Fugitive and Traytor; in aſſiſting thoſe Scots, which oppos'd his Siſter Queen *Margaret*; And in contriving a ſecret League with that Nation, to the prejudice of that into which they lately entred with *England*. Beſides, that *Francis* with-held ſome goods and Jewells of Queen *Mary*. That when all this were otherwiſe, yet it ſtood not with reaſon of State to ſuffer *France* to grow any greater. Laſtly, he ſaid all this might be done warily, and without effuſion of Engliſh bloud, only when he would but privatly aſſiſt *Maximilian*. This was no ſooner uttered, but *Thomas* Biſhop of

1515

1513

* 1517. March.

Polydor. Virg.

April. 5. 1515.

* 1516.

Novemb.

1515. *Polyd. Virg.*

Dureſme riſeth up, and, not only confirmes the Cardinalls ſpeech, but extolls it with ſome palpable flatteries. Neither muſt it ſeeme ſtrange, that the Church-men concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (beſides Cardinall *Woolſey's* particular animoſity againſt *Francis* the firſt) *Leo* the tenth had a hand herein, as knowing how much ſafer it was for *Italy*, that a ſingle Duke ſhould governe *Milan*, then ſuch a potent Prince as *Francis* the firſt) all the others at the Table yet were of another opinion. Among whom therefore a reply was made to this effect.

That to breake a Treaty or League (ſolemnly ſworne) did ſeem a ſtrange Counſell in any, but eſpecially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publique faith was to call God and man in judgement againſt them. They would not deny yet, but juſt cauſe of diſſolving Leagues might be given. But then that the wronged party ought both to proteſt the fault and denounce warre. That, if any other Courſe ſhould be allowed among Princes, and Eſtates, there were no ground for upholding truth and Juſtice; without which yet the Law of Nations and even Mankinde it ſelfe could not ſubſiſt. That therefore it were good to examine the grounds of the proceedings mentioned. In which though it could not be denyed but *Richard de la Pole* was admitted ſtill in *France*; yet, whether as Traytor to his Country, or a Perſon that came thither only for ſafety of his life, might be queſtion'd. That if the Spies, they had on *Richard*, ſaid true, his deſigne was only to goe into *Italy* with *Francis* the firſt, and then there could be no danger on his part. And for the other point, which was aſſiſting the Scottiſh faction againſt Queen *Margaret*, or contriving a ſecret League which might be a prejudice to the former, much might be ſaid; yet if buſineſſes were well examined, both the Treatyes of *Francis* might conſiſt; This latter with *Scotland* being proviſionall only, in caſe we ſhould come to a Rupture with *France*. They would not deny yet, but herein an advantage was taken by the French, ſomewhat againſt the Lawes of honour. But that we might make a benefit thereof. For, while *Francis* was in *Italy*, and farre remote from *Scotland*, it was eaſie for his Majeſty, under colour of reſiſting the new Faction ſet up by the French in *Scotland*, to be more then reveng'd. For, whether in his Siſter's name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a devided Country to his devotion. And that this might be thought a greater addition to him, then *Milan* to the French, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other courſe, was to ſeek cauſes of quarrell, without colour, either of reaſon or Juſtice; to draw the French on himſelfe; to interrupt his way to *Scotland*, which now lay open; and laſtly to make him looſe credit both at home and abroad. The King, who knew the oppoſition among his Counſellors, ſeemed to temper the diverſity of opinions in a middle way; yet ſo, as, in effect, he inclined to the Cardinall. Therefore he ſaid,

hee would hinder the deſignes of *Francis*, without comming yet to a manifeſt Rupture; whereof alſo occaſion was given. For as *Francis* being * Confederate with *Charles*, (now ſixteene yeeres old, and taking on him the Government of the *Low-Countries*) as alſo with the Venetians, had renewed a war in *Italy*, and after a bloudy Battell at *Marignan*, had compelled *Maximilian Sforza* to reſigne his right to *Milan*, and accept a Penſion in *France*; So our King, who ſuſpected this great addition to *Francis* might be dammageable to him, reſolved ſecretly to aſſiſt the Emperor, with whom alſo the Pope and *Ferdinand* joynd, for the defence of *Italy*, and oppoſition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpoſe by *Richard Pace* (late ſervant to Cardinall *Bambridge*, and, for the preſent Secretary of State) not onely a huge ſumme of Money; but giving him Commiſſion to treat both with the Emperor and *Franceſco Sforza*, brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the loane thereof, and a ſtrict League upon certaine conditions. Among which it was agreed, That, if *Milan* were recovered, ſuch a yeerely tribute or Penſion ſhould be payd our King as this ſupply of Money did deſerve; *Woolſey* not forgetting alſo, (after his uſuall manner) to capitulate for an Annuall payment of ten thouſand Duckats to himſelfe. Hereupon, *Pace*, levying for the Emperors ſervice certaine Regiments of *Suiſſe*, (who willingly entred this warre, both as they were obliged to the conſervation of *Sforzas* intereſt, and as they deſired to revenge their loſſe at *Marignan*,) the Emperour in perſon marcheth towards *Milan*. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to *Francis*, and had appointed an Interview at *Bononia*, for the accommodating of their mutuall affaires; the Pope promiſing *Parma* and *Piacenza* to *Francis*; and he, on the other ſide, ſtipulating to recover *Vrbin* for the Pope, (as indeed followed the next yeere.) Where alſo an Agreement called the *Concordat* was made, which the French Writers obſerve as derogatory to the Pragmatike Sanction, and the Liberties of the Gallicane Church. Being thus upon his way, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed by *Francis* to defend his Acquiſitions in *Italy*, ſends to his King for reliefe, preparing in the mean time to defend himſelfe the beſt he could. But *Maximilian* being now in a faire way of obtaining his deſires, retires ſuddenly into *Germany*; neither could he alleadge other cauſe of it, then a ſimple diffidence of the *Suiſſe*, (as *Polydore* hath it;) though *Guicciardine* tels another reaſon; which was, that *Maximilian* receiving no ſupply of money from *England*, and being not provided himſelfe to pay them, was forced to deſiſt. This encouraged the French and Venetian to proceed in their deſignes of beſieging *Breſcia*, which they got; but being repuls'd at *Verona*, *Maximilian* takes heart againe, and ſends *Matteo* Cardinall of *Sedun* (or *Sitten*) into *England*, to negotiate for a ſupply of money, and withall to excuſe his late

1515.

* April.

* Sept. 13.

Novemb.

Records.

Decemb. 11.

1516

May.

Octob.

1516 late Retrait, both for his diſtruſt of the *Suiſſe*, as alſo becauſe they openly refuſed to fight againſt ſome of their Countreymen, who were under *Bourbon*. Beſides, as he had long entertained our King with a hope that he would reſigne the Empire to him, ſo on this occaſion (as I finde by an Originall from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, dated 17 *May* 1516.) he renews the propoſitions; offering, beſides to give him the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the more aſſurance whereof, deſiring our King to paſſe the Seas to *Calais*, and ſo to take his way through the *Low-countries*, till he came to the City of *Triers*; where he, together with the Electors would meet, for performance of the aforeſaid Reſignation of the Empire; which alſo being done, he propoſed that an Army from thence ſhould invade *France*, while our King with one thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Archers ſhould paſſe through *Germany* to *Coyre*, and ſo over the Lake of *Como* to the State and City of *Milan*; where having repos'd a while, *Maximilian* promiſed to goe along with him to *Rome*, to ſee him receive the Imperiall Crowne; which being done, he ſaid, our King might chooſe whether he would make an honourable Peace with *France*, or warre, for recovering his right; which, he ſaid, the Pope and all Chriſtian Princes could not but like well of. And thus far *Wingfield*; To whoſe relation though our King gave as much credit, as a profeſſion often made by *Maximilian* could merit; Yet as he conſidered withall, that there was much improbability in the offer, and the Action it ſelfe in a manner without Precedent; and, howſoever, that he ſhould engage his Kingdome for the Affaire of the Empire, (it being then ſo ſcant of moneys, as *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi-Dinari.*) So by his anſwer in *June* following, he wiſhed *Wingfield* to tell *Maximilian*, that though he thankfully accepted thoſe offers, yet that he deſired they might be kept ſecret untill the French were driven out of *Italy*. For which purpoſe, (as well as the reaſons before ſet down) I finde he promiſed *Maximilian* ſome more money, excuſing together the former defect of payment, with laying the fault on ſome *Genoua* Marchants. Beſides, at the Cardinall of *Seduns* intreaty in the Emperors name, he entred into a ſtrict League with *Maximilian*; which yet, becauſe it laſted not, I ſhall not particularly mention. For *Maximilian*, conſidering how little truſt he could repoſe in our Cardinall for the obtaining of money, and (for the reſt) being wearied with the wars, firſt makes a Truce with his adverſaries, and particularly the Venetians; after which, for a ſumme of money being two hundred thouſand Ducats, he reſtores *Verona* unto them, and then makes a Peace. To which purpoſe the death of *Ferdinand* did ſerve; who departing this life in the beginning of *Anno* 1516, did free himſelfe rather then the world, from not a few troubles, whereof he was the firſt procurer and Authour. This Prince (leaving to his Succeſſors the ſtyle of *Catholico*)

May 17.

June.

Novem. 2.

Decemb.
Jan. 23.
1516/17.

tholico) was thought the moſt active and politique of his time. Inſomuch that he hardly took reſt, or ſuffred it in others. No man knew better how to ſerve his turne on every body, or to make their ends conduce to his. But while he eſcaped not the opinion and the name of falſe, (which yet his Countrey writers palliate no otherwiſe then with calling it *Saber-raynar*) he neither complied with his dignity, nor indeed the rules of wiſdome; true reaſon of State conſiſting of ſuch ſolid Maximes, that it hath as little need of deceit as a ſure game at Cheſſe of a falſe draught; there is no uſe of it, therefore, among the wiſer ſort; as being onely a ſupply of ignorance among the ruder and worſe kind of Stateſmen. Beſides, it appeares ſo much worſe in publique affaires then private, as it is never almoſt hid or unrevenged. Reputation againe is ſtill loſt thereby; which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell then, ſuch as imagine them without it. This is ſtrange of him, that being of Vaſt poſſeſſions, enriched much from the Indies, proſperous in almoſt all his attempts, of a frugall diſpoſition, and long life; (for he attained ſixty three) there was hardly yet found in his Coffers enough to diſcharge his Interring, though not very ſumptuous; That I may ſay nothing of his debts. His Will and Teſtament declared his daughter *Juana* of *Caſtile* to be his heire. Onely, becauſe of her defect of wiſdome, and her ſonnes young Age, He appointed the Cardinall *Ximenes* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* to Governe, till the ſaid *Charles* came to *Caſtilla*. He left alſo to *Fernando*, brother to *Charles*, great poſſeſſions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly beſt; both that being born at *Alcala* 1503, he was a native of *Spaine*, (which his brother was not,) and that he gave much hope of towardlineſſe, and beſides bore his name. Inſomuch that, could he have contriv'd it handſomely, it is thought he would have made him his Heire in *Spaine*: ſundry particularities whereof, concurring much with the Spaniſh Hiſtory, being advertis'd to our King by Sir *John Stile* his Ambaſſador there; Our King and Queen (as they had before done for *Louis* the twelfth) cauſed a ſolemne obſequie for him to be kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls* in *London*. But they mourned not long; the birth of our Princeſſe *Mary* following ſhortly after, upon the eighteenth of *February* $15\frac{16}{17}$. *Ferdinand* thus dead, *Charles*, who thought himſelfe as capable of governing *Caſtilla* as he was of the *Low-countries* (which *Maximilian* the laſt yeere put into his hands) ſends immediately to *Spaine*, to clame the Right and Title; which alſo was acknowledged; yet ſo, as it was thought fit to publiſh it together with his Mothers; ſo that it ranne thus, *Donna Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, Queen and King of *Caſtilla*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, &c. *Navarre* (which was now incorporated to them) being not forgotten; He determined alſo in perſon to goe thither. For which purpoſe, as well as the better ſecuring the *Low countries* in his abſence, he paſt ſeverall

1516. *Curita.* 1503. *Sandov.* Feb. 18.

1516. verall Treaties with *Francis* and our King; The former was concluded at *Noyon*, *Aug.* 15. where it was agreed, That within six Moneths following *Henry d' Albret* (*Jehan d' Albret*, and *Catherine* his wife being newly dead) should be restored to the Kingdome of *Navarre*, or at least sufficient content given him otherwise; And if not, that it should be lawfull for *Francis* to assist him. That *Charles* should marry *Loüise* daughter of *Francis*, (then not a yeere old) who in consideration thereof should renounce his claim to *Naples*, and accept a Pension of one hundred thousand Crowns yeerely. That the Venetians giving the Emperour two hundred thousand Ducats, he should deliver them *Verona*. Besides which, their Orders of Chevalry were sent to each other, and an interview appointed, which yet tooke no more effect than the Treaty it selfe. The latter League was formed at *London*, *October* 29. betwixt *Joane* and *Charles* of *Castile*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, and our King, to this effect.

Bellay.

Sandoval

Octob. 29.

That the Confederats should defend one another, and bring Ayd by Land at their owne Costs, (being requir'd) within a moneth after complaint, against the enemy.

If the enemy have Port-Townes &c. then the warre shall be also made by Sea, by them both, and the Fleet supplied if it be diminish'd, &c.

That no peace shall be made with the enemy, or Truce, but by mutuall consent.

Place also was left for other Princes whatsoever, to come into this League within eight Moneths, by the consent of all the Confederates.

That *Leo* the tenth shall be comprehended in this League, if he will excommunicate the Persons and States that shall molest the Confederates, and that he enter within six moneths.

That the *Suisse* shall be admitted, if they will; so that they bind themselves to serve under the Confederates, and not under any other Prince; And, on those conditions to have Pensions.

I must now returne to the businesse of *Scotland*, (intermitted a while, that I might not breake the context of my History,) and therein call to minde, how *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his arrivall (which was *May* 20. 1515.) declared Vice-Roy, till the King came to full age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the time of his Fathers banishment; and, for the rest, such a stranger, that he could not speake the Countrey Language. For as a singular opinion of his worth went before, and the recommendation of the French accompanied him, so was he saluted with that universall applause wherewith new comers that have given hope of themselves, are usually welcom'd. The businesses of the Countrey were yet so strange to him, that he was inforced to use the directions of others. In this number, one *John Hepburne* did much appeare. His

May 20. 1515.

Buchan.

first

first advise was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well allyed; and as it would gaine him strong Enemies. That he had more use of the peoples affections, then to alter them at his first entrance. That therefore his chiefe endeavour should be, to make good his Authority; neither should hee oppresse any, but those who were in estate to oppose him; amongst which three were most considerable, *Archibald Douglasse* was one, who, besides that he had married the Queene, was a person much in favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busie, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great designe. The Vice-Roy, taking this advice into consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglasse*, lest the Queene, for protecting him should draw the English into *Scotland*, which he most doubted. Besides, he was so gracious with the greatest part of the Kingdome, that he was to be undermined rather then assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his wealth that made him envied. Onely *Humes* he thought it not amisse to question; as having between vehement suspitions, and some proofes, not a little matter against him. *Humes* having some notice hereof, changes his party, and now strives to combine with *Douglasse*, and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the King, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his Countrey, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heire to the Crowne, after the King and his brother. That this was the more probable, because his Father *Alexander* (as the Scottish Writers have it) had taken the like course with his eldest brother *James* the third, whom he would have dispossest of the Kingdome. That there was no way to avoyd these dangers, but to flie with her sonne into *England*, (to which also our King had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his care. This advice (whether spoken by *Humes* to discover the Queenes designes, and thereupon to make his advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed thinke this to be the best way for the Kings safety,) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it easily, thought fit to seize on *Sterling-castle*, in which the young King and his mother were, and to put a Guard on them; yet admits some, who were of great credit, to give by turnes their directions for the young Kings education, and useth briefly some such providences as might argue all was done with a good intention; among which the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King, was most remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his brother *William*, refusing to obey a Gitation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proscribed, fled to *England*; *Douglasse* also taking the

1516.

Buchan.

Aug. 10. 1515.

July 12. *Buch.*

1516. Queen with him followed ſhortly after, ſtaying yet at *Harbottle*-caſtle in *Northumberland*, by our Kings command, till further order was given. It appeared not yet, whether this were an eſcape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand conſenting to their departure, onely to be freer for his deſignes. Howſoever, he ſent inſtantly to our King, to cleare himſelfe from all ſiniſter practiſes againſt the Queene. He alſo labours the friends of *Douglaſſe* and *Humes* to draw them home, promiſing for this purpoſe all the good conditions that could be required. *Humes* takes the invitation, and returnes; *Douglaſſe* alſo (conſidering the Queene was with Childe, and neere her time, and therefore unable to remove any way farre) makes uſe of this occaſion to ſettle his Affaires at home. The Queene, in the meane while, being * brought to bed of a daughter, (whom ſhee called *Margaret*) by eaſie journeys comes to the Engliſh Court in the next Spring 1516. Yet were not buſineſſes in *Scotland* ſo quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having ſubmitted himſelfe (as aforeſaid) to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the cuſtody of his brother in law, *James Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, upon paine of death yet if he ſuffered him to depart; ſhortly after by repreſenting to *Hamilton* ſome neerneſſe of blood on his part, which might enable him to be Vice-roy, perſwaded the Earle to eſcape away together with him; while the Vice-roy being not grieved (perchance) thus to be quit of thoſe he ſuſpected moſt, ſeemes now to be at reſt. Onely he would not omit to take this advantage againſt *Hamilton*; therefore he battered and tooke his Caſtle; *Humes* in the meane time ravaging the Countrey about *Dunbar*. The Vice-roy hearing this, returnes to his wonted invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come backe. *Hamilton* accepts it firſt, and *Humes* after; but *Humes* being ſummon'd againe to come to the Parliament, thinks fit (for redeeming his former fault when he laſt abſented himſelfe) to appeare. He perſwades his brother *William* alſo to goe with him; though many of their friends oppos'd it; for as his brother was equall with him in power and Authority, ſo the keeping him backe would have conduced perchance to the ſecuring of both. But he, confident of good uſage, neglects the advice, and comes with his brother to Court; where being ſeiz'd on, they were committed to divers priſons, for crimes objected againſt them; and particularly againſt *Alexander*, who was thought to have uſed ſome treachery in *Flodden*-Battell, if not to have kill'd the King. All which though hee conceived either ſuggeſted maliciouſly againſt him, or at leaſt by a long intermiſſion to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevailed not; his Head and his Brothers being ſtrucke off in *October* 1516. Shortly after which (as *Leſleus* hath it) the Kings younger Brother dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtained in Parliament to be declared next heire. Which being done, he enters (in *January* following

* Octob. 7. 1515.

Octob. 12. 1515.

Sept. 24.

Buch.

Octob. *Leſle.* Novemb. Jan. 1516/17.

following) into a League with *Francis*, and so *returned to that Countrey; onely that he might manifest his pretences were without any Ambition which might derogate from his Loyalty. 1516. * June. 1517.

The Queen of Scots comming to *London*, *May* 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the King, the Queen, and her Sister Queen *Mary*, who all enjoyd therein a happinesse rare for Princes in that kinde, which was to see one another after they once dispos'd of abroad; The King for the more honour of her comming, commanded a Justs, in which Sir *William Kingston* was, both himselfe and horse, overthrown by him. May 3. May 19.

This yeere also those who manag'd any money for the King in the wars, or otherwise, were by the Cardinals command call'd in question. Among whom some by bribery, and some by cunning escaped; others being condemned in great summes; so that the Cardinall might be said to have in him so much of a good servant, as he willingly suffered none other to deceive his Master. To accompany this severity also, he caused Perjury to be rigorously punished; wherein I can never enough commend him; All other Treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of Life, Possessions, or good Name; but this such a one, as without much labour may take away all together. Some Courts also were erected in the favour of poore people, against the oppression of the Great; which at the beginning were much frequented; but at last, the people receiving many delays and unsatisfactions in their suites, every one left them, and went to the Common-Law: as fearing, under this pretence, an Innovation. I must not deny unto the Cardinall yet, the attribute of Just, in all affaires of publique Judicature; whereof, (if we may believe Authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where disorders were committed, he severely punished, unlesse the parties found means to make their private peace. *Hall.*

I will conclude this yeere with a Passage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing still the Councell of *Lateran*, among other Reformations, proposed that of the *Calendar*, inviting (for this purpose) our King, to send some of our most learned Divines and Astronomers thither; but as it appeares not what answer our King return'd to this Breve, dated *July* 10. 1516, so neither should I have inserted any thing hereof, but that it seems they were not sufficiently satisfied concerning the Principles from which the calculation should be deduced. July 10.

About this time a Ryot and Sedition in *England* hapned in this manner. Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London* of the poorer sort, being offended that all their chiefe Customers were wonne from them by the diligence and industry of strangers, and (for the rest) pretending to have received from them divers Contempts, Affronts and Injuries, found some occasions, and tooke others, to make an Insurrection against them; and the rather, that *Hall.*

1517 the ſeditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincolne* a Broker, had not a little incited them: who taking Texts (as neere as he could finde in the Scriptures) to this purpoſe, traduced the ſence thereof even to encouraging the people to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not ſo witty as the laſt, neither ended it ſo well. For two Apprentices playing onely at Buckerels in the ſtreet, late on *May* eve, contrary to the Lord Mayors command, (who upon notice taken of the Citizens intent, was charged by the Kings Councell to require, under great penalties, all Houſholders to keep themſelves and their ſervants within doores from nine over-night till ſeven of the clocke the next morning) an Alderman came to arreſt one of them; but the ſaid Apprentice thinking therein that an ancient Cuſtome for taking liberty at that time more then any other, was infringed, cryed *Clubs*. Hereupon, they came forth in ſo great numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the reſt finding themſelves in a greater multitude, then to doe nothing, brake open ſome priſons, and tooke out divers perſons, committed thither for abuſing and hurting of ſtrangers. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffes then preſent, hinder this; Nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, (late Judge of the Sheriffs Court in *London*, but now of the Kings Councell,) though much reſpected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Priſoners being now ſet looſe, adviſe the Multitude to runne to the houſe of one *Meutas* a Picard, much hated by them: Where they kill'd ſome, chaſed the reſt, and rifled his goods. Hence they went againe to other ſtrangers houſes, which they ſpoyled in like manner. The Cardinall hearing this, and being not much more in the peoples favour then the ſtrangers, fortifies his houſe with Men and Ordnance. But the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeding otherwiſe, diſcharged ſome of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit this made them not ſo much deſiſt, as that having reveng'd themſelves as farre as the offence taken ſeem'd to require, they thought good about three in the morning to ſcatter and go home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the City-Officers firſt, and afterwards by ſome followers of the Earles of *Shrowſbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this diſorder, and taking the Innes-of-Court men with them, cleared the ſtreets of this unruly company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examined, and Doctor *Bele* and *Iohn Lincolne* ſent to the Tower. About three daies after the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earl of *Surrey* his ſonne, and divers others, with about one thouſand three hundred armed men came into the City, and, joyning with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chiefe offenders; to the terrour of the Citizens, who were the more affraid, that the Duke of *Norfolke* upon the killing of a Prieſt of his in *Cheape*, was reported to have ſaid (as our Hiſtorians have it) in ſome paſſion, *I pray God I*

April 30.

Hall.

May 1.

May 4.

Hall.

may

may once have the Citizens in my danger. This (though perchance a Calumny, forg'd againſt the Duke) wrought ſo, that they thought themſelves over-rigorouſly dealt with, in that the Statute *ſecundo Henry* the 5. Chap. 6. (which makes breakers of Truce, and ſafe-Conducts guilty of high Treaſon) was extended againſt them, though repealed afterward, 20. *Henrici ſexti.* Howſoever, much mercy was ſhewed; For, of two hundred ſeventy eight perſons which were Priſoners, *Lincolne* onely, who was thought the moſt ſeditious, and three or foure more were hang'd, drawne, and quarter'd; the reſt, who were about tenne, ſuffer'd nothing extraordinary in their death, but that for the more example they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the ſtreets. All the others were thus pardon'd; The Recorder of *London*, and divers Aldermen coming in Black to Court, and deſiring moſt humbly to be heard, the King, after ſome admonition and check, as if the better ſort had conniv'd at this Riot, referres the reſt to the Cardinall, then Lord Chancellor. In concluſion, the King ſitting in *Weſtminſter*, and being attended with his principall Nobility and Officers, and the Lord Major; all the Priſoners in white ſhirts, and halters about their necks (into which habit divers alſo, (not yet diſcovered) put themſelves, to be capable of the King's Pardon) did, upon their knees, crave Mercy. Which the King gratiouſly accorded, permitting alſo the Gibbets, which much ſcandaliz'd the Cittizens, to be taken downe.

1517

May. 7.

May. 11.

May 22.

Shortly after, the ſweating ſickneſſe (call'd for the propriety by which it ſeized on the Engliſh Nation cheifely, *Sudor Anglicus*,) did much infect the Kingdome, being of that malignity, as within the ſpace of three houres it kill'd. This cauſed the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Termes 1517, to remove *Trinity* Terme, 1518. to *Oxford*, where yet it continued but one day, and was adjourned againe to *Weſtminſter*. Nevertheleſſe divers Knights Gentlemen and Officers in the Kings Court dyed thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others of quality, the vulgar ſort ſo commonly periſhing, as in ſome Townes it tooke away halfe the People, in others the third part.

July. *Hall.*

Let us look now a while on forraigne buſineſſe. *Maximilian* continuing the forementioned Treatyes with our King, concerning divers publike affaires, and particularly that of Rendring the Empire, was deſired by King *Henry*, to give him a meeting in the Low-Countries. But *Maximilian* returning anſwer, That to excuſe that labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* ſent the Earle of *Worceſter*, and Doctor *Cuthbert Tonſtall* to him, * lately then come into *Flanders*. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great diſſimulation, they obſerved in him, that while on the one ſide he entertain'd our King with the offer of the Empire, &c. on the other he continued his Treaty (begun in *December* laſt) with the French. Beſides, his Grand-child *Charles* refuſed to confirme the late

* Jan.

Octob. 29. 1516.

1517. late League with our King. So that our Agents thought fit to repreſent to his Grace how little was to be expected; becauſe the Emperour varyed ſo much in his offers; Sometime ſaying, hee would reſigne the Empire to *Henry* the eighth, and himſelfe remaine King of the Romans; which honour his poſterity ſhould inherit. Sometimes, that he would reſigne the Empire to *Charles* of *Caſtile*, and make *Henry* King of the Romans, and his Grand-child *Ferdinand* King of *Auſtria*, and himſelfe Marſhall of the Empire, that ſo he may be equall to the Electors. But as Doctor *Tonſtal* adverтiſed the King, That the Emperour muſt be Elect out of the German Nation: That King *Henry* in accepting the Empire, muſt confeſſe *England* to be under the Empire; Laſtly that he muſt be firſt King of the Romans, when yet the Emperour had declared he meant to hold that Title ſtill: So our King rejected theſe Propoſitions, as Vain, and Artificiall only to draw money from him; And our Agents return'd having only obtained, at laſt, an Oath from *Charles* and Queen *Joane*, his Mother, for performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with ſome ſmall alterations. *Maximilian* alſo, about the ſame time [a] departed out of *Flanders*, having [b] firſt concluded a League at *Cambray* betwixt himſelfe, *Francis*, and his Grand-child *Charles*, by which they confirmed the League at [a] *Noyon*, and [b] *Bruxells*, reſolv'd on a warre againſt the Turke; (as it was now projected in the Councell of *Lateran*,) and appointed an interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place alſo was left for the Pope to enter as Protector thereof, and for King *Henry*. This being advertis'd to our King, made him thinke how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore caus'd a Cittadell to be built there; not neglecting together to prevaile himſelfe of the Pope's mediation for a Generall Peace. Which, as it was willingly imbraced, ſo our King was intreated to ſend him two hundred thouſand Duckats (on ſecurity) for that Warre, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for ſome affaires in *Italy*. Who alſo ſent a *Croiſade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other places: The conditions of which were, That, whoſoever performed certaine Religious Rites, and paid certaine ſums of Money, ſhould have their ſinnes forgiven. Neither was there, in the uſe of theſe *Indulgences*, that diſtinction of Perſons or ſins made, which from ſo grave a Paſtor might be expected, ſo that (promiſcuouſly) all men, who would come to the price, (as ſome Authors have it) were not only promiſed everlaſting bliſſe, but made capable of delivering the ſoules of others out of Purgatory. When thoſe *Indulgences* firſt came forth, no divine worſhip in the Weſt parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* preſcrib'd, was publiquely knowne. For though ſome oppoſers of the Papall Authority had appear'd long ſince, yet wanting thoſe ſupporters who might eſtabliſh and uphold their doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their impreſſions yet were deriv'd to Poſterity; though in ſo obſcure

Octob. 29.
[a] May.
[b] March. 11.
[a] Aug.
[b] Decem. 1516
March. 26. 1517.

obscure and perplex'd a manner, that they served rather to shew errours, then rectifie them; forming (for the rest) no eminent and visible body, or at least no other then such as quickly disappear'd. So that all those, who for the present dissented inwardly from any opinion commonly taught, kept yet the unity of the Church. Of which kind though (I doubt not) there were many, yet by distinguishing in private only the good doctrines from the ill, they both conserv'd their consciences, avoyded Schisme, and maintained towards God, and among themselves an uniformity; being therein not unaptly compared to sheep, and other Creatures, who in pastures; where both wholesome, and hurtfull hearbs grow, choose yet only the better sort. While thus, they might not only reach to Antiquity in all times, but universality in all places; since not the men (who may erre) but the doctrine giveth the true denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore that there was alwayes a Catholique, and a visible doctrine in the more important parts thereof. And thus were all controversies (save those which the subtilties of the Schoolmen brought forth) declined. Neither did men thinke themselves bound to study the intricacies, and sophismes of Authors, in matters impertinent to salvation; but were contented with a single faith in God, the comfort of a good life, and hope of a better upon true repentance; taking the rest for the most part upon the faith of the Church. By which meanes as Peace was generally conserved, so it was not doubted by those who search'd into the primitive times, but that together divers new doctrines (if not errours) were crept into the Church discipline. Among which some, yet, might have beene more excusable, had not they not beene so severely commanded, that the common sort understood them for little lesse then necessary Articles of faith. While thus they were held in much subjection, as being not able sufficiently to distinguish the true and essentiall parts from those that were added only for conveniency or Ornament. But as learning now (the benefit of Printing) became publique, so almost all men, either through reading or conversation, were literate. Insomuch, that they durst looke into the principles of Religion, and take upon them to discusse the parts thereof. Among these, none was more famous then one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Fryar about thirty two yeares old, living about this time at *Witenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*. This man, having observed divers things, not mention'd in the Beleefe, call'd *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to be introduced lately, examines all; beginning first with the *Indulgences* that came out this yeare; though so modestly, as he advertis'd only his superiour the Arch-Bishop of *Mayentz* of some abuse therein, and pray'd Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement wit, to set forth ninety five conclusions, and preach publiquely, against them; (which yet hee submit-

1517.

I. Sleidan. l. Comment.

1517.

Aug. 18. 1518.

Concil. Trid. l. 1.

ſubmitted to the Pope by Letter dated in *June* 1518.) *Maximilian* alſo, foreſeeing whither theſe diviſions might tend, (and the rather that he found them favoured not onely by *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* but divers other great Perſonages) wrote to the Pope, deſiring him to moderate things ſo, as all cauſe might be taken away, not only of diſputations, but concerning impertinent points of Religion. But as the Pope, about thoſe times, had, (betwixt publique affairs and private liberalities) ſo exhauſted the eccleſiaſticall Revenue, as it was neceſſary to ſupply the wants thereof by extraordinary meanes, he purſued his deſigne uſing therein much the help of *Lorenzo Puccj Cardinall Sanctorum* the fourth; who, finding the Schiſme of the Councell of *Piſa* ſo farre extinguiſh'd, as the Roman Church needed not feare to reaſſume her former Authority, confirm'd the Pope therein. So that, though for not above foure hundred yeares, they had taken on them this and divers authorities, not known before, he perſwaded their continuance, leaſt any thing of that kind ſhould ſeeme invalid, or uſurped; Eſpecially, where the pretence was, if not the ſame, yet of a like condition. Whereupon looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* the ſecond, had not only given *Indulgences* to thoſe, who went Perſonally to the War of the Holy Land; but that his ſucceſſors had beſtowed them on ſuch, who being not able to goe would maintaine a Souldier there; And laſtly having diſcovered that they were granted even againſt thoſe that were diſobedient to the Roman Church, and alſo to thoſe who gave Money for building or repairing Churches in *Rome*, &c. He neither queſtion'd their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy kinſmen and favorites, and as it maintain'd his Authority. Whereupon, a war againſt the Turkes, being projected, He ſent forth theſe *Indulgences*, granting, beſides, the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Faſtingdayes, of chooſing their Confeſſor, and ſome ſuch habilities. Had this yet beene all, leſſe ſcandall had followed. But without regard to the end for which they were given, He, by way of anticipation, beſtowed on ſeverall Perſons the Money to be levyed; Aſſigning, among others, to *Magdalen* his Siſter, and wife to *Franceſco Cibo* (naturall Sonne to Pope *Innocent* the eighth) all that quarter from *Saxony* to the Sea Side. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himſelfe had been made Cardinall at fourteen yeares old 1489, and therein given a beginning to the Eccleſiaſticall greatneſſe of the houſe of *Medici*. Beſides, he was indebted to *Cibo* for his entertainment at *Genoua*, at what time he was forced to fly the perſecution of *Alexander* the ſixt. They again Committing this buſineſſe to *Arembaldo* a Biſhop, but a Covetous perſon, much rapine was uſed: The *Indulgences* (as is ſaid) being generally granted to ſuch as gave moſt for them. And as this cauſed much offence, ſo againe the Fryars Hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily diſpenced) were not a little troubled,

troubled, that the Dommicans had now charge thereof. All which, together with the ſinfull and inordinate life of certain Commiſſioners deputed under *Arenbaldo*, for thoſe Levyes, together with the ſo notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinallſhips (as *Sandaval* himſelf diſſembles it not) *Anno* 1517. being notified, occaſion'd theſe following revolutions, which take up a great part of this Hiſtory. For, as theſe *Indulgences* (upon further examination,) were found to be no elder then is above mentioned, nor much confirmed but by a Bull of *Clement* the ſix. 1350. (who abridged *Iubilees* from every hundred yeare to the fifty eth,) nor Anciently practis'd at all, but for relaxation of Pennances, or Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline (without that they were ſaid to deliver from any thing towards God) many exceptions were taken againſt them; ſo that, though to the Merits of ſuch Saints as did works of ſupererogation (being a treaſure which might be conſumed) they had added the Merits of Chriſt, by way of ſupply; yet *Luther* and others after him, vexed all this againe, with that ſucceſſe which ſhall be told hereafter. Neither did there want ſuch as oppoſed them in *England* amongſt whom, one who was zealous of Gods Honour and the publique good, obſerving that not onely ſinnes towards God, were pardoned for Money, but offences towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates (as ſhall be told more particularly in its place where it will appear to what exceſſe this abuſe grew) ſpake after this manner to ſome of the principall Clergy. That puniſhments might have been left to God, but that they ſerve to deterre others. But who would be affraid now, when he knowes at what he may put away his crimes? Of what uſe would our threatnings for ſinnes be if they grow ſo contemptible as a little ſum of money would diſcharge them, is not this to make heaven venall, doth not this reflect ſo much on Chriſtian faith, that it makes a new price for ſinne? Beleeve me my Lords, to make our faults cheape, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that reverence is due to vertue, but to diſſolve thoſe bonds which knit and hold together both civill and Religious worſhip. For when men ſee what they are to pay for their faults, what will they care for other redemption? I would I could ſay we were already fallen under ſome diſeſteem, when by our enjoyning of eaſie faſting, Prayer and ſome little Almes, men finde they ſuffer no more than what they would gladly endure to ſinne again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our penances? let us not then make the Myſteries of Salvation mercenary, or propoſe everlaſting happineſſe on thoſe terms, that it may be obtein'd for money, which we find ſo ſeldom yet without deceit or miſchief. Let mens ſins rather lye againſt them ſtill then open ſuch eaſie wayes to remit them; And take this advice in good part, ſince it ſo much concernes us all. What effect yet this Adviſe tooke will appear hereafter.

1517. Sand.

1350

The diſſentions of *Italy* being for the preſent compos'd, *Francis*

 firſt

1518. first thought himselfe at leasure, now to resent our Kings assisting of *Maximilian*. But (saith *Polydore*) because he considered as well, that hee should get nothing that way, and that withall hee was inform'd this businesse cost our King so much, that the losse thereof might be taken for a resonable Revenge; (for I find in our Records that in one year it cost our King five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand Ducats,) He dissembled the matter. Therefore Converting Malice into Guile, his only labour was how to corrupt the Cardinall; whom at length, between Bribes and flatteries, hee so dexterously won, that hee durst commit his designes to him. These yet were such, as the Cardinall would not abruptly disclose to the King. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the King first some Present; which yet (saith *Polydore*) was but part of that which *Francis* gave him; so that while the King considered the workmanship or rarity of the Gift, he would Convey his meaning, and give these impressions he most desired should remaine in the Kings mind. At these opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, that *Francis* sought to him by Letters earnestly (concealing in the meane while his large bribes) and that all this did reflect on his Majesty whom that King did addresse himselfe to, by his mediation. That others perchance would suppresse and hide these things, as being enough to breed suspition, but that hee would ever proceed clearly and openly with his Majesty. According to which liberty hee would take the boldnesse to advise, That, since the French King did sue to His Majesty in so submisse a way, as to begin at his servants, that hee could not but thinke hee was in earnest: And for *Maximilian* (as being often disoblig'd) little helpe, or indeed trust could be expected. Our King also considering that so much hereof was true, that if hee could not make friendship with *Francis*, it were not amisse yet to avoyd Warre, embraces the motion. Of which *Woolsey* makes his advantage, and brings againe another Message from *Francis*, to such effect, that our King said openly, that hee saw well now *Woolsey* would governe them both. *Polydor. Virg.* The French King, having obtained this interest in the Cardinall, besides new Gifts, sends him divers Letters, terming him therein *Dominus* and *Pater*, and his advices Oracles, till at last hee thought hee might open unto him his Designe of having *Tournay* redelivered for a certaine summe of money. *Woolsey* promiseth his assistance, and hereupon brings the businesse to the King, and from thence, by his Command, to the Councell: where hee openly declares, what vast summes it had cost the King to winne *Theroüene* and *Tournay*; in the former of which yet hee had got nothing but the gratyfying of an unthankfull Person, which was *Maximilian*; in the other little else but a number of unusefull,

unuſefull and ſuſpected ſubjects; who that they might bee kept in order and obedience, would coſt more then they were worth. The charge of the Garriſon alone being above twelve thouſand pound yearly; beſides that of Convoyes, and Ammunition. That, after all this expence, yet, wee could hold it no longer then it pleaſed either of the two Princes, between whoſe Dominions it ſtood; ſince being ſo remote from the Engliſh Pale, it was improbable that from thence wee could ſuccour it; ſo that it were better to let it goe fairely, as for a ſumme of Money, or the like, then to ſtrive to hold it under ſo weake and dangerous a Title, as the ſufferance of his Enemies; One of which, being *Francis*, he thought by the reſtitution thereof might be obliged to be his friend, and the affront he might receive through the taking it by force, avoyded. Neither could *Maximilian* take it ill in point of Juſtice, if we reſtor'd to *Francis* a Towne formerly in his poſſeſſion. This being done, that it were moſt expedient for all Chriſtendom to joyn in League with one another, and againſt the Turke, who lately had made himſelfe formidable. Theſe reaſons were valid enough, had they not come from ſo falſe a ground as the corruption of the Cardinall; (which *Polydore* continually inculcates:) therefore they were embrac'd by all, but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Durham*, now Lord Privy-Seale; only it was requir'd, how much that money was, and of what kind thoſe conditions were? whereupon it was declar'd, that if it pleas'd the King to heare the Ambaſſadors of *Francis*, he had already demanded leave for them to come over, which alſo he had reaſon to endevour; for as I find by our Records, He and *Nicolas de Villeroy* the French Reſident, had in a manner concluded the buſineſſe in private already. This being granted, *Guillaume Gouffier Seignieur de Bonivet* and Admirall of *France*, and *Eſtinne de Poncher* Biſhop of *Paris* * came, with an unruly number for an Ambaſſade, (their Traine being twelve hundred) unto *Greenwich*; The French yet, betwixt Pride and diſſimulation, thought fit not to begin at the buſineſſe they moſt deſired to effect. Therefore their firſt overture was a propoſition for a League in Generall betwixt all Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke, projected by the Pope the yeare before. That the Authors hereof ſhould be both their Majeſties. That the Pope, Emperour, and King of *Spaine* ſhould be admitted hereunto, as principall contractors, (if they deſired it,) within a certain time, and their Allyes and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into conſideration, upon the ſecond of *October* 1518. a League was concluded; which, for being ſingular in it's kind and an excellent Precedent for peace to the future Ages, I ſhall more at large recite, both out of our and the French Records; and the ra-

1518.

July. 9. Records.
* Sept. 30.

1517. March. 16.

Octob. 2.

1518 ther that it ſeemes to have been the rule by which our King framed his Actions many yeares after, as will appeare in this Hiſtory.

That perfect friendſhip and amity ſhould continue for ever betwixt them, and their ſucceſſors, by Land and Sea; (wherein likewiſe all their Subjects and Allyes were to be compriſed.) That they ſhould be the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the enemies of each other; inſomuch, that, if any of the ſaid Confederats, or other being a ſtranger to them, ſhould invade any of the ſaid Confederats preſent Dominions, they ſhould give the ſaid Aſſailant an Admonition to deſiſt and make reparation; which if he did not, within the ſpace of a moneth accept, they ſhould declare themſelves his enemies, and two moneths after, both by Sea and Land, make warre againſt him, at an equall charge; allowing for this purpoſe free paſſage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if civill warres did ariſe in any of their ſaid Countries, none of the Confederats ſhould meddle; unleſſe the ſaid civill wars were kindled and maintained by ſome forraigne Prince. That no one of the Confederats ſhould ſuffer their ſubjects to bear Armes againſt the other, or ſhould levy any forces of ſtrangers, to be imployed againſt the ſaid Confederats; upon paine of being held a violater of the ſaid League; which notwithſtanding ſhould hold firme among the reſt. That none of the ſaid Confedarats ſhould take the vaſſall or ſubject of the other into protection, without the conſent of the King to whom formerly he owed obedience: That all Rebels, Traytors, or ſuſpected of high-treaſon, and fugitives ſhould not be received, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the Dominions of the ſaid Confederats: but that, after twenty dayes warning and requiſition, they ſhould be remanded. That the Pope ſhould have notice of this League; upon condition yet, that, if he accepted theſe Articles within four moneths after, he ſhould be a principall contractor in this League, and name his Allyes alſo. That all the Princes before named ſhould, within the ſpace of four moneths, be received as principall Contractors, if they deſire it, otherwiſe not, without declaration and requeſt to the ſaid two Kings. That any other King, Potentate, or chiefe Lord, might upon his ſuite, be admitted to have the benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principall Contractor. Laſtly, That, howſoever other Princes ſhould obſerve or accept the ſaid Treaty, that yet it ſhould remaine inviolable betwixt them two.

Leo the tenth hereupon, though more deſirous of a Generall Confederacy againſt the Turke, accepted this League, as an Introduction thereunto upon the laſt of *December* following, naming together ſome leſſer Allyes whom he deſired might be compris'd, the Venetians having been nominated already both by *Henry* and *Francis*; upon mature deliberation alſo, *Charles* King of *Spaine* entered into it, and the rather that *Maximilian* the Emperor, conceiv'd

Decemb. 31.

ceiv'd that all Christian Princes might the sooner be dispos'd thereby to war against the Turke, Though as he died shortly after, the League seemd restraind chiefly to *Henry*, *Francis*, and *Charles*, and particularly to the first contractors; though not with such confidence and fervency as it first began. To reinforce this Treaty also, (which was but an Introduction to another) *Francis* did propose a match betwixt the Dolphin his sonne, and the Princesse *Mary*; which accordingly was * concluded two daies after, upon these conditions. 1518 Jan. 12. 1519. Octob. 4.

That our King should give with his daughter 333000 Crownes, and *Francis* as great a Joynture as any King of that Countrey ever gave. That within foure moneths the Sponsal should be made by the two Kings in their Childrens name. That if the Dolphin died before this marriage, the next sonne of *Francis* should take the Princesse on the same conditions. And if the Princesse died first, the Kings next daughter (if he had any) should be given. For further Testimony of this desired Allyance, our King condescended also to restore *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and Saint *Amand*, and the Territories adjacent, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crownes, at certaine termes. For which payment, as also performing of the marriage, sufficient hostages should be delivered to the said *Francis*. That yet out of this summe the said *Francis* might detaine 333000 Crownes, for the aforesaid Dowry of the said Princesse *Mary*, in case she did not Inherit the Crowne of *England*. That the said French King should pardon, and take into his favour all the Inhabitants of the said City of *Tournay*, and places adjacent, reserving to them all ancient priviledges; and that King *Henry* should thereupon release the Oath of obedience they had made him. That, whereas the Citizens of *Tournay* did yet owe to King *Henry* twenty three thousand livres, which now the French King had stipulated to pay, he should substitute the French King to receive it of them againe. That King *Henry* might carry from *Tournay* all the Artillery, Munition, and Instruments of war, either offensive, or defensive, Victuals, &c. That in case the Marriage intended should take no effect, by the default of *Francis*, that then *Tournay* should be delivered back againe to King *Henry* or his Heires, together with the profits received in the mean while, without any deduction for reparation of the said place. And that the Inhabitants thereof should be discharged from all superiority or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledged to the said French King: Upon condition that the said King *Henry* should restore the said French King the summe of six hundred thousand Crownes, or so much as he should receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage should happen on the part of King *Henry*, that then, upon payment of the intire summe of six hundred thousand Crownes, *Tournay* should remaine to the French King. And herein our Records and *du Gillet* do so concurre, as the chiefe difference *Tillet.*

seems

1518. seems to be onely about the ſumme of 500000 Crownes, which our Records ſay was the penalty on either ſide, for non-performance of the Marriage. There was alſo at the ſame time a Treaty concerning the Admiralties in both Kingdomes, having relation to one made the yeere precedent *July* 16. and that of *April* 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, that all ſuits, upon occaſion of depredation by Sea, might from the Ordinary Judge be removed to *London* before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall, or their Deputies, and the Maſter of the Rolls of *England*; And at *Roüen* before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of *France*, their Lieutenants, and the firſt Preſident of the Parliament in *Normandy*; who, upon appeale of the parties on either ſide, were bound to give a definitive ſentence within the ſpace of one yeere; which in caſe of neceſſity might be executed by ſtrong hand, or maine force. The ſaid Appeales yet might be brought before the Kings Councell on either ſide, there to be determined definitively within the ſpace of ſix moneths, &c. All things being thus ſetled for future quietneſſe, the Princeſſe *Mary* was promſed and * betroathed to the Dolphin in Saint *Pauls* in *London*. And the Earle of *Worceſter*, with *Nicolas Weſt* now Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Traine equall to that of *Boniver*, were ſent to require performance from *Francis*, who thereupon * tooke his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for payment on the Rendition of *Tournay*, and contracted the Sponſals in the name of his ſonne. In ſequence whereof, *Febr.* 8. following, the Earle of *Worceſter* delivered *Tournay*, though not unwillingly, ſince it was the Kings pleaſure, yet with ſo much ſcruple (having been by the name of Lord *Herbert* at the taking thereof) as he would not ſuffer the *Mareſchal de Chaſtillon* to enter it with Banner diſplayed, but rolled up, it being (as he ſaid) voluntarily yeelded, and not gotten by conqueſt. Our Writers adde, that by *Francis* foure hundred thouſand Crownes were allowed our King, for the building of the Cittadell; but becauſe neither the French nor our Records (from whom I have taken the effect of theſe Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the diſcretion of the Reader. Onely I muſt not forget what I finde concerning the Cardinals ſatisfaction in this particular, who had twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois* yeerely, for relinquiſhing the Biſhopricke of *Tournay*. As for the other chiefe Counſellors, *Polydore* ſaith, a certaine ſumme of money ſhould be diſtributed among them by the French King, *ita ut conſueviſſent facere olim ejus Majores*.

July 16. 1517. *Tillet.*

*Octob. 11.

*Decem. 14. Decemb. 19. 1519. Feb. 8.

Hall.

Thus was *Tournay* reſtor'd again to the French, however divers concurrent Articles were not performed afterwards, as wil appear. Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that *John* Duke of *Albany* ſhould not be permitted to returne to *Scotland* any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in ſucceſſion to *James* his Nephew, ſhould have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed that this young King ſhould be comprehended

1518.

ded in the League. This particular being resolved a good while since, though not fully signed till now, was the cause that Queen *Margaret* * returned to *Scotland*; where her Husband met her at *Barwicke*; yet so, as there was not thence forth that intire love formerly observed betwixt them. Our Ambassadors being still in *France*, the Bishop of *Ely* went to see the Queen at *Amboise*, from whence he certified our King, that he saw the Dauphin (now almost a yeere old) and imbraced and kissed him. Four daies after the above mentioned Treaty, being the eighth of *October* 1518. another was concluded for an interview betwixt the Kings accompanied with their Queenes, and Madame *Loüise* the mother of *Francis*, and their Houshold Officers. The time appointed was the last of *July* 1519. at *Sandinfield* in *Picardy*, or some other Neutrall place, according as their Deputies on either side should advise; which upon the first of *April* following were to meet together for this purpose.

May 18. 1517.

Octob. 8.

While affaires past thus with *France* and *Scotland*, the Pope sent *Laurentius Campegius* Cardinall as Legate hither; to procure a generall League among Christian Princes (or at least a quinquennall Truce) for a war against the Turke. Besides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy, as also a Commission (specified in a Bull) wherein Cardinall *Woolsey* and Himselfe had Legatine power to visit Monasteries. This Legate (called by *Polydore*, *Inter Juris-consultos Jure-consultissimus*) comming to *Calais* was desired by our Cardinall to stay there, as our * Historians write till he had procured from *Rome* that *Woolsey* might be joynd in the foresaid Commission with him; But, as I finde in our Records and *Polydore*, untill he had obtained from the Pope, that *Hadrian de Castello* the Cardinall (now in Prison for a conspiracy against the Pope) might be devested from the Bishopricke of *Bath*, and the dignity conferred on him; of which also he had the greater hope, that the Pope (as I finde by our Records) had condemn'd him for the said Conspiracy. Besides, it was the care of our Cardinall, to suffer none to have accesse to our King, whom he had not first obliged. Therefore our Cardinall presented him, together with a promise to assist him for the Bishopricke of *Salisbury* when it should fall, some red Cloth to apparell his Traine, which otherwise were but poorely cloth'd. To suit this also the * night before his comming to *London*, he sent him twelve Mules, with empty Coffers fairely covered; some of which yet were overturned and broken in his passage * through the City, to the great shame of *Campegius*. Who finding at last his demand for a tenth rejected by our Clergy, advertises the Pope, and proceeds to the other point of visiting Monasteries. But our cunning Cardinall thinking himselfe able enough to discharge this Office alone, (while *Campegius* stayd in *England*) dispatches *John Clarke* Doctor of Law to the Pope, both to give account of this businesse, and

June 29. * *Hall.* *Antiq. Brit.*

Polyd.

July 28.

July 29.

to

1518

*Dat. June 10. 1519.

to obtaine the whole power for himſelfe. This *Clarke* comming to *Rome* negotiated by our Kings commandment, ſo well on the Cardinals behalfe, that he obtained from the Pope a * Bull, whereby (*Campegius* being now revolted) he was made Legat *à Latere*, and enabled to viſit not onely Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and diſpence with Church Lawes for one yeere next enſuing the date thereof. Which though it gave him great power, miniſtred much offence; as abridging the Biſhops power, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were ſo defam'd by the Cardinals information, that they were termed *Dati in reprobum ſenſum*, and the like, in the originall Bull among our Records, which I ſhould have inſerted in *toto contextu*, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all Religious perſons. And now (ſaith *Polydore*) the Cardinall his pride did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe, that on ſolemne Feaſt daies, he would ſay Maſſe after the manner of the Pope himſelfe; not onely Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him therein, but even Dukes and Earles giving him Water and the Towell. Beſides, not contented with the Croſſe of *Yorke* to be carried before him, he added another of his Legacy, which two of the talleſt Prieſts that could be found, carried on great Horſes before him. Inſomuch (as *Polydore* ſaith) it grew to a Jeſt, as if one Croſſe did not ſuffice for the expiation of his ſinnes. All this yet was but a kind of prelude to that which followed. For, erecting a particular Court of Juriſdiction, which he called the Legats court, and placing in it as Judge one *Iohn Allen* Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjur'd wicked perſon, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every body, no offence eſcaped cenſure and puniſhment, unleſſe privately they gave money; of which they found two commodities: one that it did coſt leſſe, the other that it exempted them from ſhame. Thus as the Rules of conſcience are in many caſes of a greater extent, then thoſe of the Law, ſo he found meanes to ſearch even into their ſecreteſt corners. Beſides, under this colour he arrogated power to call in queſtion the Executors of Wils, and the like. He ſummond alſo all Religious perſons of what ſort ſoever before him; who, caſting themſelves at his feet, were grievouſly chidden, and terrified with expulſion, till they had compounded. Beſides, all Spirituall Livings that fell were conferred on his creatures. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all orders were thus Ranſack'd by the Cardinall, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, that he ſhould not have heard hereof but by him; adding, that no man is ſo blinde any where, as in his owne houſe; Therefore, I pray you, ſaid he, Father, goe to *Woolſey*, and tell him, if any thing be amiſſe, that he amend it. This grave perſon hereupon admoniſhes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in medling with the laſt Wills and

Polyd. Virg.

Teſtament of the dead, he aſſum'd a power, not ſo much as claim'd by the Pope himſelfe; and for diſpoſing ſome Benefices in the gift of the Nobility, and other great Perſons, he thought he uſurped too much upon them. All the uſe *Woolſey* made thereof was to hate the Archbiſhop, with whom he was formerly offended; onely becauſe (as *Polydore* hath it) he ſtyled himſelfe in the ſubſcription of his Letter *Gulielmus Frater Cantuarienſis.* Yet leaſt the Archbiſhop ſhould doe him ill Offices, he temperd his ſpeech for the time. But ſhortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accuſed by one *John London* a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently that all the former Allegations againſt *Woolſey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Cardinall ſo ſharply, that after that time, he became, if not better, yet more wary then before; At this time alſo certaine abuſes about Sanctuaries were taken away by the Kings Authority in ſequence of a Bull granted to that purpoſe by *Julius* the ſecond 1504. *June* 19. to King *Henry* the ſeventh. 1520.

Let us turne our eyes on forraine buſineſſes, now ſomewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a journey into *Spaine*, the French King offerd him the convenience of paſſing through *France*, and Hoſtages for ſecurity, together with the Keys of the Cities he ſhould goe thorough; but *Charles* (as our Ambaſſadors write) refuſed, ſaying, if he landed any where it ſhould be in *England.* According to which Reſolution, taking ſhip, he came to *Spaine Aug.* 25. 1517. as *Sandoval* hath it, (our Records ſay he ſet not to Sea till *Sept.* 8.) where he found things much diſcompoſed, through the ſeverity of the Cardinall *Ximenes.* Beſides, there wanted not ſuſpition that many would have ſet up his brother *Ferdinand* againſt him, whom therefore he ſhortly after ſent to *Flanders.* Howſoever *Ximenes* dyed, not without probability that he was poyſoned, though by whom is uncertaine. *Charles* his firſt Art was calling a Cortes or Parliament in *Caſtilla* and *Leon*, which paſſed not without trouble; there being no little contention whether the People ſhould firſt ſweare obedience to *Charles*, or he the obſervance of their ancient Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, which yet at laſt was ſo temper'd, as they came neere in time together; though, for conſerving the Royall dignity, ſome particular perſons were induced to ſweare firſt. He alſo cauſed Jouſts and Tourneyes to be held according to the manner of that age: Into which *Sandovall* ſaith, ſixty Cavalieres entred, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who alſo encountred ſo roughly that moſt of them were overthrowne and ſore hurt, and twelve Horſes kill'd; Though yet this was little in regard of a Jouſts that * followed, at which ſeven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein nevertheleſſe *Charles*, though very young, appeared, breaking three Lances in foure Carieres. After this, eſtabliſhing ſome Laws, and obtaining ſome money from his people, he went to *Aragon*, where he called a Cortes likewiſe; and ſhortly after, hearing

1517. Auguſt.

Sept. 7. 1517.

1518. Jan.

1518. March 4.

1519. (hearing, that since the death of *Horruc Barbaroſſa* (who from a low
* 1517. fortune & birth made himself first a formidable Pirat, then * King of
Argiel) *Hariadin Barbaroſſa* his brother, succeeded in that kingdom;
and in the exercise of Piracy,) sent *Don Hugo de Moncada* Vice-roy
of *Sicily* to *Argiel*, with as ill successe as their expeditions thither
have commonly proved. Not long after which, newes was
brought him of the death of *Loüise* of *France*, whom by the Treaty
of *Noyon* he should have married, and of the sickness of *Maximi-*
lian; who, now growing old and infirme, determined to make
one of his Grandchildren Emperor: Assembling for this purpose
1518. Aug. a Diet at *Augsburgh*, and proposing particularly *Ferdinand*; as
believing the Electors would sooner choose him, then greaten any
other Prince with that Accession. But as he alone could not dis-
pose this business, so both *Francis* and *Charles* were earnest in it.
Our King also not omitting to discover how *Germany* stood affe-
cted to him. And the rather, that the Pope, as I finde by our
Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilians* death upon
May 20. a dissentery *Ianuary* 12. 1519, ensuing this while, *Richard Pace*
June 20. was * sent to *Germany* by our King; who, in his * dispatches cer-
tified with what Ambition *Francis* and *Charles* aspired to this Dig
nity; saying nevertheless, that the Electors of *Mayentz*, *Colen*,
and *Tryers* stood so affected, that if our King had put in sooner,
and before they were engaged, he thought his Majesty might have
carried it, since the Popes Nuncio there affirmed still he had
Commission from his Holinesse to assist him; as being desirous it
were bestowed on any rather then either *Charles* or *Francis*, but e-
specially on *Charles*. Though at last, finding that betwixt money gi-
ven, and Forces raised by *Charles*, he would prevaile, his Holinesse
thought fit to comply, and give his assent: and the rather, that
the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refused
Jun. 28. it. Whereupon *June* 28, 1519. *Charles* was publiquely chosen
at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcellona*, at first
rejoyced; but afterwards troubled him; as considering what a
burden he had undertaken, especially in a time when the *Turke*
made his approaches against Christendome. Yet, were not these all
his cares; For, as his Clergy in *Spaine* was so offended at the
Sandov. demand of a tenth of their Revenue towards a war against Infidels,
that there was *Cessatio à Divinis* (as *Sandoval* hath it) for above
four moneths in all the Kingdom; And as the people againe began a
dangerous insurrection for the cõservation of their liberties (which
endured some yeeres following, with more method then in such
popular Commotions are ordinarily found) so he had much to doe
at home. Besides the people in *Austria* began another no lesse dan-
gerous in those parts, and of little lesse continuance. Againe, *Fran-*
cis, who was now in good correspondence with our King, pressed
the restitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and
rayse him troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*. All which important affairs

yet

yet were pretermitted, onely to comply with the Ceremony (for it was no more) of receiving the Imperiall Crown, so secure was he of all things but his Title; onely in the midst of these afflictions, the happy newes of the discovery, and begun-Conquest of *Mexico*, and *Nueva Espanna* arrived; which though worthy a particular Relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much increase the bulke of this History. Though for giving a taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortes*, undertaker thereof, going with about foure hundred Spanish foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field-Pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected Kingdomes, did so dexterously behave himselfe, that, playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Souldier, he prevayld himselfe of all. And, in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition both of his Countrey-men and Enemies, layd a foundation of a greater Dominion then any man before him did. Before yet I come to the actions of the new Emperor, I shall exhibite the description of *Maximilian* I have collected out of severall Authors. 1519.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, though never Crown'd by that Title, gave much occasion of discourse concerning the reason thereof; some saying, he declined the charge and hazzard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperiall Crowne at the Popes hands; others believing, that according to his often profession, he meant first to be Emperor of *Constantinople*, which he said was his most lawfull Title. As for his education, he was a Prince brought up in much ignorance, yet studious to repaire that defect by conversation with the more learned sort. His bounty was observed such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the pursuit of his designes; wherein he made a Royall vertue criminall. He had treated with the Princes of his time, with so ill successe, that he knew not in what posture to keepe himselfe; being in the same danger for the most part, whether his faith were broken or theirs. This made him devout even to superstition. For his interprises in the war, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad peace, then a just war. His spare time he imployed in Poetry, writing the History of his life in Dutch verse, which booke by *Pedro Mexia* is called *Teur dank*, and another called *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefest happinesses was, that his Posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best parts of *Europe*. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obsequy was solemnly kept in St. *Pauls*, by our King and the Knights of that Fellowship. *Hall.*

I must remember now, that at the conclusion of the Treaty with *France*, *October* 8. 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there should be an interview in *July* 1519, which yet tooke not effect, because of the death of *Maximilian*, and the occasions ensuing formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520;

1519. Records. June.

both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards, till they saw each other. *Francis* having also now a second sonne, desired our King to give him his name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, (afterwards King, and second of that name.) Neyther did he omit any thing, which might argue his respect. Therefore he sollicites our Cardinall (whom he called his Father and Cousin) still with gifts, sends Presents to the Princesse *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might secure him on that side, knowing well how puissant an enemy he had provoked. *Charles* on the other side, considering how much it concerned him to keep the Cardinall at his devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own way. On which occasion I shall observe, that, as since the discovery of the *Indies*, Coyn hath been much more plentifull, so greater matters have been done in these latter times by Bribes, then by the Sword; Those who have money (that is to say, a seed which will spring any thing in corrupt minds) finding meanes, either in the Authors or the Actors in businesses, to dispose them to their ends, or at least to make advantage of the intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* suspecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the Scottish his friends; therefore though it was his motion formerly to comprise the young King and that Nation in generall within his League with *England*, yet now he strives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King sent to require their Oath thereunto, they refused; so that all that businesse ended in a Truce onely for one yeere. *Leste.* And here I must not omit to relate the Cardinals extreame Ambition; who having a designe to make himselfe Pope, did ever comply with those, who he thought might be his best assistants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more potent, and that, besides it was manifest, that, to which party soever our King inclined, He would turne the Ballance, he hoped by favouring *Charles* to obtaine his desire. Neither wanted he continuall Presents on his part equall to, if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the assistance of *Francis*, though offering him the voyces of fourteen Cardinals (as I finde by our Records) and applies himselfe to *Charles*; Nevertheless the designe for the Interview with *Francis* continued; which being minuted by our Ambassador Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continued by his Successor in *France* Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whose Dispatches (extant in our Records) I finde this passage in a Letter to the King *March* 16. March 16. "I have presented to the French King the "Sword, for the nimble handling whereof he hath nor knoweth "no feat, but thought it not maniable: And call'd the Admirall "to him, and caused him to feele the weight thereof, who shew'd "him that he had seen your Grace weild one more pesant. "But for such promise as he had made your Highnesse, he might "not discover it; saving that it was by meanes of a Gantlet. The

French

"French King desires one of those Gantlets, and he will send your "Grace such a payr of *Cuirasses*, as your Grace hath not seene, the "secret whereof is for the easie bearing of such weight, as rests up- "on the *Cuirasses*, which is commonly born by the shoulders, and "in this *Cuirasse* the shoulder beares no burden. All which I have set down, to awaken the industry of these times in such Inventi- ons. I will come now to the order of the Interview, remitted both by our King and *Francis* unto the Cardinall's direction. Who ac- cordingly, upon the 12 of *March* 1520, declared this order. That, in regard his King was to passe the Seas, to his danger and Cost, and should leave his Kingdome, only to do *Francis* Honour: there- fore that the Interview should not be in a Neutrall place, but that King *Henry*, his Queene, and the Queen Dowager of *France* should come to *Guisnes*, and the French King, his Queen, and Madame *Loüyse* his Mother to *Ardres*, before the end of *May* next; and then that, before 4 of *June* following, King *Henry* should goe halfe a League towards *Ardres*, without passing yet the li- mits of *Guisnes* or the Enlish pale, and there, in some open place, neere the Confines of the French, (which should be declar'd by deputies on either side) the said French King parting from *Ardres* the same day, and houre, and coming to the said place (where no Tent was to be pitched) should meet the said King *Henry* with- in his own Territories, and there should salute one another, and speake together on Horse-back, as long as they pleased. This be- ing done, that the French King should returne to *Ardres*, and King *Henry* to *Guiesnes*. The next day that the said Kings should meet in some Newtrall place, to be nominated by their Deputies; where, after salutations on both sides, King *Henry* should goe to *Ardres* to see and dine with the Queen of *France*, and his Mother, and the French King to *Guisnes*, to see and dine with the Queen of *England*, and Dowager of *France*. That the said enterview should be celebrated with *Tourneyes* and *Iousts*, and exercises of Armes, as well on foot, as on Horse-back, in some place chosen by the said Deputies, betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardres*; which should be ditched, fortified, and guarded by an equall number of Persons to be ap- pointed by the said Kings. And that, during the said exercises of Armes, the Queene's and their Traine might familiarly con- verse together, in the evening still returning to their severall lodg- ings of *Ardres* and *Guisnes*. That the honour and precedence, should be given to them still, who came to see the other. That the number of the Persons and Horses permitted to be at this En- terview should be signed in Certaine Rolls by the said Kings, and should not be increased without mutuall Consent. That two Gen- tlemen with an equall number of followers should watch continu- ally upon the high-wayes, as well for surety of the said King's Persons, as for the safer conducting the victualls. And that these every night should give account, to their severall Kings and Coun-

1520.

March 12.

sellors,

1520. cellors, of their charge. That the Souldiers of the Garrisons of *Bouloigne* and *Calais* should not come neare, without expresse lycense of both Kings. I find also that it was agreed that the number of strokes at *Tourney* should be determined by the Ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all places, that could furnish beauty, and worth enough to deserve so much honour. This being Concluded, the Earle of *Worcester* on our Kings part, and *Monseure de Chastillon* on the part of *Francis*, layd out the ground for these Triumphes, betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardres*, but April. within the English pale. While these Magnificences were preparing, much discourse past betwixt both Princes, and the Ambassadors resident in either Court, concerning the Ancient formes used at great solemnities. Among which it appears, in a dispatch of *Wingfeild's*, that *Francis* told him, how hee had heard that our *Edward*, (I thinke he meant *Edward* the third,) was used at such times to have his meat carryed up by Cavaliers on Horse-back; But to let these things passe, and come to our History, I find *Francis* pursued still his point, and is so confident now of the Cardinalls favour, that he durst make an overture to him, for restoring *Calais*, and all the other Townes in the Englisn pale, for a certain sum of Money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the Cardinall; though the difficulty of effecting it did somewhat deterre him. For as the narrow Seas have been (time out of mind) under the Jurisdiction of the English, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the passage over, were a kind of Bridge, so it could not but seeme strange, to every man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion should be made, whereby wee might loose the further end thereof, and therein deprive our selves of a landing place. Therefore the Cardinall did not thinke fit to propose the businesse at once, nor without discovering first, how it would take with the generall sort. For this purpose, then, he would cast out these words in his ordinary speech, and at his table; whensoever there was question of forraigne businesse. What have we to doe with this *Calais*, that lyes in the Continent, and costs us more then it is worth? I would we were honestly rid of it. ¶ The time now drew neere, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardre*. This also was seconded much by the Cardinall, who between Pride and Vanity, desir'd to see these two together; whom hee was generally thought to governe. He knew also his Presents would not be little; therefore he perswaded our King to build some such house neare *Guisnes*, as might be worthy the reception of two so great Princes. To performe this, two thousand Artificers were appointed. The Modell whereof is still extant in *Greenwich*, among those many rare Pictures, which the most vertuous Prince, King *Charles* my good King and Master hath. The Cardinall also summons the prime Nobility to attend the King this journey, with that splendour

which

which might become Perſons of their dignity. Some of the more thrifty ſort yet, and eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this expence on the Cardinall chiefely, who hearing thereof, for this as well as ſome other cauſes, hereafter mention'd, reſolv'd his ruine. 1520.

Charles the Emperour hearing now of theſe preparations for the Enterview, thought fit perſonally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other friendſhip with *Francis*. For thoſe Ambaſſadors whom he had ſent before to the Engliſh Court for this purpoſe, had fayled, our King alleaging to them for all other Reaſons, his promiſe given. Neither could they deny, but the engagement was deepe; for a King of Armes had been in the Engliſh Court on the part of *Francis*, with a Proclamation, declaring that, in *Iune* next, the two Kings, *Henry* and *Francis*, with foureteene Aydes, would, in a Campe betwixt *Ardre* and *Guiſnes*, anſwer all Commers that were Gentlemen, at *Tilt*, *Tourney*, and *Barriers*. The like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the French Court. And yet theſe defies ſtopt not there, for they were ſent by our King to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, *Germany*, and by *Francis* into *Spaine*, and *Italy*. And now our principall Noblemen had made themſelves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was ſo gorgeous as the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, finding the King yet not ready to ſet forth, went before to ſee ſome Lands he had in Kent. But his Tenants exclaiming there againſt one *Charles Kneuet* his Steward or Surveyour, for exacting on them, the Duke diſcharg'd him? This peice of Juſtice yet prov'd afterwards the cauſe of his overthrow, as ſhall be declar'd in his place, ſo fatall was it to that houſe of the * *Staffords* to ſuffer by their ſervants. Our King finding now the time of meeting to grow neere, comes to *Canterbury* May 25, intending there to paſſe his *Whitſontide*. This while *Charles* the Emperor had ſo layed his journey from *Spaine*, that the day following, himſelfe accompanyed with divers, not only Lords but faire Ladies comes unexpectedly to *Dover*. Our Cardinall hearing this, poſted away preſently, to aſſure him of his welcome. Our King alſo the next day after, very early, came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the Emperour was lodg'd, who met him on the ſtayres; where being ſaluted by our King, and afterwards reconducted to his Chamber, *Charles* continues his Deſigne to breake this Interview, as well, as all other correſpondence with *Francis*: For both *Charles* and *Francis* had great Deſignes at that time; *Francis* deſir'd to hold the territory of *Milan*, and to recover *Naples*, (which the French having * once got under *Charles* the eighth, did againe ſo ſuddenly * looſe, that it ſeem'd no place there was ſtrong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in) Beſides, he purpos'd to re-eſtabliſh *Henry d'Albret* in the kingdome of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*. Againe, the Duke of *Gueldres*, being taken under his protection, he could

Vi. *Rich.* 3. *v. p.*

May. 25.

May 26.

Serres.

* 1494.
* 1495.

1520. could doe no leſſe then defend him againſt *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into ſubjection. But eſpecially, the right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he deſired to conſerve, againſt the pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other ſide, endeavour'd to oppoſe him in all theſe places; and was, beſides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made before in* *Paris*, had
* 1515. * 1516. extorted from him new conditions in the Treaty at * *Noyon*. Therefore, knowing no Prince could ſo much help or hinder him in theſe Affaires, as our King, he offers more advantagious conditions then *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both preſented the Cardinall, and promis'd (if ever occaſion hapen'd) to make him Pope. And that he might the better in gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great part of the ſpoyles of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the firſt part our King excus'd himſelfe, as being far ingag'd in honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as ſoone as this Interview was paſt. From thence then, our King invited him to *Canter-*
May. 27. *bury*, where he gladly ſaw his Aunt Queene *Katherine*; the Queen Dowager of *France* alſo (once propoſed for his wife) ſeem'd very conſiderable, as being for her beauty much celebrated by the Engliſh and French writers. And, if we may beleeve *Polydore*, his paſſion in ſeeing of her was ſad as he could not be perſwaded to dance, and not that Spaniſh gravity, which, in his age, and amongſt ſuch company, might well have been lay'd aſide. Therefore, having paſs'd over the *Whitſontide* holydayes in thoſe ſports, and entertainments, which our King gave him, He * departs to *Sandwich*,
* May. 29. * May. 30. * May. 31. whence * taking ſhip he arriv'd in his native Country of *Flanders*,
June. 4. while our King the ſame day paſt to *Dover*; and thence * with all his Trayne and company to *Calais*. The 4. of *June*, the King, two Queenes, and all the reſt, who were aſſign'd in his Roll or Liſt, remov'd to his Princely lodging neere *Guiſnes*, being a ſquare of timber, whereof every ſide contained three hundred twenty eight foot, with a Savage before it, carrying Bow and Arrowes, and the word *Cui adhæreo præeſt*. The parts of which great building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken a ſunder, and brought home. This, again, was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſh'd; eſpecially the Chappell; from which a private Gallery reached to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guiſnes*: The houſe for *Francis* (neare *Ardre*) was a Building rather great then coſtly, as being erected with ſuch materials, as could be gotten in haſte; his firſt intention being to lodge in a Rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold; untill the wind threw it downe. Before yet theſe
* * Kings met together, the Cardinall went to ſee *Francis*, and treat with him concerning ſome particulars, about the Marriage betwixt the *Dolphin* and Princeſſe *Mary*. The ſubſtance whereof was,
Till. (as I find by the French Records,) That after the Million of Crownes (agreed on in *May* 1515.) were ſatisfied, *Francis* ſhould

pay

pay at *Calais* one hundred thousand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, untill the Marriage were solemnized in the face of the Church; and so, during the life of the said *Henry*; after which if the *Dolphin* should in Right of his wife, be King of *England*, to her and her heires. But if the Marriage were not accomplished, then the said payment should cease. As for the differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, That Madame, the Kings Mother, and the Cardinall of *York* should determine them. All which were concluded the 6. of *June* 1520. The day following the Interview began. The Signall of departing was a warning Peice, to be shot, when either of the Kings were ready. This being given, they both issued forth royally attended. There was some stay yet, upon a report, that the numbers exceeded the lists agreed on. *Francis* stopt first, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergaveny*, the French were twice as many. But the Earle of *Shrowsbury* affirming, the French were more affray'd of the English, then the English of them, they went on, Our King (being thought the goodliest Prince of his time) appearing somewhat before the rest. The French King beholding the demeanour of the English a while, rode himselfe also before his Traine, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked sword before him, and his Admirall and Master of the horse following him. Our King observing this, caus'd the Marquesse *Dorset*, who bare the sword of Estate, to draw it, and goe on likewise. At last coming neare, and the Trumpets sounding on both sides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Andren*, and saluted each other, passing from thence Arme-in-Arme to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there; (the first agreement concerning these points, being it seemes so much altred.) Where, complements being pass'd on both sides, they tooke leave, and return'd to their severall lodgings, upon the 9. both Kings came to view the Campe, or place of exercise being 300 yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, save at the entries; having on the side scaffolds erected for the beholders. There were also set up two Artificiall trees (the one a Hawthorne for *Henry* our King, the other a Frambousier or Raspis-bush for *Francis*) with the Arms of the two Kings and their severall Aydes, on which also the Arttcles of Jousts Tourney and Barriers were fastned. The Ayders on the English side were the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carewe*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the French party were *Monsieur le Duc de Vendosme*, Mr. *de Saint Pol*, Mr. *de Montmorancy*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de Saint Mesme*, Master *de Bruecall*, and Master *Tabanes*. To encounter these againe, divers noble Persons, and good Cavaliers came from forraine Countries; who, presenting their Armes to the Heralds, were thereupon admitted to the Exercise, being appointed upon *Munday* the 11. when the Queens on both sides and Ladyes coming to the

1520.

June 6.

June 7.

June 9.

June 11.

1520 the place, the Kings armed themſelves, with their aydes, who did weare ſutable Liveryes on either ſide. I will not here particularly ſet downe the courſes of theſe Champions, ſince *Hall*, who ſeemes to have been an eye witneſſe, relates them at large. And leſſe ſhall I recount their deviſes, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardie*; according (perchance) to the manner of that time. Let it ſuffice that, among all, none did better (if ſo well) as the two Kings, and eſpecially ours; who diſabled *Monſieur de Grandeville* at the ſecond courſe to runne any more that day. *Monſieur de Montmorancy* held him yet better to it, yet ſo, as to get no advantage. This exerciſe continued foure dayes together: The next day, the French King came early to *Guiſnes*, with a ſmall Trayne; our King alſo (after giving him his *bien-vend*) departing with the like equipage to *Ardres*: ſo that they paſs'd that day with feaſting and dancing with the Queenes, and other Ladies on either ſide. Only I obſerve our King's manner was more gentile then that of *Francis*: for, comming diſguis'd in Masking Clothes, hee not only prevented Treachery againſt his Perſon, when any were intended, but avoyded conteſtation for precedence in his returne home, that night, when he met *Francis* by the way. On Sunday * they repos'd, for the honour of that day; and on Munday, for fowle weather. On Tueſday they continued their Courſes with a like honour: On Wedneſday, being the twentieth, the *Tournay* began; where with ſwords was a rude *Chamaillis*; yet the Kings and their Aydes beat the Counter party to diſarming. Where our King, particularly, got that honour, that a brave French Nobleman with whom he fought, preſented him his Horſe as a gage of his being overcome. The next day our King in *Tournay* likewiſe brok the Poldron of *Mr. de Fluranges*, and made him depart the Campe. But this ſport was ſo rough, that foure of the Aydes being hurt, others were ſubſtituted in their places. The 22. the Barriers began; and, after it, the caſting of Hand-ſpeares or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed-ſword. At which exerciſe likewiſe much commendations was given to either King. For Celebrating theſe Magnificences alſo, the Cardinall ſolemnly ſung an high Maſſe, being attended in the moſt Pontificall manner. At the Cloſe whereof, he diſpenced the treaſure of the Roman Church (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo* the tenth) unto the two Kings, who that day dyn'd together by themſelves, their Queens eating together alſo in an other room: This being done, they both turn'd to Barriers where our King, with a few ſtrokes, diſarm'd his adverſary. The next day our King, with his Siſter Queen *Mary*, went in Masking Apparell to ſee the French Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewiſe going to the Engliſh Queen. At the return they alighted, and after many Complements, Embraces, and rich Preſents to each other, bid adiew the twenty fourth of *Iune*. *Polydore* obſerves yet, that there was ſome abruptneſſe

E. *Hall*,

June 16.

June 17.

June 20.

June 22.

June. 24.

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in the farwell; and saith *Francis* told our King, that our Nation did not well comply with the French in their mutuall visits. But our King putting this off discreetly, their discurse passed no further. And perchance the occasion of this *Mal-entendu*, was, that the French gave forth, *Calais* should be delivered up for Money. The next day the King and all his Traine departed to *Calais*, giving license unto many there to returne unto *England*. Upon the 10th of *July*, the Emperour being at *Graveling* (with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*) our King (at their Request) admits another Interview. To this purpose going towards *Graveling*, the Emperour met him the way, and conducted him thither, giving for the rest to the English all that good entertainment so little a place could affor'd. The next day, the Emperour and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings, and Magnificences passing, businesses yet were not forgot. For our King (together with *Monsieur de-la-Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*) read and offer'd to *Charles*, (now Emperour) the Tripartite League, signed betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereunto by the name of Emperour (as I conceive it.) But the Emperour having formerly sign'd the League by the name of *Charles*, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his designes in *Italy*, and else-where, then to confirme that agreement, so deferr'd or avoyded this proposition; that I find not what effect it presently tooke. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the affaires, betwixt himselfe and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his adversary. He would also have gone out of Towne that night, being the third after his coming; but our King using a courteous kind of violence to make him stay, the rumour went among the Emperours servants, that he was detayn'd; but the next day clear'd this: for the Emperour, being conducted some part of his way towards *Graveling*, was courteously bid farwell, and presented with a brave Courser richly trapped. The French King hearing of these kind passages, and remembring particularly that *Charles*, by his first agreement had constituted our King, Arbiter of all emergent differences, tooke this Interview extreamly ill; and the rather that he heard some muttering of a Match proposed by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperour and the Princesse *Mary*, though a child. Which yet was a mistake it being not treated of seriously (as the Spanish writers have it) till neare two years after; and not before the French had both broken the common League, and given new provocations by their practices in *Scotland*. Our King having now no more to doe at *Calais*, tooke the first faire wind, and, with all his Trayne, came safely into *England*.

1520.

E. Hall.

July 10.

July 11.

I shall returne now to the businesse of *Luther*, whom *Leo* cited to *Rome* 1518. giving * order also to Cardinall *Cajetan* his Legat in *Germany*, to oppose his doctrine, not omitting Letters to this pur-

*Aug. 23. 1518.

1520

pose, both to *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*, and to the superiour of the *Augustines* in *Germany*. Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers conferences at the dyet of *Augsburg*, labours to convert him, but in vaine. At last *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's name, He appeales to him, in the forme usuall in these Cases, *tanquam à Pontifice minus edocto ad eundem rectius edocendum*; but desires, with all, he might answer for himselfe in *Germany*, and that caution might be given for his safety; since, what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this while, to make good his Authority *grants new *Indulgences*, which no man should reject unlesse hewould be excommunicate, &c. *Luther* finding, thus, no hope of alteration, and besides that he was branded with the name of Hereticke, * appeales from *Leo* to a Generall Councell; yet writes to the Pope, (1519) a very submisse Letter, wherein he protests; That hee was never intended to fall away from the Church. That all hee said, was chiefely intended against those who abused the power of *Indulgences*; concerning which therefore he would speake no more, so that his adversaries were likewise silenced; briefely, that hee would omit nothing, which might concerne Peace in Religion.

Sleid. 1518. Octob. 19.

1518. *Nov. 11. *Sleid. C. L.* 1

1518. *Nov. 28. 1519. March. 3.

Maximilian dying about this time, *Luther* had some Respite. Mens eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed *Maximilian*, then any other Argument. Besides, he seemed now unwilling any longer to dispute the Pope's Authority, to which his adversaries enviously reduced all the controverted points. Yet as *Ulricus Zuinglius* appeared about this time at *Zutich*, to consent with *Luther* in many things, and that a Letter of *Erasmus* also, dated 1519, did much encourage him, so he began to recover force. That of *Erasmus* (*extant l. 6. Epistol.*) telling him, he had some favourers in the *Low-countries*, but many in *England*, and among them divers principall Persons; that yet he should do well to use modesty and discretion; *Christ* having thereby both instituted his Doctrine, and his Apostle *Paul* destoyed the Jewish Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto *Allegorie*. That he should doe well to speake against those rather who abused the Papall Authority, then against the Pope himselfe. In conclusion, that hee should take heed of doing any thing out of anger, hate, or vaine glory. *Philip Melanthon* also, a learned pious, and charitable man, did many wayes second *Luther*. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Schollers, who lived at that time, it may be observed, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected singularity in some one point or other, they might have found more followers of their Doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the Pope, either to cut off some points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more indifferency to the People. Howsoever, all these persons concurring with *Luther* in great part, gave him that courage,

that

that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitency, (or Pennance,) the Office or duty of Charity, and Indulgencies and Pardons, he began now to question the Popes Authority, Images in Churches, the *Cælibate* of Priests, and some other points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom, that he might give an account of his Doctrine, he comes to Conference at *Leipsique*, 1519. accompanied with *Philip Melancthon*, where *John Eccius* opposd him, desiring to begin his disputation at the Popes Authority; but *Luther*, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the question; for the rest, thinking fit onely to send unto the Pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he writes to this effect. That, though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a Generall Councell, it was not with an ill minde, as having in his continuall Prayers sollicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himselfe to be sharpe and censorious enough, when offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holinesse in particular, onely it grieved him that he lived in so wicked a Court as that of his at *Rome*, which he said was now become another *Babylon* or *Sodome*; that he being amidst such people, as a Lambe amongst Wolves, it were pitty he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple Parsonage or Living, or otherwise to maintaine himselfe with what he had gotten already, then to hazzard himselfe to such Pestilencies and Infections; That, in this advice, he did but imitate *Bernard*, who did deplore the estate of *Eugenius*, when *Rome* was far purer then at this day. In conclusion he recommends to him his late Booke entituled *De libertate Christiana*. But whatsoever *Luthers* advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his words had either the power or Spels to call the Pope from his seat, or that tendernesse of conscience to live among wicked persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his charge, all his dignities and honours; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himselfe understood it, onely for a Pasquill or Satyre; which made him also assemble the Cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemned *Luther*; yet not so, but it was wishd by some, a Reformation of divers abuses had either preceded *Luthers* admonition, or at least accompanied it at that time, when in humble and modest termes he submitted himselfe to the Church. That their arrogating supreame power in temporall things, had made divers Princes disaffect their Government, who yet embraced their Doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an Author for deserting the Church, who had already sought occasions for it, in the late Counceil of *Pisa*, and elsewhere; Neither was it a good Argument, to say that *Luther* was a dangerous person; since, the more hurt he could doe, the lesse he was to be forced to extremities; as having betwixt his wit

1520 *Sleid.*

1519. July. 4.

April 6.

Sleid. l. 2.

1512.

1520. wit and favourers, enough to trouble all things: Briefly, that, to avoyd his venomous Doctrine, the beſt way was not to urge him to caſt it forth, but rather (if it could be done handſomely) to quiet him by beſtowing ſome Eccleſiaſticall preferment. But ſo haughty were the major part of the ſpirits in this Aſſembly, that rejecting this Politique advice, they condemned *Luthers* bookes to
June 15. the fire; but *Luther* growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length Excommunicated, and his Bookes burnt. He, on the other ſide, ſtriving to revenge this, at *Witenberg* in a full Aſſembly
*Decem. 10. of Schollers burnes * the Booke called *Jus Pontificium*; warning men beſides to take heed of the Papall Government, and Doctrines, appealing againe to a Councell. *Charles*, underſtanding theſe paſſages, was much troubled, as foreſeeing the following diſſentions. Nevertheleſſe, he tempered buſineſſes ſo, as he held the Pope thereby in ſome ſuſpence; Therefore he would not precipitate his ſentence againſt *Luther*, or ſo much as cenſure him, till he were
*Octob. 23. publiquely heard. For which purpoſe, (after his being * Crownd
* Jan. 6. ſolemnly at *Aix.*) He aſſembled a Dyet at * *Wormbs*, whether he
1521 called *Luther*, giving him a ſafe Conduct alſo, to goe and returne.
*April 16. Whereupon *Luther* * came in his Fryers habit, but refuſing to re-
* May 8. tract his opinions, he and his favourers were * proſcribed by Decree or Edict. Howbeit, as this did rather puniſh then convince him; Our King (being at leaſure now from warres, and for the reſt delighting much in learning) thought he could not give better proof either of his zeale or education, then to write againſt *Luther*. To this alſo he was exaſperated, that *Luther* had oftentimes ſpoken contemptuouſly of the learned *Thomas* of *Aquine*, who yet was ſo much in requeſt with the King, and eſpecially the Cardinall, that (as *Polydore* hath it) he was therefore called *Thomiſticus*. Our King hereupon compiles a Booke, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppoſes *Luther* in the point of Indulgences, number of Sacraments, the Papall Authority, and other particulars, to be ſeen in that his worke, entituled *De ſept. Sacrimentis*; a principall copy whereof, richly bound, being ſent to *Leo*, I remember my ſelfe to have ſeen in the *Vatican Library*. The manner of delivery whereof (as
Octob. 10. I finde it in our * Record) was thus; Doctor *John Clarke* Dean of *Windſor* our Kings Ambaſſador, appearing in full Conſiſtory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot, and then his Cheekes to kiſſe; then receiving the Booke, he promiſed to doe as much for Approbation thereof to all Chriſtian Princes (which our King much deſired) as ever was done for Saint *Auguſtines* or Saint *Hieromes* workes; aſſuring him withall that the next Conſiſtory he would beſtow a publique Title on our
* 1515. King: which having been * heretofore privately debated among
1516. the Cardinals, and thoſe of *Protector*, or *Defenſor Romanæ Eccleſiæ*, or *Sedis Apoſtolicæ*, or *Rex Apoſtolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produced, they at laſt agreed on DEFENSOR FIDEI. A

Tranſ-

Tranſcript of which Bull (out of an Originall *ſub Plumbo* in our Records) I have here inſerted. 1521

LEO Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, ſalutem & ampliſſimam ben. Ex ſupernæ diſpoſitionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Regimini præſidentes, ad hoc cordis noſtri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, ſine qua nemo proficit ad ſalutem, continuum ſuſcipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibuſque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, ſanâ Chriſti fidelium præſertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinâ ſunt diſpoſita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes noſtri miniſterii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et ſicut alii Romani Pontifices prædeceſſores noſtri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, ſpecialibus favoribus proſequi conſueverunt, illos præſertim qui, procelloſis temporibus, & rabida Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, non ſolum in fidei ſerenitate & devotione illibata, ſacro-ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ immobiles perſtiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipſius Eccleſiæ legitimi filii, ac fortiſſimi Athletæ Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum inſanis furoribus ſpiritualiter & temporaliter ſe oppoſuerunt: Ita etiam nos Majeſtatem tuam, propter excelſa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem, in qua permiſſione divinâ ſedemus, opera & geſta condignis & immortalibus præconiis & laudibus efferre deſideramus, ac ea ſibi concedere, Propter quæ invigilare debeat, à grege dominico Lupos arcere, & putrida membra, quæ myſticum Chriſti Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abſcindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in fidei ſoliditate confirmare. Sanè cum nuper dilectus filius Iohannes Clarke, Majeſtatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Conſiſtorio noſtro coram Venerabilibus fratribus noſtris Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, & Compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis, Librum, quem

1521. quem Majestas Tua Charitate, quæ omnia sedulò & nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholicæ zelo accensa & devotionis erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra erroris diversorum hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos tanquam nobile, & salutare quoddam Antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde authoritate nostra approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta Oratione sua exposuisset Majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum authoritatibus, notorios errores ejusdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos sequi & defensare præsumentes totius Regni viribus & armis persequatur; Nosque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & cælestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam diligenter accurateque introspexissemus; Omnipotenti Deo, a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum est, immensas gratias egimus, qui optimam & ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inspirare, eique tantam gratiam supernè infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea scriberes, quibus sanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum hujusmodi suscitatorem defenderes, ac reliquos Reges & Principes Christianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipsi etiam Orthodoxæ fidei & Evangelicæ veritati in periculum & discrimen adductæ, omni ope sua adesse opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autem esse censentes, eos, qui pro fidei Christi hujusmodi defensione pios labores susceperunt, omni laude & honore afficere, volentesque non solùm ea quæ Majestas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum absolutissima doctrina nec minori eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, authoritateque nostra approbare & confirmare, sed etiam Majestatem ipsam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut nostris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi fideles omnes intelligant, quàm gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majestatis tuæ Munus, hoc præsertim

1521.

præsertim tempore, nobis oblatum: Nos, qui Petri, quem Christus in Cœlum ascensurus vicarium suum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam gregis sui commisit, veri Successores sumus, & in hac sancta sede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris matura deliberatione, de eorum unamini consilio & assensu, Majestati tuæ titulum hunc, (viz.) Fidei Defensorem donare decrevimus, prout Te tali titulo per præsentes insignimus; mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut Majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, &, cum ad eam scribent, post dictionem, *Regi*, adjungant, *Fidei Defensori*. Et profectò, hujus tituli excellentia & dignitate ac singularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpensis & consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque Majestati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuissemus: quod quoties audies & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujusmodi titulo intumesces vel in superbiam elevaberis, sed solita tua prudentia humilior, & in fide Christi, ac devotione hujus sanctæ sedis à quâ exaltatus fueris, fortior & constantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum posteris tuis relinquere, illisque viam ostendere, ut, si tali titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, tali etiam opera efficere præclaraque Majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi studeant; quam prout de nobis & dominica sede optimè merita est, unâ cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te & ab illis nascentur, nostra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas nobis data est, larga & liberali manu benedicentes, Altissimum illum, qui dixit, per me Reges Regnant, & Principes imperant, & in cujus manu corda sunt Regum, rogamus & obsecramus, ut eam in suo sancto proposito confirmet, ejusque devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro sancta fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti Orbi terrarum conspicuam reddat, ut judicium quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni titulo decorantes, a nemine falsum aut vanum judicari possit;

1521 denum, Mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, sempiternæ illius gloriæ consortem atque participem reddat.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Viecsimo Primo. Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno Nono.

✕ *Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ſs.*
Ego P. tt. S. Eusebii Presb. Cardinalis ſs.
Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. ſs.
Ego laur. Scop^um quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis ma^n. propr^a. ſs.
&c. (24 *alii Cardinales.*

Such was the covetousnesse of the Richer sort at this time in *England*, that they converted many large Corn-fields into Pasture; hereof ensued a generall decay not onely of houses, but of persons, which should doe their King and Countrey service. Besides, Sheep, Cattell, and Clothes being thus within the hands of a few, the price was much inhaunsed. To remedy this mischiefe, the King caused the ancient Statutes, provided on that behalfe, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commission to the Justices of Peace, to restore all the Tillage ground that had been enclosed any time within fifty yeeres last past, and to cause the houses anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as *Polydore* hath it) divers by compounding secretly with the Cardinall, exempted themselves.

About this time *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent for his high bloud, and large Revenue, drew on himselfe a dangerous suspition; which though it was againe fomented by the Cardinall, who disaffected him for some speeches he had cast forth, yet could not have overthrown him, but that some indiscretion of his owne concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill offices of *Charles Knevet*, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appeare, till he saw the Duke not onely discountenanced, but weakned in his Friends and Allies. And of these I finde two principally. One, *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, whose daughter the Duke had married; the other *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, who had married the Dukes daughter. Against *Northumberland*, cause was taken for clayming certaine Wards; which, after close commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquish. Against *Surrey* the Cardinall proceeded otherwise. For, though he hated him for drawing his dagger at him on some occasion; yet as the Earle was more wary then to give new offence,

he

he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable imployment, for which he found this Overture. 1521.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, made Deputy in *Ireland* to *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, (now King, who at * foure yeeres old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Countrey) having done divers good services against Rebels, was made * Knight of the Garter, and enjoyed that place till his death; when his sonne *Gerald* being substitute therein, so behaved himselfe, as he likewise got much credit: though, as he had the house of *Ormond* his enemy, and particularly Sir *Pierce Butler* Earle of *Ossory*, secret ill-offices were done him; Nor did it availe, that he had given his sister in marriage to the said *Butler*, and help'd him to recover the Earldome of *Ormond*, detained wrongfully since the death of *James*, by a Bastard of that Family; For it was impossible to oblige him; especially, where he found so advantageous an occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earle of *Desmond*, his perpetuall adversary, since the division of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, (in which his Ancestors were on the side of *Lancaster*, and the *Kildares* and *Desmonds* on that of *Yorke*,) he discovered more favours done the present Earle of *Desmond*, (whom he called a Traytor) then he thought due to him; Insomuch that he complain'd to the Cardinall, who thereupon sent for *Kildare*. Though *Polydore* saith, he came voluntarily into *England* to match with some English Lady, and there behaved himselfe so unrespectfully to the Cardinall, that he was cast into Prison. But whatsoever the cause was, his charge was bestowed on the Earle of *Surrey*, who going to *Ireland* in *April* 1520, reduced the Earle of *Desmond* and others to obedience. 1520. 1520. April.

Camp. Hist. of Ireland.
* 1495.
* 1504.
* 1513.
Campion Hist. Irel.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being thus exposed and unfriended, the Cardinall treats secretly with *Knevet*, concerning him; who thereupon discovers his late Masters life; Confessing that the Duke, by way of discourse, was accustomed to say, how he meant so to use the matter, that, if King *Henry* dyed without issue, he would attaine the Crown, and that he would punish the Cardinall. Besides, that he had spoken hereof unto *George Knevet* Lord *Abergavenny*, who married the said Dukes daughter. By what meanes yet the Duke intended particularly to effect these designes, I doe not finde exactly set downe by *Charles Knevet*. Neither doe the Authors, who write hereof relate his Pedegree. Onely our Heralds say, he was descended from *Anne Plantagenet* daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, sonne to King *Edward* the third. How farre this yet might entitle him to the Crown in case King *Henry* should have no issue, I have neither leisure nor disposition to examine. I shall onely therefore, for satisfaction of the Reader, select some principall points out of his Indictment; leaving the Reader, for the rest, unto the search of the Record: In which, the points that in my opinion made most against the Duke, were; First, That at

1521. * severall times he had sent to one *Hopkins* a Monke in the Priory of *Henton*, to be informed by him, concerning the matters he imagined; and that the Monke should returne answer, The Duke should have all; and therefore should labour to procure the love of the people. 2 That the Duke * afterwards should goe in person to the said *Hopkins*, who confirmed the said prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the said Duke should give him severall Rewards. 3 That he should * speake to *Ralph Nevil*, Earle of *Westmerland*; (his sonne in law) that, if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of *Buckingham* should be next in blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no issue. That, to comply herewith, he did many things which argued Ambition, and desire to make himselfe popular. That he * said to one *Gilbert*, his Chancellor; that whatsoever was done by the Kings Father, was done by wrong; murmuring withall against the present Government. 4 That the said *Charles Knevet*, that if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof he was in danger upon occasion of one Sir *William Bulmer*) he would haae so wrought, that the principall doers thereof should not have cause of great rejoycing. For he would have playd the part which his Father intended to have put in practice against King *Richard* the third at *Salisbury*, who made earnest suit to come into the presence of the said King; which suit if he might have obtained; he having a Knife secretly about him, would have thrust it into the body of King *Richard*, as he had made semblance to kneele downe before him. And that, in speaking these words, he maliciously layd hands on his Dagger; swearing, that, if he were so evill us'd, he would doe his best to accomplish his intended purpose. 5 That * being in speech with Sir *George Nevill* Knight, Lord *Abegavenny*, he said, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realme, in spight of whosoever said the contrary; swearing, that if the Lord *Abergavenny* reveal'd this he would fight with him. This I conceive to be the substance of the most speciall Articles in the Evidence; which the Courteous Reader yet may doe well to consider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet these particulars were proved, and in what sort, my Authors deliver not. Onely I finde (out of our Records) that the Duke of *Buckingham* being committed to the Tower *April* 16. did under his own hand declare to Sir *Thomas Lovell* Constable of the Tower, the passages betwixt him and *Hopkins*, in this manner: That is to say, that the Summer before our King made warre in *France*, *Hopkins* sent for him; but, not being able to goe, he commanded one *Delacour*, his Chaplaine, to repaire thither; howbeit, that *Hopkins* said nought to him; yet that himselfe came the next * Lent; where, in Shrift, the said Monke told him, that our King should win great honour in his journey to *France*; and that if the King of Scots came to *England* then, he should never goe home againe.

* 1512. April 24. & July 22. & 1513. April 26. & 1517. July 20. * 1515. April 16. * 1518. March 20. * Feb. 20. 1519. * Feb. 20. 1519. * 1519. Sept. 10. April 16. 1512. * 1513.

And

1521.

And that, when he asked *Hopkins* how he knew this, he ſaid *ex deo habeo*: And that *Hopkins* demanding afterward, what Children the King had had, He told the number; and that *Hopkins* ſhould ſay thereupon, I pray God his iſſue continue; for that hee feared God was not contented, becauſe he made no reſtitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to adviſe the King's Councell to make reſtitution. Further, That he told his Chancellor thoſe words, and at his returne out of *France*, came to *Hopkins* againe, and ſaid, he had told him true: Alſo, that (another time) he came to *Hopkins*, together with his ſonne *Stafford*, and the Earl of *Weſtmerlund*; and that *Hopkins* asked who he was, and thereupon ſhould ſay, that ſome of his bloud or name ſhould prove Great Men. And that, after this, *Hopkins* ſhould ſend to the Duke, to pray him, according to his promiſe, to help their Houſe (being at *Henton* in *Sommerſetſhire*) to make their Conduit; the ten pounds formerly given by him, being ſpent. And more then this he confeſs'd not. Notwithſtanding which, when the Indictment was openly read, the Duke ſaid it was falſe, untrue, conſpir'd, and forg'd, to bring him to his death; alleadging (as he was an eloquent Perſon) many reaſon to falſifie the Indictment; the King's Attorny on the other ſide, producing the Examinations, Confeſſions, and proofes of witneſſes. The Duke hereupon deſired the witneſſes which were *Knevet*, *Gilbert*, *Delacour*, and *Hopkins*, to be brought forth. Theſe confirming their depoſitions, the Duke was tryed by his Peeres, (being a Duke, a Marqueſſe, ſeven Earles, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was for the time made Lord High Steward of *England*. They condemning him, the Duke of *Norfolke* delivered his ſentence, not without teares. To which he replyed, My Lord of *Norfolke*, you have ſaid as a Traytor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never none. But, my Lords, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me; but the Eternall God forgive you my death, and I doe. I ſhall never ſue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him, then I deſire. And ſo I deſire you, my Lords, and all my fellowes, to pray for me. Whereupon hee was brought back to the Tower. Where all the favour he received was a Meſſage from the King, declaring his ſentence was mitigated ſo farre, that, inſtead of receiving the death of a Traytor, he ſhould have only his head * cut off. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the people, (who libell'd the Cardinall for it, calling him *Carnificis filium*,) as being thought rather *Criminall* through folly and raſh words, then any intention declared by overt Act againſt the King's Perſon; and therefore not uncapable of his mercy; which alſo it was thought would not have been denyed, had he ſued for it in fitting terms. But ſince at his Arraignment, he did, as it were, diſclaime his life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only cauſed a Letter of comfort to be written to the Dutcheſſe,

Hall. Holinſhead.

E. Hall.

May. 13.

v. Mar Hymillis Hony. p 392

May 17.

1521. Dutcheſſe, and Lord *Stafford*. Yet the *Tragedy* ended not ſo; for though *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, after a few moneths impriſonment, was, through the Kings favour, delivered; yet *Hopkins*, after a ſerious repentance that he had been an Author of ſo much miſchiefe, dyed of griefe. And here I muſt obſerve that together with this Duke, that great place of High-Conſtable-of-*England* remaines extinguiſh'd, unleſſe ſome extraordinary occaſion reviveit.

I ſhall returne here to ſpeake of *Charles* the fifth, who having, as is ſayd, keept a Diet at *Wormes*, did now Leavy Forces. And the rather, that he heard warre was intended againſt him by *Solyman*; who, being a Martiall Prince, and Crowned the very ſame day at *Conſtantinople*, that *Charles* was at *Aix*, ſeemed to have ſomewhat of the ſame Aſcendent; however they differ'd in their Intereſts. Beſides, it was obſerved, that as *Charles* the fifth was the eleventh Emperour from *Albertus*, in whoſe time the houſe of the *Ottomans* began; ſo *Sueliman* (or *Solyman*) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. Howſoever, on their occaſion much of their Subjects bloud was ſpilt, and more would have been, had not *Francis* turned the Armes of *Charles* upon himſelfe. The Cauſes of diſſention betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, were; Firſt, That *Claude* Eldeſt daughter of *Loüis* the twelfth, and *Anne* of *Bretagne* having by a ſolemne * Treaty been accorded to *Charles*, *Francis* yet * obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his hopes of *Bretaigne*. Secondly, their mutuall Ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, ill-Offices done by their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefely, the incompatibility of their demands for their Ancient Right; whereof I find theſe moſt urged. Homage for *Flanders*, and *Artois*, required by *Francis*, as being held anciently of the Crown of *France*; which *Charles* yet refuſed, ſaying, that, ſince that Eſtate was devolved to an Emperour, it was in a higher dignity, then could be ſubmitted to any Inferiour. But to this again *Francis* replyed, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Beſides, that the Title of a King was greater and more Auguſt then that of an Emperour; both as the power is more abſolute in it ſelfe, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which purpoſe a paſſage was alleaged out of *Matth. Paris*, when the Empire having beene offered to *Robert*, brother of *Saint Loüis*, the Councell of State refus'd it, for this reaſon; ſaying further, it was enough that *Robert* was brother to ſo great a King. For which Cauſe alſo, the French obſerve, that none ever aſpir'd to it of the Line of the *Capet's*, but *Francis*. Againe, they differ'd about *Milan*, of which *Loüis* the twelfth having gotten the * Inveſtiture, *Francis* did in purſuit of his Right, expell *Maximilian Sforza*; whoſe Brother and ſucceſſor yet was protected by *Charles*, and reinplaced. Moreover, the Duchy of *Burgundy* was queſtioned by *Charles*. For though *Loüis* the eleventh had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto,

* 1501.
* 1514. May 18. 1519.
* 1500.
* 1515.

thereunto, it was alleaged, that *Iohn* King of *France* had given it to his younger Son *Philip*, to hold to him and his heires Males only; and that *Charles* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, having but one onely daughter, it therefore reverted; yet *Charles* underſtanding the buſineſſe otherwiſe, claimed it by a long ſucceſſion of his Anceſtors in *Burgundy*. Theſe ſo many pretences on either ſide engaged the two Princes into perpetuall warres, which began this yeare. For *Francis*, inſiſting ſtill upon the Treaty of *Noyon*, prepared to recover *Navarre*; And to this he thought the Comunidadoes or Inſurrections in *Spaine* (begun 1519, and continued ſtill) would conduce. For as the people held their *Iunta* or Aſſembly for redreſſe of their grievances, he conceived ſome might be drawn to his party. But he was deceiv'd; for they mutined not for his ſake, but their own, as appear'd; pretending for their chiefe grievances only, that their King lived in forraigne parts, and tranſported their Money for his occaſions there, and beſtowed divers great Places in *Spaine* on ſtrangers. So that, though they continued their demaunds with much inſolency and boldneſſe, they perſiſted nevertheleſſe in their love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with *Francis*. All which yet could not preſerve them. For, though they proceeded with more ſobriety and correſpondence, then hath been obſerved in any popular Inſurrections, (as *Sandoval* relates it at large) they were divided at laſt, and overthrowne by the name of Rebels; Their Actions being ſo bad and dangerous, as their intentions could not excuſe them. Howſoever, *Francis* thought fit to make uſe of this occaſion, and therefore, before their defeat, he levyed Forces; and, not long after, ſent *Andre de Foix*, *Seigneur de Aſperrant*, and Brother of the famous *Lautrech*, to *Navarre*. Where a war began, that, in divers places, laſted 38 yeares following (as *Sandoval* obſerves it) and coſt the lives of above five hundred thouſand men; the French ſpeake of a far greater number. Their firſt Progreſſe was happy; for, in leſſe then 15 dayes, they tooke *Navarre*. But as they would goe further to *Catalunna*, and beſiege *Logronno* (or *Groyne*,) The Spaniſh Commanders, attended now with many of the Communidadoes, gave Battaile and overthrew them taking *de Foix* Priſoner: whereupon alſo *Navarre* was regained in leſſe time then it was loſt, and *Pamplona* thenceforth better fortified. But not on this part only did the French ſhew their *Mal-Talent*, but diſcover'd it on this occaſion alſo towards another Coaſt. The Prince of *Chimay* conteſting in Law with the *Seigneur d' Aymeries* concerning a Caſtle or Town in the Forreſt of *Ardennes*, and County of *Luxemburg*, call'd *Hierge*, gain'd his cauſe by the judgement of the Peeres of the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, who determin'd buſineſſes in chiefe; and accordingly enjoyed poſſeſſion thereof, for many yeares. Howbeit *Aymeries* (being not contented herewith) appealed to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, and prevail'd ſo far, that the heires of *Chimay* were ſummon'd to give accompt of their title unto

1521

1516.

March.

1521. to the Emperour. But, becauſe the Soveraignty of *Robert de la Mark Duc de Boüillon* was moſt concern'd herein, they, for their beſt refuge, made complaint to him; he again addreſſeth himſelfe to the Emperor, and remonſtrates his right: yet, finding the cauſe of *Aymeries* likely to prevaile, ſecretly Treats with *Francis*, for aſſiſtance and protection. Being aſſur'd hereof, he (though a ſmall Prince) ſends a publique Defie to *Charles*, being then at the Diet in *Wormes*. The Emperour, judging quickly from whence this audaciouſneſſe proceeded, prepares for warre. Neither wanted hee a ſeeming occaſion. For though he ever ſuſpected that *Robert de la Mark*, (as one who had ſerv'd heretofore the French in *Italy*, had his chiefe dependance on *Francis*) yet now being inform'd that *Fleuranges* (ſon unto the ſaid *Robert de la Mark*) having rais'd in *France* about three thouſand foot and foure hundred horſe, (all Voluntiers) had beſieged *Vireton*, a little place in *Luxemburg*, appertaining to the Emperor; he nothing doubted, but that the French had aſſiſted him herein. Howbeit, *Francis*, conſidering it was not convenient to begin a warr ſo neer home, & beſides, being adviſed by our King to keep the Peace, ſignifies his diſlike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon *licens'd his Forces. Notwithſtanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* to goe with an Army againſt *Robert de la Marke*, not omitting withall to diſpatch an Ambaſſador to *Francis*, with Inſtructions, to proteſt, that *Francis* had firſt broken the Treaty of 1518, by ayding *Robert de la Mark*. He ſent word to our King alſo of this proceeding. Who taking the matter into conſideration, pronounced ſentence againſt *Francis*, as the firſt Infractor of their Tripartite League: which being maturely pondered by *Francis*, (who knew well, how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who (by an expreſſe Article of the ſaid Treaty) was to fall on the firſt that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuſe the matter, and undertake that *Robert* ſhould deſiſt from hoſtility. This was not yet ſo accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the ſending of his Army, under *Henry de Naſſaw* (and not *Franceſco Sichino* as *Iovius* hath it) to ſeize on the Dominions of *Robert*, who accordingly tooke divers places. But *Robert* going to the Emperor hereupon, obtained a Truce for ſix weekes, *Henry* of *Naſſaw* in the meane time putting Garriſons in the places he had wonne. The Emperour yet, not diſmiſſing his Forces, but proceeding hoſtilly; our King takes notice hereof, and offers *Woolſey*, as his Lieutenant, to Compoſe their differences. For *Francis* had now Arm'd; as finding that, under colour of Private quarrells, *Tournaiſis* was invaded; howbeit *Wolſey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge; both as ſome jealouſies had paſt formerly betwixt our King and him (as is above related) and that he knew *Wolſey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the Papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the Arbitrement of *Wolſey*, but ſhortly after diſpatch'd the Duke of *Albany*

Bellay.
* March. 22.
Oct. 2, 1518.
Record.
de Serres.

of

bany into *Scotland.* Howſoever, *Woolſey* came 2 *Auguſt* 1521 to *Calais*, and treated of an accommodation; not neglecting together to write to *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this buſineſſe; both as it argued his authority, and gave him meanes to chooſe his friend, when otherwiſe he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of *France* (*Antoine du Prat*) *Iohn de Selve*, & *Monſieur de Paliſſe Mareſchall* of *France*, with foure hundred Horſe. The Emperor not failing on his part likewiſe to ſend Condigne Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara* his Chancellor, and *Monſieur de Berghes*, and others. The Pope had likewiſe a particular and conceal'd Nuntio, there being *Hieronymo de Ghinnuciis* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*; though, as he pretended to be without Authority, his buſineſſe it ſeem'd was for the preſent rather to eſpy and obſerve the proceedings there, then to advance the Peace, as did appeare afterwards. Many things were repreſented to the Cardinall on both ſides. The Emperor demanded, among other things, Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and abolition of the homage he owed to the Crowne of *France* for the *Low-Countries*. *Francis* again not only refuſed this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might bee reſtor'd to *Henry* Sonne of King *John*; and a Penſion of one hundred thouſand Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this againe *Charles* his minority was alleaged as an excuſe; though a weak one in Princes; they being not conſidered under the notion of their Age but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* grounded his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queene *Ioane*, Daughter and Heyre of *Ferdinand*, ſo that to have paid this money would have weak'ned his Claime; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; eſpecially when he thought *Francis* did no leſſe in with-holding *Burgundy*. Howſoever, that *Francis* himſelfe had firſt broken the ſaid Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an Antient enemy of the houſe of *Flanders*. And for the abolition of homage, the French Chancellor on the other ſide, particularly ſaid, it was not the work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not to be handled at this time, when there was queſtion of right only. Beſides this, the Dutchy of *Milan* bred no little altercation among them. In concluſion, their demands were ſo obſtinate, and minds ſo averſe from Peace on either ſide, that the Cardinall could or would do no good. Hereunto, alſo, did concurre a cloſe and private convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the Nuntio; and a confidence that *Charles* had, (by the Cardinal's mean's) that in caſe of rupture our King would incline to him, as having more pretence to his antient Dominions of *France* then to any thing in the *Low-Countries*. Again, *Charles* renew'd his promiſe to give him his beſt aſſiſtance to be elected Pope, when *Leo* ſhould dye; which prevailed more then any other gift. Although (to

1521.

Aug. 2.

Dupleix.

1521 uſe *Polydore's* words) ſpeaking of both Princes, at this time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quæritabat.* This hope of the Papacie therefore comforted our Cardinall, now it was likely he ſhould looſe one of his cuſtomers. ¶ The King of *Hungary* at this time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's malice) did much gain upon Chriſtendome (as having lately gotten *Belgrade* in *Hungary*) and knowing there was no way to defend himſelfe, without an Union betwixt Chriſtian Princes, ſends an Ambaſſadour, ſo opportunely, as to find our Cardinall at *Calais*, Treating of this univerſall Peace. But ſuch was the animoſity of theſe two great Princes, that the pious conſideration of repelling the Turke could not prevaile with them. So that the Cardinall, by this time, finding ſmall hope of reconciliation, advertis'd our King thereof, and crav'd his reſolution; unto which he much prepar'd him by giving intelligence of what had paſt. To gaine this ſpace alſo, he told the French, he would goe in Perſon to *Bruges*, and negotiate by word of mouth with the Emperour. Our Cardinall departing hereupon, the Emperor met him by the way, (a Aug. mile out of Town,) accompanying this honour with all other demonſtrations of affection to him & our Nation. After thirteen dayes Treaty, and agreement what was to be done in caſe of Rupture, (which our Cardinall perceived now could not be avoyded,) hee returnes to *Calais*, where the French Ambaſſadours impatiently attended him, he doth not yet diſcover his diſpair of ſucceſſe to them, and much leſſe diſcloſeth his private Treaty with the Emperor, but mediates ſtill a Peace, yet ſo, as to promiſe leſſe hope of it then before, ſince matters were come to ſuch extremities on both ſides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperors, upon private quarrell with the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, had now ſurpriſed Sept. *Amand* and *Mortagne*, in *Picardie*, and the *Bourgonians Ardres*, (which they Raſed,) But the *Count de Naſſaw* taken *Mouzon*, and beſieged *Mezieres*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency*, and *Pierce de Terrail*, commonly call'd *le Chevalier Bayard*, defended, untill *Francis* Octob. coming with a great Army, the Imperialiſts retired, and *Monzon* was retaken, while the Emperor, who was at *Valenciennes* kept himſelf more Covert then was expected; ſince *Francis* proceeded ſtill: Though as he diſcontented *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the quality of *Counſtable de France*, thought to have the leading of the Avantguard (rather then the Duke *de Alanzon*, brother in Law to the King) an error was committed which coſt him dear, as ſhall be told in its place. Notwithſtanding which, *Wolſey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, ſends to the Emperor, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Tho. Bullen*, and to the French King (lying then with a great Bellay. Army neer *Cambray*) the E. of *Worceſter*, and Biſhop of *Ely*; By whom he obtained that the Emperor ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Tournay*, before which his forces now were, and that he ſhould recall his Army in the *Milaneſſe*, and that *Francis* ſhould likewiſe retire his, and the

reſt

reſt ſhould be referr'd to our King. But the taking of *Fuentarabie* by *Bonnivet* intervening, *Francis* refuſed to render it, and ſo the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our Cardinall (who now had heard from our King) gives a kind of ſentence, in the buſineſſe. The effect hereof was; that the French King being guilty of the firſt breach, our King was bound by the Common Treaty to aſſiſt the Emperor; to which alſo he was the more diſpoſed that the ſecret practices of the French in *Scotland* had diſobliged him, ſome hopes of Accomodation yet were repreſented, in caſe the Emperor and *Francis* might be reconciled; but ſmall appearance hereof being given, the Cardinall concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope againſt the French, the Pope entring it on condition that the Emperor ſhould reſtore to him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and ayd him, afterwards, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*. The effect of the Treaty was this. 1521. Nov. 24. Records. Novemb. 24.

Becauſe the expedition againſt the Turk cannot be undertaken, untill the Pride and Injury of the French be ſuppreſſed; Therefore between the Pope, Emperor, and King of *England*, by their ſeverall Ambaſſadors, theſe following Articles are concluded.

This Treaty ſhall not derogate from any former, and it ſhall extend not only to the preſent poſſeſſions of the Contrahents, but their future Acquiſitions. I.

That, when the Emperor ſhall paſſe over into *Spaine* to provide himſelfe of men and money, and quiet his people (which ſhall be the next Spring) the King of *England* (upon a moneth's warning) ſhall give him a Convoy of Ships through the Channell, with at leaſt three thouſand fighting-men, with Artillery, &c. together with leave to land at *Dover*, or *Sandwich*; And after honourable entertainment, ſhall conduct him himſelfe to *Falmouth*, or ſome other ſuch place. In regard whereof, if the King of *England* ſhall have occaſion to paſſe over to *France*, the Emperor ſhall doe the like for him, till the Charge be equall on both ſides. II.

The Contrahents ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the French, in *March* 1523, and by *May* ſhall be in Armes, (*viz.*) The Pope in *Italy*, with a ſtrong Army; without *Italy*, *Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis*. Secondly, the Emperor with ten thouſand horſe, & thirty thouſand Foot, or more, on the Confines of *Spaine*; at which time the *Low-Countries* and other Dominions of the Emperor, ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the French, and Commerce ceaſe. Thirdly, the King of *England* ſhall paſſe the Sea, with ten thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot or more, to invade *France* on the Coaſts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire Horſe-men out of *Germany*, and Foot (if he will) of the Emperor's Subjects. And, if the King of *England*, upon a Battaile to be fought, ſhall ſtand in need of ayd, the Emperors Lieutenant, being inform'd of it, ſhall (if it be poſſible) help him. III.

That, before the Moneth of *March* aboveſaid, the King of *England*, and the Emperor ſhall by Sea infeſt the French, each with IIII.

1521. three thousand fighting-men, and other Provisions proportionable, joyning their Forces upon occasion, and not recalling their Fleet's, but by common consent; which if they chance to be impaired by fight, or fowle weather, they are to repaire within a moneth. Neither shall one make any appointment, or Treaty, or Truce, with the Common enemy, but by the consent of the other.

V. That, if, by the end of this present *November*, there be no Peace made, betweene the Pope, Emperor and King of *France*, or that the French King shall a fresh begin the war: Then the King of *England* shall, at the coming of the Emperor into *England*, declare himselfe enemy to the French, and within a moneth after certifie it to the French King. In which case the Fleet prepared by the King of *England*, for the Convoy of the Emperor, after his landing in *Spaine*, shall, together with the Emperor's Fleet, turne themselves against the French, so infesting him by Sea. Also by Land each Prince shall have Forces against all Invasion both of the French, and other Princes; wherein they shall ayd one another.

VI. To facilitate these designes, as soone as ever the war shall be begun against the French, the Pope shall send out his Censures against him, subjecting all his Dominions to the Interdict; and calling the Secular Arme against him, shall warne the Emperor (as the Protector and Advocate of the Church,) and also the King of *England* to war against him, as enemy of the Church.

VII. That the Emperor and King of *England* take on them the Protection of the Pope, and Family of *Medices*, against all whatsoever. And, on the other side, that the Pope undertake the Protection of them with their confederates; So that it be not permitted that one of them shall name for his confederates the enemy of the other.

VIII. The Suisse are named confederates on all sides, and are to be disposed either to enter this League, or hold themselves Neutrall.

IX. That the Emperor and King of *England* shall in their Dominions, as they have begun, proceed against those, *qui de fide Catholica male sentire videntur*, or that seeke to wrong the Authority of the Apostolique See. And that, in the Lands and Possessions which the Emperor, and King of *England* shall gaine from the French, the Pope shall enjoy all Priviledges, Rights, and Authority, due to the See Apostolique.

X. That, after the war with the French they shall Invade the Turk.

XI. They shall not Treat from this time apart with any Prince in prejudice of this League.

XII. That, notwithstanding the Emperor hath agreed Marriage with the King of *France* his daughter; and the Dolphin with the King of *England*'s, yet, for the publique good of Christendom, the Emperor may Marry the Princesse *Mary*; To which end the Pope shall dispence; seeing they are Cousin-Germans, their Mothers being two Sisters.

That

That this Convention ſhall be kept moſt ſecret, untill it be publiſhed by common conſent. 1521.

That Contractors are to give their Letters Patents in confirmation of this Treaty, within three Moneths. XIII.

That this Agreement ſhall not derogate from any Treaty that hath been between the King of *England* and the Empérour; So they be not contrary to this Treaty. XIV.

Thus was warre reſolved againſt *France*, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fiſhing in the narrow Seas, and uſe of Engliſh Ports was allowed the French till *February* following. While theſe great affaires were in agitation, our Chroniclers obſerve, that the Great Seale of *England* being with the Cardinall at *Calais*, many Engliſh repaired to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at home the conſtituting of Sheriffes was ſuſpended, &c. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd againſt him. XV.

Hall.

And now all forraigne buſineſſes being done, the Cardinall * returnes to *England*. Where to magnifie his Negotiation, he preſents our King with the Bull of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*, which the Pope had put into his hands, together with a * continuation of his Legantine power, onely to gratifie him for his aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*; the King on the other ſide * beſtowing on him the Abbacy of Saint *Albans*, towards his charges in this journey. The warre thus continued the *Emperour* tooke *Tournay*, to the no little ſcandall of *Francis*, who was yet obliged to continue his payments for it to our King. On the other ſide, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Mareſchall *Thomas de Foix* (*Seigneur de Leſcun*, and brother to *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*) had now for ſome time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold oppreſſions, the people ſought occaſion to revolt. Which the Imperialiſts under *Ferdinand d'Avalos* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* underſtanding, requir'd the Popes aſſiſtance; who, in conformity to his league, ſent forces, whereof *Proſpero Colonna* was chiefe. His firſt action was the beſieging of *Parma*, which *Leſcun* defended, untill his brother *Lautrech* comming with an Army of twenty thouſand Suiſſe, ſeven or eight thouſand Venetians, beſides French, to relieve him; the Army of the League roſe, and retired. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for ſome few daies, ſixteen hundred of the Suiſſe being not well payd; and for the reſt gained by the Cardinall *de Medicis* to the contrary party forſook him and ſerv'd *Colonna* (who thereupon marching to *Milan* (whether *Lautrech* had retired himſelfe) tooke it eaſily, the Caſtle yet holding out; howbeit *Lautrech* eſcaping to *Como* with foure thouſand Suiſſe, and ſome Venetians, and from thence to the Territories of the Republica; whereupon *Pavia* and *Palma* yeelded, and *Cremona*, all ſave the Caſtle. When the Venetians, fearing the ſtorme might fall on themſelves, deſired *Lautrech* to depart; who being alſo forſaken of his foure thouſand Suiſſe, got

*Novem. 27.

* Aug.

*Novem. 13.

Decemb. 19.

Octob.

Novem. 23.

1521. got into the Caſtle of *Cremona*, and ſent his King word of the ill ſucceſſe. Which the Pope alſo hearing, and being aſſured together that *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, was ſo overjoyed, that he * died thereof: (ſo can every Paſſion in his turn kill) though ſome ſuſpected he might die of poyſon.

*Decemb. 1.

I will conclude this yeere with the invention of Muskets; which *Bellay* ſaith were firſt uſed in this warre.

1522. The Cardinall of *Yorke* finding occaſion now faire, ſends Doctor *Richard Pace*, Deane of Saint *Pauls* to *Rome*, to eſſay if by any meanes it were poſſible to make him Pope. He writes alſo to *Charles*, remembring him firſt of his promiſe; next it was repreſented how unjuſt it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; there being ſo many buſineſſes of his to be determined in the Conſiſtory; that the particular utility which would redownd to him thereby, ought not to be layd in ballance againſt the Univerſall diſhonour that both he and the whole Chriſtian Church would ſuffer in ſuch a factious and ſcandalous Election: eſpecially, when his buſineſſe might be done in a more decent and ſafe way. For if the Papacy were conferred on him, his Imperiall Majeſty might be confident he ſhould finde the ſame faithfulneſſe he had experience of in the laſt Treaty. Since therefore this was the beſt expedient for giving himſelfe Reputation, and ſecuring his affaires, that he ſhould not faile herein. For as it was the place of *Henry* the eighth to be Arbiter of Chriſtendome, it would be his to be the chiefe Inſtrument thereof. For which purpoſe alſo, he ſhould be ready ever to diſpoſe King *Henry* to hold good correſpondence with his Imperiall Majeſty. Neither muſt he thinke that being Pope, he would alter this language; it being manifeſt, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the onely way to conſerve peace in it, which our King deſired. Some of theſe reaſons alſo *Pace* was deſired to ſcatter amongſt the Cardinals at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to repreſent how much occaſion of Calumny, the Lutherans and other Enemies of their Religion would finde, if an unfitting choyce were made at this time. That this muſt follow if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; beſides that it would make their differences irreconcileable. Or when otherwiſe the Papacy fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintaine the Authority of the See, as an Italian or ſome other not ſtrongly ſupported perſon; that then it muſt become a prey to the ſtrongeſt. That the ſole way to remedy theſe inconveniencies was to chooſe him, who had a King able and well affected to maintaine Religion and Peace in theſe dangerous times. Our Cardinall alſo did not forget *Francis*; to whom, if not favour, yet at leaſt indifferency was promiſed, in caſe he were Pope; and that this was more then he could hope for any other way. But before *Pace* could come to *Rome Adrian* Cardinall of *Tortoſa*, heretofore Tutor to *Charles*, and

and for the preſent reſiding in *Spaine*, (where he had the quality of *Governador de Caſtilla*) was * choſen Pope, though not with ſuch an Univerſall conſent; but that (as I finde by our Records) our Cardinall had ſometimes nine, and ſometimes twelve, and ſometimes nineteen voyces. *Guiccardine* ſeems much to wonder at this election, ſcurrilouſly terming him not onely *Pontifice Barbaro*, becauſe he was a Flemming, but alledging divers other incapacities in him for that place. But the wiſer ſort did not thinke ſo; *Charles* having given thoſe teſtimonies of his good affection to the peace of *Italy* (eſpecially by his generous reſtoring of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza*) that they nothing doubted but he would prove their beſt Patron and helpe for the expulſion of all ſtrangers. Howſoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calme diſpoſition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the way that *Adrian* was choſen, yet holds on his journey, as having ſecond inſtructions to countenance his imployment, when the firſt ſucceeded not; Therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Venice* about *July* this yeere, he mediated a peace betwixt *Charles* and the Venetians, (who had hitherto held with the French,) remonſtrating to them the many reaſons which they had to joyne with the Emperor and King of *England* againſt *Francis*, who had firſt broken the common Peace made 1518, wherein the ſaid State of *Venice* was compriſed, and thereby bound to fall on the Infractor thereof, &c. But the Venetians, being engaged to *Francis*, took time onely to adviſe thereof.

1522. Jan. 9.

July.

Adrian being thus choſen, *Julio Cardinal de Medicis*, who aſpired to the Papacy, was highly diſcontented; Inſomuch that forſaking the Imperiall party, he joyned himſelfe with three thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, to the French. *Franciſco Matia* alſo, who (upon *Leo's* death) had recovered *Urbin*, adhering to them; ſo that, with the addition of ſixteen thouſand Suiſſe newly leavyed, and ſome Troops *Lautrech* the *Mareſchall de Foix* brought, the French had a conſiderable Army, with which he beſieged *Pavia*. But *Proſpero Colonna* comming with the Imperiall Forces to relieve it, *Lautrech* raiſing the ſiege offered battell; which yet the Imperialiſts would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, returned; ſo that the French now purſuing their point, the Imperialiſts were forced to get themſelves within a ſtrong Retrenchment at *Bicocca*. And here either ſide attended their advantage; the French hoping to drive the Imperialiſts away by famine, and they againe, that the Suiſſe for want of pay would deſert the French. That of the Suiſſe ſucceeded firſt; for demanding either to have their pay, or leave to depart, or at leaſt order to fight, the French, who wanted money, choſe this latter, as the leſſe inconvenience, and ſo gave * on. But being repulſed with great loſſe, the next day the Suiſſe returned, and the reſt of the Army retired towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and laſtly to the Venetian Territories; while

*April 27.

1522. while the Imperialiſts, making uſe of their victory, got both theſe places, the Caſtle of *Cremona* onely excepted, which held out for the ſpace of one whole yeere, though the Caſtle of *Milan* yeelded preſently. *Lautrech* thus finding all things deſperate, retires to *France*, laying the fault upon his not receiving pay for his Souldiers; which yet, the French ſay, was not for want of order from the King, but through the covetouſneſſe of his Mother *Loüiſſe*, or the default of ſome Officers. And now the Imperialiſts, looſing no time, marched to *Genoüa*; in which were two factions, thoſe of the family of the *Fieſchi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialiſts, and thoſe of the *Fregoſi* and *Doria*, French. That of the *Fregoſi* govern'd now. Howſoever the Imperialiſts* entred and ſack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had depoſed the *Fregoſi*, and ſet up the *Adorni*. *Franceſco Sforza* was reſtored alſo to that of *Milan*, the Emperour not reſerving to himſelfe ſo much as one place in that Countrey. And ſo *Colonna* concluded the war for this yeere of 1522. Nevertheleſſe the Treaties with the Venetians proceeded, which at laſt took effect, as ſhall be more particularly related.

*May 30.

The proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles* were not kept ſo ſecret but that they became ſufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet inſtantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided then ſuddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continued awhile his ſmooth Letters to the Cardinall. At laſt, betwixt impatience, and the order he hoped to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland* to finde our King enough to doe, he began to declare himſelfe. Therefore, his Subjects having made ſome depredations on the Engliſh Merchants, and ſatisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delayd if not denied reparation. Theſe particular offences were accompanied with a maine breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ſhould have continued in *France*, was now after five yeeres abſence, returned to his charge of *Scotland*, as ſhall be told more largely hereafter. Our Engliſh foreſeeing thus a ſtorme likely to enſue, retire themſelves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their goods from the Port-Townes, and the Schollers their perſons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Bolen* alſo (who is ſaid by the French* writers to have lived in that Court ever ſince ſhe came over with our Kings ſiſter untill this time) quitted it now, and returned to *England*; where ſhe did partake afterwards more good and ill fortune then ſhe could reaſonably imagine. Our King alſo writ to *Francis* ſharply, telling him that howſoever he excuſed himſelfe for ſending over the Duke of *Albany*; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his direction; and that it was the manner of his Countrey; *aliud clàm moliri, aliud ſpecie ſimulationis oſtentare* (as *Polydore* hath it,) reproaching him alſo with breach of his Oath. *Francis* much moved with this rough expoſtulation, objecteth

*Tillet, Recueil. Scip. Dupleix. Tom. 3. * 1514.

jecteth to King *Henry* the ſecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperour 1521, requiring King *Henry* to declare himſelfe. Beſides, he cauſed all the Engliſhmens goods that remained to be ſeized on, through his Kingdome, and eſpecially thoſe at *Bourdeaux*; which ſeemed ſo much the unjuſter, that divers of our Merchants had not onely bought Wines there with ready money, but payd Cuſtome for it. Our King hearing this, commands the French Ambaſſador to his houſe, ſeiſeth on all other French and Scottiſh here, and commits the better Perſons for a time, or untill they had payd a pecuniary mulct, the poorer ſort being exempt yet upon ten daies impriſonment. The Vice-Admirall Sir *William Fitz-williams* (being in *January* laſt recalled from his Ambaſſage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* ſent in his place) alſo was commanded to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecure our Merchants and take what Freneh he could. Moreover, becauſe the French denied the reſt of the money due, and detained the French Queens Dower, our King cauſed the French Hoſtages to be kept under an honourable yet ſomewhat ſtricter Guard then before, without uſing further rigour. And, whereas *Francis* had deſired him to declare himſelfe, King *Henry* ſent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, in the end of *March*, with his declaration; whereby it was ſhewed, that becauſe *Francis* was the Infractor of the Common peace, the King of *England* muſt take the Emperors part againſt him. Upon this, Ambaſſadors were recalled on both ſides, and warre expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captaines dyed about this time, (not of Poyſon given at * *Ardres* (when the Interview was) as ſome would have it; but of a Peſtilentiall Ayre, as *Hall* relates;) ſo our King left thoſe whoſe ſervice he now moſt needed.

1522

March 6.

April.

March.

May.

* 1520.

And becauſe King *Henry* meant to ſet to Sea a Royall Fleet, the Earle of *Surrey* (as being Admirall of *England*) was recalled from his charge in *Ireland*; where having among other ſervices repreſſed the irruptions of the *O-Neales* and *O-Carrols*, he ſo govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable ſervice, and gain'd the love of the Civill people of that Countrey, leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June* 1521, to the end of *March* 1522,) *Pierce Butler* Lord Debuty, who yet kept not long poſſeſſion of this Honour, as ſhall be ſhewed in its due place.

Jan

The Cardinall, about this time, whether for oſtentation of his power, or redeeming the peoples favour, cauſed the preachers at St. *Pauls* Croſſe in *London* to publiſh, that all thoſe who would eate white-meats that Lent enſuing, ſhould without paying any thing, be exempt from puniſhment and ſinne. But the people unwilling to be caught by thoſe baits, ſo contemptuouſly rejected this offer, that the Cardinall might eaſily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the moſt ſubtile ſort of

1522. Favourites hath been not to ſtudy ſo much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amuſe and entertaine their Princes; ſo this Cardinall, by the perpetuall variation (he ſeem'd to cauſe) in the affaires of Chriſtendome, held not onely the minds of the people in attention and ſuſpence, but made his councels more conſiderable to the King, then if he had purſued any one way. The laſt change, whereof he was Authour, had its chiefe overture at *Bruges*, where, among other things, the Emperour reſolved to repaire to *England* to ſpeake with our King more particularly, concerning the generall affaires of Chriſtendome, and to treat a match betwixt himſelfe and the Princeſſe *Mary*, daughter to our King. And finally (which our King tooke for a ſingular honour) to be inſtalled perſonally of the Order of the Garter at *Windſor*, while himſelfe ſate there as chiefe. For after his * retayning *Maximilian* the Emperour in pay, the next great teſtimony of reſpect this world could give him (he thought) was, that ſo brave and great an Emperour as *Charles*, ſhould, in ſo buſie and difficult times undertake a voyage, to be admitted into that moſt Noble Fellowſhip. Into which alſo *Ferdinand* his brother, afterwards Emperour, was elected the laſt Saint *Georges* day (*viz.*) *April* 23. 1522, and had the Order and habits ſent him to *Noremberg*, where, being the Emperours Lieutenant, he held a Diet that yeere. And now, for the more magnificent reception of the Emperor, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinall to *Dover*; whither, upon the 26 of *May* 1522 (being about the time his forces entred and ſacked *Genoüa*) the Emperour arrived. The Cardinall firſt aſſured him of his welcome; which our King, following * preſently afterwards, confirmed. From hence the King conducted him to * *Greenwich*, where the Queen (his Aunt) with much joy attended him. Hence againe the King, riding in great pompe through *London*, conducted him to his lodging in *Black-Fryers*: his Traine being placed in the * new beautified Palace at *Bridewell*. To relate the Juſts and other ſolemnities on this occaſion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earles, and Lords gave water to the Cardinall at an High-Maſſe in *Pauls*, (where the Princes were on Whitſunday) is not my intention. Onely for the rarity I cannot omit that on *June* 19. the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall at *Windſor*, accompanied the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites uſuall at that time. Which being done, both he and our King received the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the holy Evangeliſts to obſerve the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this effect, as appeares by an Originall, ſubſcribed and ſealed by *Charles*.

* 1513.

Hall.

May 26.

*May 28.

* June 2.

Jun. 6.

* *I. Speed* in *Edw.* VI.

June 8.

Jun. 19

Record.

Treaty of *Windſor*. 1518.

Whereas there was lately warre begun betwixt us *Charles*, and the King of *France*, and (by vertue of a League concluded between us and King *Henry*, and the ſaid King of *France*) both we and *Francis*, by our Letters, required Ayde of the ſaid King *Henry*; one

one againſt the other; and the ſaid King of *England* in the beginning of this warre, to compoſe theſe differences, ſent to *Calais* the moſt Reverend Father in God *Thomas* Cardinall of *Yorke*, as his Lieutenant; before whom when many diſputes had been on both ſides, who firſt began the warre, and it was found that the fault was in the French King, and that he firſt began with us, not in *Luxemburgh* onely, by *Robert de la March* ſuborned by him, but by his Captaines alſo in *Navarre*, and hired forraigne Souldiers which were not his Subjects to breake the publique Peace, contrary to the Treaty of *London*; wherefore, when the moſt Revenred Father aforeſaid could not effect at *Calais* either Peace or Truce under any honourable conditions, the ſaid King of *England* underſtanding, as well by the relation of the ſaid moſt Reverend Father, as by the Letter of *Francis* King of *France*, written to his Orators and Captaines (which were ſhewed to the ſaid King of *England*,) that the ſaid *Francis* had broken both the Treaty of *London*, and all other Treaties and Agreements of affinity concluded between them; Not onely by ſending the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (which was againſt his Oath given) but alſo denying the King of *England* his Penſions, and violating his Subjects againſt the League: The ſaid King of *England* hath reſolved hereupon to lend us ayd againſt him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of *London*. And therefore upon Treaty of a perpetuall and ſtricter Confederacy between us and the ſaid King *Henry*, as alſo of a marriage with the Princeſſe *Mary*, (we being on both ſides free from all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French) have concluded both League and Allyance in manner following: 1522.

The Treaty of Matrimony.

The ſaid Emperor ſhall not contract any marriage with any woman, while the ſaid Princeſſe *Mary* is under age, but ſhall tarry for her, and when ſhe is ripe marry her; As ſoon as ſhe is twelve yeeres old, he ſhall ſend a Proxy to contract with her a marriage *per verba de præſenti*, and ſhe ſhall ſend a Proxy to him to the ſame purpoſe. I.

The king of *England* during this time ſhal not give her to any elſe. II.

As ſoon as this League is publiſhed, both Princes ſhall (at common coſts) ſend Orators to the Pope, and obtaine of him a diſpenſation ſufficient for the performance of the ſaid marriage in its due time; notwithſtanding that they are in the ſecond degree of Conſanguinity and Affinity; ſo that the iſſue may be legitimate. III.

The Princeſſe ſhall be tranſported at the king of *Englands* charge, with all Equipage and Furniture fitting her Dignity, within foure Moneths next following the Contract *per verba de præſenti* aboveſaid. And ſhe ſhall be tranſported to *Bruges*, if *Charles* be in the *Low-countries*; If in *Spaine*, then to the Towne of *Bilbao*; whom within foure daies next enſuing, *Charles* ſhall marry publiquely in the face of the Church; and, till that time, ſhe ſhall remaine in the hands of the Commiſſioners of King *Henry*, who tranſport her. IIII.

1522. V. Her Dowry which King *Henry* ſhall give with her, ſhall be 400000 Crownes; whereof ſhall be paid the firſt halfe the day of marriage, or within eight daies after; and the other halfe within a yeere following, *Charles* giving Acquittances. Yet, if the ſaid Princeſſe (for want of iſſue male left by King *Henry*) ſhall ſucceed in the kingdome of *England*, then nothing ſhall be payd for Dowry with her; and whatſoever ſhall have been payd, ſhall be reſtored to the Executors of the king of *England*. It is alſo agreed, that out of the ſecond payment of the latter moyety (as aboveſaid) of the Dowry, the king of *England* may deduct all moneys which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the ſaid now-Emperor or his Grandfather *Maximilian*, if they ſhall not be payd before. And the ſaid king of *England* ſhall reſtore to the ſaid Emperor the deeds of Obligation, and the Pledges for the ſame. But if the king of *England* have a ſonne, then the whole Dowry (above aſſign'd) ſhall be paid, and ſhall be increaſed to a Million of Crowns, by the addition of 600000; which 600000 ſhall be paid (after the 400000 are paid) yeerly by 200000 Crowns *per annum*. For her Joynture, the Emperor ſhall aſſigne her in Lands and Cities 50000 Crowns of yeerly Rent cleare; and particularly for a part thereof, ſuch Towns as the late Lady *Margaret* of *England* had for Joynture in the *Low-countries*; the reſt in *Spaine*; to enjoy as long as ſhe lives. If ſhe die before the Emperor her Huſband without Children, then all her Jewels, &c. ſhall remaine to the Emperor.

VI. The Emperor binds Himſelfe, his Heires, and his Dominions, unto the king of *England*, his Heires and Succeſſors, under the pain of 400000 Crowns, that this Treaty of Marriage ſhall not be hindred on his part. In like manner the king of *England* binds himſelfe.

The Treaty of Peace and Confederation.

That this Matrimony may be more firme and certain, a Treaty of League is renewed.

I. That all former Treaties ſhall remaine in force.

II. They ſhall be Confederate ſtrictly for the conſervation of all their Dignities, Titles, Rights, &c. howſoever, and by whomſoever impeached; To have the ſame friends and enemies, &c. And, when one is invaded, the other ſhall ayd him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himſelfe.

III. And becauſe the king of *England* hath entertained the Emperor, and given him leave to paſſe through his Countrey into *Spaine*, to provide the better for recovery of his Rights againſt *Francis*, and hath tranſported him over into *England* by a Fleet of 3000 men: Therefore, in requitall, the Emperour, when King *Henry* ſhall paſſe over to *Calais*, or any other Port, in expedition againſt the French, will provide and lend him at his own coſt a number of Ships or Veſſels to tranſport his Souldiers, Horſe, and Munition, till the Charge equall the Coſts which king *Henry* beſtowed on the Emperor in this kind.

To

To recover ſuch Lands as the French King detaines from both, each Prince, before the end of *May* 1524. or ſooner, ſhall leavy Armies thus; (*viz.*) the Emperor in Perſon with ten thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot or more, with competent Ammunition, ſhall invade *France* on the Coaſt of *Spaine*. And, at the ſame time, all the Dominions of the Emperor ſhall declare and wage warre againſt *Francis*. Alſo, the King of *England* by the ſame time (*May* 1524.) ſhall paſſe the Sea in Perſon, and, with tenne thouſand Horſe and thirty thouſand Foot, or more, and Ammunition, &c. ſhall fall on *France*, on what part he ſhall ſee moſt convenient. And becauſe the King of *England* hath not of his own ſo many Horſe, the Emperor will provide him Horſe (ſo hee pay them) and Foot (if he need.) If the King of *England* be coming to a Battaile with the enemy, and ſend to the Emperors Forces, being neere at hand, to aſſiſt him, they ſhall come and ayd him, unleſſe there be a juſt impediment. 1522. IIII.

Warre ſhall be made by Sea, (*viz.*) the Emperor in his Navy ſhall furniſh three thouſand fighting men, The King of *England* ſo many likewiſe to infeſt *Francis* his Dominions ſeverally, or joyntly. They ſhall not revoke or diminiſh their Fleet without conſent but reinforce it, if impaired. V.

Neither ſhall deſiſt from Hoſtility without conſent of the other. VI.

Each ſhall give the other free paſſage through his Country.

The King of *England* ſhall maintaine and keep two thouſand ſouldiers in the borders of *Calais*, and the Emperor as many in *Artois*, which ſhall make Roades into *France*, and repell the Invaſions of the *French*, either ſingly or joyntly. VII. VIII.

Becauſe the French uſe much the German Souldiers, therefore each Prince, to divert them from the French, ſhall entertaine as many German foot as he can; and within two moneths next following the Emperor ſhall renew and publiſh the Imperiall Edicts, whereby all Germans are (under pain of being accompted Rebels, and confiſcation of their goods) forbidden to ſerve under the French. And the Duke of *Lorraine* ſhall be admoniſhed not to ſuffer any Germans to paſſe through his Country to ayde the King of *France*; If he doe, then theſe two Princes will account him their enemy. IX.

If either of the two, recover from *France* places belonging to the other, he ſhall, upon requiſition, reſtore them, within a moneth; And, to prevent ambiguities and quarrels, each Prince before *May* 1524. ſhall declare his pretences. X.

Alſo, if either Prince have an intention to recover any other Rights, againſt other with-holders; As if the King of *England* will ſubject *Scotland* unto the Kingdome of *England*, or reduce *Ireland* to due obedience; or the Emperor recover *Gueldres* or *Friſe*, or puniſh any Rebell; or, if either the Scots trouble and invade *England*, or the *Gueldres* the Dominions of *Charles*; each ſhall give ayde to other. XI.

To

1522. XII. To confirme this Treaty; It is agreed, there shall be mutuall Intelligence between the two Princes, and all things done by common consent; So that neither shall Treat with *Francis* or any other Prince, without the knowledge and consent of the other, to the prejudice of this Treaty. And, if any former Treaty made, be prejudiciall to this, they shall be counted of lesse value and force then this.

XIII. Both Princes, appearing before the Cardinall of *Yorke* as Judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as Legat, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this Treaty, shall require the said Legat to pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against them, if they violate the Articles thereof.

XIIII. If the Princesse *Mary* dye, and so this marriage take no effect, and it happen that the King of *England* have a sonne, and the Emperor by some other wife have a daughter, *vel è Converso*; Then Affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV. This Treaty, till it take its effect, and be put in execution, shall be kept secret from the French.

It was agreed also, that this Treaty shall be signified to the Pope *Adrian* the sixt, and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principall Contrahent, if he accept it within three moneths. The 1518. Venetians, if they will accept this Treaty within three Moneths, so, as (according as they ought by the Treaty of *London*) they will forsake the French, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Suisse shall have this Treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the French, or, at least, to be Newtrall. None shall be compriſed in this Treaty, which is enemy to either of the two principall Contrahents: for the rest, each may name his friends.

The same day that this Treaty was sworne, *Charles* gave his oath June 19. also to another agreement, call'd the Indemnity; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himselfe to save King *Henry* harmlesse for all the sums of money and Pensions, which were or should be due to King *Henry* from *Francis*, (upon former agreements betwixt them,) and now were or should be with held by the said *Francis*, upon denunciation of warre against him.

This was sworne in the presence of, *Thomas Cardinalis Eborac.* Legat and Chancellor of *England*. *Mercurinus Comes Gattinaciæ. Baro Ozane & Terrugie. Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin.* Johannes Aleman. *Thomas* Bishop of *Duresme*: Lord Privy-Seale. *Cuthbert Tonstall* Doctor of Both Lawes, Elect Bishop of *London*, Vice-Chancellor of *England*.

Lastly, *Charles* wanting money for his present occasions, our King supplyed him abundantly upon assurance given him of repayment.

ment. *Charles* having dispatched his affaires here, and commanded his fleet, consisting of 180 sayle, to meet him at *Southhampton* is * accompanyed by our King to *Winchester*. Before, yet, they departed, it was resolved betwixt them, to make use of some Venetian Galleys (then Riding in our Ports,) upon pretence of conveying the Emperor to Spaine. Which proceeding yet, least it should be thought abrupt, and prejudiciall to our League with that State, was by Instructions from hence to Pace (his Majesties Ambassadour resident there) excused in great part, by alleadging, that if they would make good the confederacy entred into, 1518. they must not take it ill, that their Galleys were imployed against the French, as the first violaters and disturbers of the publique Peace. And when they would not joyne, it was but a just punishment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be understood in that Rigour, but they should be restor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were shortly after. This being done, *Charles* having taken * leave of our King, goes to *Southhampton*, and attends a winde and the Convoy of our Admirall, who for better complying with the common cause, according to the League 1518. was likewise constituted his; the Pattent whereof for the rareness as well as Honour of the Person, I have caused to be set down.

1522.

* June 22.

* July 1.

CAROLUS Quintus, Divina favente Clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, Utriusque Siciliæ, Jerusalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ &c. Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Comes Habspurgi, Flandriæ, Tirolis &c. Cum ita sit quod Serenissimus & potentissimus Princeps Henricus Octavus Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Frater, Avunculus, & Confæderatus noster charissimus, pro ejus Jure Fœderis quod cum eo nobis inter-cedebat, nuper Francisco Francorum Regi, tanquam Fœderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, Bellum juste indixerit, causamque suam cum nostrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo invasi fuimus, conjunxerit, Classemque ob id maritimam inter cæteros Belli apparatus instruxerit, cui præfecit Illustrissimũ Consanguineum nostrum charissimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis sui Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ, Vasconiæ, & Aquitaniæ; nosque pariter eundem communem hostem Gallum armis etiam

1522 tiam maritimis urgere (ut par est) decreverimus, juncta ipsa nostra cum præfati Sereniſſimi Avunculi noſtri Claſſe, reputanteſque tum jam dicti ejus Admiraldi inſignem Bello peritiam, fortitudinem, atque alias ſingulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora onera committi poſſent, tum quæ Conjunctis viribus armiſque geruntur multo meliùs uno duce, uno Capite regi quàm pluribus: Eapropter non absre duximus, ſi & noſtræ ipſius Claſſis onus, Bellique maritimi provinciam eidem Angliæ Admiraldo deſtinaremus. Itaque in vim præſentium Literarum noſtrarũ, prædicto Illuſtrſſimo Thomæ Comiti & Admiraldo, ac Claſſis prædicti Regis Avunculi noſtri Capitaneo Generali eandem damus & concedimus authoritatem, plenamque & omnimodam poteſtatem ſuper Claſſem noſtram maritimam, omneſque ejus Capitaneos, Milites, & Claſſiarios, cujuſcunque Tituli ſunt graduſve & conditionis, quam ipſe Admiraldus ſuper Regis ſui Claſſem habet, tam in honorandis Militibus, Equeſtrique dignitate quos dignos cenſuerit inſigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus ſtatuendis, eorumque Cauſis cognoſcendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus & ſingulis faciendis & executioni mandandis, juxta authoritatem eidem à prædicto Rege ſuo conceſſam, ac quemadmodum aliàs ſpectat ad officium uniùs maritimæ Claſſis Capitanei ſeu Generalis præfecti, ipſiúſve prædicti Admiraldi ſingulari prudentiæ convenire in omnibus viſum fuerit, atque expedire. Mandantes ob id, atque expreſſè committentes univerſis & ſingulis Capitaneis, Vice-Capitaneis, Locumtenentibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Militibus, Magiſtris, Naviculatoribus, Claſſiariis, cæteriſque Militibus omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus, in Claſſe ipſa noſtra exiſtentibus, aut futuris, quòd eidem Comiti Admiraldo & Capitaneo generali ac ejus in hac parte ſufficienter Deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, & obedientes ſint, in omnibus prout decet, contrafacientibus debitâ pœnâ non carituris. Harum Teſtimonio Literarum manu noſtrâ ſubſcriptarum, noſtrique

Sigilli

Sigilli appensione munitarum, Dat. in Urbe Londinensi. Die VIII. Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Secundo, Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tertio, Cæterorum verò omnium Septimo. 1522.

Per Imperatorem CHARLES.

I. ALEMAND.

The Earle, having accepted hereof by our King's consent, did, upon *June* 13. land his men in *Normandy* neere *Cherbourg*; and after having destroyed the adjoyning Country, (sparing only Religious houses,) he returnd to *Portland*; whence setting Sayle againe, hee lands, *July* 1. at a place neare *Morlais* in *Bretaigne*, and with seven thousand men marcheth thither; where our Master-gunner having discharg'd a Peece so fortunately, that he broke the wicket, some of our men enter'd in the smoake and open'd the Gate; whereupon the rest following, the Town was quickly sack'd, and burnt, and a rich Booty carryed to our Navy. After which the Earle commanded sixteen or seventeen French Ships (he found on that Coast) to be burnt: And so, leaving his Vice-Admirall to scowre the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good service, and return'd to *Southampton* whence he conducted the Emperor to *Spain* who taking Ship *July* 6. arrived *July* 16. at *Sant-Ander*. ¶ The English Garrison, this while, in *Calais* and *Guisnes*, and the French in *Ardres* and *Boulongne* were not idle, but took many occasions of invading each others Frontiers, among which one, related by *Hall* and *Hollinshead*, seemes so memorable, that I have thought fit to insert it. Three hundred French horse lying in Ambuscado neere *Guisnes*, and sending some horse before to draw out the English: a little band of eight Archers issued forth, and maintained a skirmish; at last twelve Demy-Lances (which *Hall* saith were all Welch-men,) came to their rescue; the French perceiving this, issue forth with all their Horse; but our Demy-Lances charged them with that courage, that, killing and hurting divers, they opened their way to the Town: ¶ These so many occasions of making warre, enforced the King to make use of his subjects affections; whereof that he might take the better notice, he caused a Generall Muster or description to be made (this summer) of all his Kingdome, commanding (as *Stow* hath it out of a * warrant directed to a Constable of a hundred) that they should certifie the names of all above sixteen yeares old; and that they should repaire to a certain place assigned, with their Armes, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Towne or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as also who be Parsons of the

June 13.

July 1.

July 16.

March. 27.

1522

Towne, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be owners of every Parcell of Land within the ſaid Precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's Land, as alſo the Stocke on the Lands, and who is owner thereof; alſo, what ſtrangers dwell there, and of what occupation they are; alſo the value and ſubſtance of every perſon being above ſixteene yeares old, as well ſpirituall as temporall; alſo, what Penſions goe thence to Religious or Spirituall men. Which being certified againe, the King (as *Polydore* ſaith) rejoyced, as finding his Kingdome ſo wealthy. Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he *borrowed of the Citizens of *London* twenty thouſand pound, and ſent Privy Seales to divers other rich perſons of the Kingdome; In ſequence whereof, he demanded a Loane (as I take it) of the tenth of the Temporalty, according to the true value of their Eſtates, to be employed in the Warres, and a fourth of the Spiritualty. But as this cauſed much grudging, ſo the Londoners (particularly) * alleaged ſo many reaſons why they could not, upon Oath, give account of their goods, and wealth, eſpecially as long as ſo much of their Stock was in other mens hands, that the Cardinall at laſt accepted their valuation of themſelves, upon their ſimple honeſties. All which extraordinary wayes of furniſhing the preſent neceſſities yet ended in a Parliament the next yeare, as ſhall be told in it's place. The King having thus yet gotten ſome Money, denounced open warre to *Francis*, unleſſe hee made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In ſequence thereof Commanding the Earle of *Surrey* (and not the Duke of *Suffolke*, (as the French have it) after his attempts by Sea, to goe over to *Calais* and with convenient Forces to joyne with *Horence d' Egmond*, *Count de Bure*, Generall of the Emperors Troopes. Theſe meeting together betwixt *Ardres* (lately demoliſh'd) and Saint *Omar*, ſpoyl'd and burnt all the villages in their way till they came to *Heſdin*, in which *Odoart Seigneur de Biez*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, Commanded. But Autumne being now farre come on, and the weather very unſeaſonable, they could onely take the Towne, the Caſtle being ſtronger, then that it was thought fit to attempt it. They marched therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they tooke, and burnt, with all the adjoyning Villages. The ſeaſon continuing ſtill very fowle, and our men falling generally ſick, the Army diſſolv'd, and the rather, that the two Generalls could not agree about their deſignes. Before yet the Earle of *Surrey* departed, he burnt *Marquiſe*, and ſome other places neare the Engliſh Pale; which being done, he came home, and gave our King account of his journey. Whereupon alſo Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Richard Sampſon* Doctor of Law were ſent to *Charles* in *Spaine*, to adviſe what further was to be done.

* May

Hall.
Aug. 20.

Aug.

The Duke of *Albany*, whom wee left in *France*, was now recall'd

recall'd by more then one voyce. For he was not onely ſent for by the vote of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, but Queene *Margaret* her ſelfe invited him. Beſides, it is probable, that *Francis* did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to doe at home. The cauſe why the State deſired his return was, that their King was ſo young and ſome of their affaires were diſcompoſed. But Queene *Margaret* had alſo her reaſon. For, being offended with the Earle of *Angus* for forſaking her at *Harbottle* 1516, and ſcandaliz'd much at the love he now bore to a certaine Scottiſh Lady, ſhe had endevoured, by the Duke of *Albany's* meanes, to procure a Divorce at *Rome*, alleadging, among other cauſes, that ſhe heard, her Husband *James* the fourth was living three years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when ſhe marryed him, (ſo much did that bruit prevaile.) But becauſe our King againe oppoſed this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole paſſage) nothing was preſently done, though afterwards, new motives appearing, ſhe was divorced from him, as will appear in it's place. The Duke, being now generally * welcom'd, baniſhed the Earle of *Angus* with his brother *George* into *France*, and cauſed his unckle *Gawin* the Learned Biſhop of *Dunkelden* to be cited to *Rome*, for the reſt ſummoning a Parliament to begin 1522. whether our King ſent *Clarenceaux* Herald, to require and command the Duke to avoyd the Realme, and if hee would not, to defie him. And that hee might have juſt cauſe to uſe this language, he was to alleadge unto the Duke, that hee had broken an expreſſe Article of the Treaty in comming over; Neither could hee pretend to have any Commiſſion from *Francis*; who, in a Letter to our King, had diſavowed this Action ſo farre, as hee profeſſed to bee neither privy nor conſenting to his journey. Beſides, that there was danger of his aſpiring to the Crowne, and that the Divorce hee procured for Queene *Margaret*, was not without deſigne to obtaine her for himſelfe. And this is the ſubſtance of that wherewith *Clarenceaux* was to charge him (as I gather out of ſeverall Collections;) howſoever, our Records tell us; that the Duke of *Albany* replyed; That, ſince his recall came from the Nobility and State of the Land, he would retaine it againſt all Kings. As for his being ſuſpected of Ambition to the Crowne, he anſwered, that he had rather enjoy his meanes in *France*, then pretend to that regality. And for Queen *Margaret*, he ſaid he had indeed negotiated a divorce in *Rome*, but with no intention to marry her himſelfe, when he could; as having a wife of his own. Letters alſo were ſent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he perſwaded them to reject the Duke. But they anſwer'd that they would defend him againſt all. Laſtly I find, by an originall of Queen *Margaret*, that our King writ to her alſo; For ſhe there expoſtulates ſharply with him, for beleeving thoſe reports concerning

1522. 1521.

1521. Octob. 19.

January. 1522.

1522. cerning the Duke of *Albany* and her; defending nevertheleſſe the ſaid Duke's being in *Scotland*; adding, that, if he had not been an unkind brother, ſhe ſhould not have needed to provide for her ſelfe, by the Duke of *Albany's* aſſiſtance.

Feb. Our King finding this took no effect, in *February* ſent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt-Marches, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred men, to Proclaime that the Scottiſh ſhould come in to the King's Peace by the firſt of *March* following, or to ſtand to their perils, which the Duke of *Albany* ſuſpecting would prove a Warre, had provided by this time a great Army in the Borders; unwilling yet to doe more then to ſhew his power to offend. For, beſides that many of the better ſort judged wiſely, that if matters ſucceeded ill, they might be called in queſtion, when their King came to full age; they were not ignorant, how puiſſant an enemy they provoked; eſpecially, at a time, when their Confederats the French had ſo much to doe elſewhere. Therefore, although the Lord *Dacres* made ſome Inrodes into *Scotland*, and burnt divers villages, joyning himſelf with the Earle of *Shrewſbury*, * Conſtitute Lieutenant Generall for the North Parts; And that the Duke of *Albany* himſelfe was advanced as farre as *Carlile*, yet he retir'd; the interceſſion of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the preſent was quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as being ſomewhat ſurpriſed at that time. This conference yet brought forth a * Truce only, for a few dayes, upon condition that the Scottiſh ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into *England*, to deſire a Peace. But when they required the French might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not conſent, howbeit, the Truce was prorogued: whereupon the Governour, as finding the Scottiſh Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on thoſe termes, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave ayd of *Francis*; the event whereof wee ſhall ſee the next yeare.

* July 30.

* Sept. 11.

Octob.

But while theſe Chriſtian Princes were in warre thus one againſt the other, the Turk who had now long experience what harme the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem* had done him in the *Archipelago*, thought fit to invade the Iſle of *Rhodes*, (their chiefe ſtrength and fortreſſe at that time.) Hereunto concurr'd a requeſt which *Selim* upon his deathbed made unto his ſonne *Solyman*, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the affront his Grandfather *Machomet* ſuffered, when hee was repulſed thence, but even as a pious and devout Act recommended this enterpriſe to him. Such miſchiefes hath religion (which ſhould be a new bond of Peace) authoriſed unto mankind, in more then one age or Country. It was not yet without much danger that *Solyman* made this attempt. For as he brought neare two hundred thouſand men into a little and barren Iſland, ſo, if ever his Shiping had through firing or ill weather been caſt away or deſtroyed, he muſt have periſh'd there before

fore the Town could be forc'd. But such was the disunion of the Christian Princes that they lost their faire occasion; Thus, upon Saint *John Baptists* * day (the more to despight the Knights) this great Army entered the Island, (the *Turke* himselfe following in person a moneth after) and continuing the siege till Christmas, upon which day *Solyman* with great pompe entred *Rhodes*, being yeelded upon composition by *Phillip de Villiers* a French-man, Great Master of that Religion. Shortly after which, he, together with those Knights that remained, sailed towards *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, where comfortlesse and Errant they continued, till by the intercession of *Clement* the seventh (sometimes Knight of that Order) and the favour of *Charles*, they * obtained *Malta*, where they now reside. 1522. *June 24. Decem. 25. * 1525.

In *November* this yeere, a Diet being held at *Noremberg*, *Adrian* sends to the Princes of *Germany*, requiring them passionately to suppresse *Luther*, according to the decree at *Wormbs*; confessing nevertheless many abuses in Eccleasticall Government, insomuch, that he doubted not to give *Cheregat* his Nuncio Instructions to say, *In hac sancta sede aliquot jam Annis multa abominanda fuisse*, which he therefore promised, by degrees to redresse. But the message pleased neither side: the Cardinals at *Rome* disliking *Adrians* free declaration; and the Princes there, as little approving the slow and indirect courses taken for reforming the many enormities then used in the Roman Church, as may appeare by their *Centum Gravamina*; the particulars whereof I have thought fit to insert, not with desire to affront any, but onely that, pursuing my intentions, the Reader may finde briefly a true History of the times. Novemb. 1521.

The substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offered to Pope *Adrian* by the Germans, was to this effect:

That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not: As certaine Obstacles of marriage, differences of meat, &c. all yet to be redeemed for money. I.

That people, who otherwise might justly marry, were yet forbidden it at certaine times, when yet both Ecclesiasticks and Laicks tooke then their Carnall liberty. Nevertheless that for money this restraint might be dispenced with. II.

That Indulgences (called there *Impostur*æ) and pardon for sins, not onely past but future, did cause all Impiety and wickednesse, while men believed, *Modò tinniat dextra*, they should have perfect freedome from all. III.

That the money for Indulgences, &c. was not employed the way it was promised, that is to say against the Turke, but towards their friends and kindreds expence and luxury. IIII.

That yet the Pope, Bishops, and other principall persons of the Clergy reserved some cases to themselves, which none other can dispence with, and that this againe cost them much. V.

That

1522. That the pardon of sinnes for future times, brought in all mischiefe, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

VI.

VII. That certaine Preachers (called *Stationarii*) went up and down the Countrey, preaching the lives of some holy men or Saints, as *Valentine, Hubert, &c.* promising the simple people, that if they vowed themselves to those Saints, and payd such an yeerly Tribute, they should be free from such diseases, as they named.

VIII. That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, called *Terminarii*, consumed the Almes that the poore should have.

IX. That, at the instance of Ecclesiasticall Persons, divers Layicks were cited to *Rome*, to answer concerning businesses not belonging to that Court, as namely matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawnes, &c.

X. That even Layicks, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Justice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their cause to *Rome*, though otherwise it were proved that Justice were done, and the party perjured.

XI. That certaine Judges called *Conservatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the causes of certaine Ecclesiasticks, did under colour thereof trouble all other places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporall Authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII. That certaine Delegates and Commissaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the secular causes of any person whatsoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they disobeyed.

XIII. That the Pope, by exempting certaine Monasteries from the jurisdiction of their Bishops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the diminution of the Imperiall power.

XIV. That the right of Patronage belonging to divers Layick and Ecclesiasticall persons was (under colour of prevention) usurped by the Pope and his Legats, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did conferre them usually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

XV. That these men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were conferred usually by the Pope, to the detriment of the true Patrons.

XIV. That divers undue means were practised to prove men amply-Beneficed to be Courtiers, and dependants on Cardinals.

XVII. That great Benefices or Ecclesiasticall promotions could not be confer'd on able persons, unlesse Pensions were first given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

XVIII. That, under pretences of making Benefices litigious, the said Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Pensions; and if the ordinary Statutes of Chancery served not, they formed and reformed them as they pleased; also the Incumbent dying during this

this pretended controverſie, the ſaid Pretenders invaded the Bene- 1522
fice, to the wrong of the Patron.

That the Collation of Deaneries, and other Eccleſiaſticall pro- XIX.
motions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, eſpecially if the former poſſeſſors were Courtiers.

That in granting Benefices they uſed many Arts to get money, XX.
under the names of Reſervations, Permutations, Surrogations, &c. to the dammage of the Patron.

That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on XXI.
them, farmed them out to ſtrangers who cannot ſpeake the Language.

That Archbiſhops and Biſhops were bound by their Chapters XXII.
to beſtow the beſt vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themſelves onely, to the fruſtrating of many able Perſons.

That the houſes belonging to ſuch Benefices were ſuffered to XXIII.
fall, and the people untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not obſerved.

That divers Abbeys, and Religious houſes, being delivered in XXIV.
commendam to Cardinals, and Biſhops, did not feed now above five or ſix perſons, whereas heretofore they nouriſhed forty or fifty.

That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Ger-* XXV.
many, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at leaſt Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferiour perſons, were received into them for money.

That, whereas in the beſtowing of Benefices divers ancient Pri- XXVI.
viledges and Immunities belonged both to Eccleſiaſticall and Layick perſons, they were now by the policy of the Roman See, eluded or infringed.

That, whereas Annats were payd to the Pope by Eccleſiaſticks, XXVII.
and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did alſo pay them for divers yeeres, upon condition the money might be imployed in warre againſt the Turke; Now becauſe they underſtood the money was otherwiſe diſpoſed of, they deſired henceforth to be eaſed of this great burden.

That Eccleſiaſticks doe not pay their due parts, either for a war XXVIII.
againſt the Turke, or other publique affaires; whereas having XXIX.
ſo great a portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they ſhould furniſh their XXX.
reaſonable ſhare; And in this caſe the Church-Ornaments and Treaſure are not to be ſpared, leaſt they come all together into the hands of the Turke.

That, whereas Eccleſiaſticall perſons, being by taking Orders XXXI.
exempt from ſecular juſtice; doe thereupon take more freedome to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coyning moneys, to the no little ſcandall of Religion, and derogation of the ſecular Authority; and that their Superiours likewiſe never puniſh them, but being firſt degraded, (to which yet much ceremony and time

is

1522. is required,) and that the ſaid Superiours by their Chapters, are bound not to puniſh them otherwiſe.

XXXII. And whereas the leaving theſe crimes unpuniſhed may cauſe ſedition and tumult in the Layity, as finding the Eccleſiaſticks have not parity of puniſhment with them:

XXXIII. Therefore, they deſired that Eccleſiaſticks and Layicks may equally ſuffer for crimes of the ſame nature; And that no Order may priviledge them from the Magiſtrate.

XXXIV. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be uſed onely when men are convicted of Hereſie; that yet Laicks incurred this puniſhment for ſmall faults, and ſo were driven to deſperation, and excluded from Divine ſervice.

XXXV. That divers alſo, who were not properly intereſſed in the crime of the Excommunicated perſon, did yet ſuffer as Complices; and all this onely that more money might be gotten.

XXXVI. That when the Prieſt or Eccleſiaſticall perſon was killed by chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till compenſation were made, and no regard taken of the occaſion given.

XXXVII. That Holidaies were in ſuch number in Harveſt time, that people could not get in their Corne in due ſeaſon; whereas, yet innumerable miſchiefes were then done, rather then Gods ſervice frequented according to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXVIII. That the Revenues of the Knights of the Teutonicke Order, deſtin'd for war againſt the Turke, were applied to Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, which were neither Germans, nor of the ſaid Order, contrary to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXIX. That Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates obtained from *Rome* Conſervators and Delegates, whence ſo many grievances follow to the Layicks.

XL. That Layicks Goods and Inheritance might come to Eccleſiaſticall hands by purchaſe, or otherwiſe; but that Eccleſiaſticall Goods and Inheritance might never returne to the Layicks.

XLI. That when Eccleſiaſticall perſons, having Inheritance deſcending upon them, did die inteſtate, divers Biſhops did claime that Inheritance themſelves, to the prejudice of the next right heires.

XLII. That, whereas the profits of certaine Lands and Poſſeſſions temporall, were ſometimes caſually transferred by Layicks to Eccleſiaſticall perſons, they laboured to retaine the ſaid Lands as their owne for ever, by ſubmitting them to Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction.

XLIII. That Biſhops would not confirme the Foundations of Eccleſiaſticall Benefices, unleſſe the Founders gave them the firſt beſtowing thereof.

XLIV. That they were forced to purchaſe the confirmation of them for great ſums of money.

XLV. That, when by a Lay perſon any man were preſented to a Benefice, he could not be inveſted therein, till he had paid as much

much as a yeeres profit, for two, to the Bishop and his Officers. 1522.

That Bishops raise extraordinary Subsidies on the Priests under them, so that they cannot live unlesse they get money againe from the People. Insomuch that they will administer no Sacrament unlesse some money be given. XLVI.

That many are made Priests who have not meanes to maintaine the charge, to the derogation of their Dignity, while they exercise some sordid Trades; And that they who can get six voyces, for a Certificate obtaine Orders, when yet those Attestations were corruptly gotten. XLVII.

That more is exacted from the People for the Consecration of Churches then is needfull; And that, though Layicks bestow divers, gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces &c. yet money is required for their consecration. XLVIII. XLIX.

That if two or more fight in the Church-yard with their fists, to the drawing of never so little blood, the Town must pay for the new consecrating thereof. L.

That Suffragans used to baptize Bels, under pretence of driving away Divels and Tempests; And, for this purpose, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exercised, and its name invoked, (unto which all the people must answer.) And that a Banquet was used to be made hereupon, at the cost of the Layicks, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, &c. whereas they desired that the said Bels might be baptized not onely by Suffragans, but by any Priest, with Holy-water, Salt, and Herbs, without such Costs. LI.

That, if in any Diocesse a solemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Bishop used to take to himselfe a third or fourth part of the offering, which yet ought to have beene employed in warre against the Turke. LII.

That, whereas some Nunneries were governed by Provosts, the Bishops refused to accept the said Provosts till the Nuns had given them money. LIII.

That when any Abbot or Abbesse was chosen, they must be consecrated anew by the Suffragans, (though otherwise they were capable of the charge,) and feasts made, and great summes paid. That also many Offices were invented in the Court of *Rome*, so that Bishops could not enter their charge without paying great Fees, which againe they were forced to get of the people as they could. LIV.

That Ecclesiasticall Judges commonly were Persons of an idle life, and intentive wholly to gaine. LV.

That though the Plantiffe be Ecclesiasticke, and the Defendant Layick, and that by the Law, *Actor Rei Forum sequi debet*, LVI.

1422. *debet*; yet the cause was revoked still to the Ecclesiasticall Court.

LVII. That though Justice be neither delayed nor denied in Civill Courts, yet the Ecclesiasticall persons drew matters of debt into their Courts, and oppressed men by their rigid censures.

LVIII. That, whereas Citations and Monitories are granted against Layicks in many cases, which are known not to belong to Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, yet that the Persons so cited, either can get no remedy herein, or that, before the Civill Magistrate can avoke the cause, so much time and money is spent, as is intolerable to the poore suitor.

LIX. That Ecclesiasticall Judges drew many causes to their Court, which belonged not to it, As Raviſhments of Virgins, some cases concerning Bastardy, &c. which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary jurisdiction.

LX. That, when a man were wrongfully called before Ecclesiasticall Judges, and at last, after much charges dismissed, yet unlesse his adversaries Proctor were satisfied to the full, he ran the danger of Excommunication.

LXI. That Layiks, though by long prescription they payd neither great nor small Tenths, out of certaine of their Lands, yet received Citations from Ecclesiasticall Judges, and were constrained to pay, under the penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeale to *Rome*, for feare of more excessive charges.

LXII. That all belonging to Ecclesiasticall persons laboured also to take the advantage of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, when they had any suite against Layiks.

LXIII. That, on occasion of injurious words onely, Ecclesiasticall persons drew the suit to their Courts, and suffered not the lawfull Judge to determine it.

LXIV. That, in all causes where Oathes are interposed, Ecclesiasticall Iudges used to avoke them, upon pretence that matter of Oathes were not otherwise to be decided: which at last yet would wholly frustrate Secular Courts; there being so many cases wherein Oathes intervene.

LXV. That, when their judgements concern'd their Ecclesiasticall superiors, they dare not exercise it, but onely let them run against the poorer sort.

LXVI. That they have invented many Reformations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes wholly differing from the usuall and Common Law; which yet tend not so much to the good of the People, as their own private gaine.

LXVII. That, it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spirituall punishments should be inflicted for Spirituall and manifest sinnes, Ecclesiasticall Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggra-

vate

vate theſe puniſhments ſo far that Layicks were forced to redeeme them with money. 1522

That men and women, being falſely accuſed, yet upon their purgation, they were ſo farre from receiving ſatisfaction, that they were forced to pay for Letters of Abſolution; And Oaths, beſides, taken of malicious and wicked women, upon words ſpoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur perjury, and occaſioned much offence. LXVIII.

That, when buſineſſe of Matrimony hath proceeded ſo farre, that one of the parties pretended a Contract, which the other denied, and that ſome Guifts as Earneſts of Marriage had paſſed betwixt them, the Eccleſiaſticall Judges yet ſeparating the parties, keepe the Guifts for themſelves, as forfeit or eſcheated. LXIX.

That, whereas there are certaine cauſes ſo belonging to both juriſdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which firſt queſtions them (as manifeſt Perjuries, Adulteries, &c.) yet the Eccleſiaſticall Judges forbad the Civill to meddle herein. LXX.

That, upon pretences of Layicks, that they cannot obtaine of the Secular Magiſtrate execution of Juſtice, Citations were uſually granted from the Eccleſiaſticall Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the ſpace of a moneth to end the ſaid cauſe, or otherwiſe that they would take order; when, yet, the cauſe being brought before them, depended often the ſpace of three yeeres without that they would grant the like power to Secular Judges. LXXI.

That Eccleſiaſticall Judges, under colour of preſcription, arrogated much to themſelves, when as yet no preſcription can availe againſt the Pope and Emperor. LXXII.

That offenders, after private confeſſion, being required to doe publique Pennance before all the people, are compelled alſo to pay money to Eccleſiaſticall Officers. LXXIII.

That, inſtead of forbidding Uſury, they permit it for money given them; and that for an Annuall Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular perſons to live publiquely with their Harlots and get children. LXXIV.

That, if one of the marryed couple take a journey either to the warres, or to performe a Vow, to a farre Countrey, they permit the party remaining at home, if the other ſtay long away, upon a ſumme of money payd, to cohabite with another, not examining ſufficiently whether the abſent party were dead. LXXV.

That Synodall Judges, going to poore Towns and Villages everywhere, draw Annuall Tribute thence, or Excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw money weekly in many places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, &c. under the ſame penalty. LXXVI.

1522. That they ſend Inhibitory Letters to Layicks, forbidding them
LXXIX. to proceed in their ſuit, before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forced to ſubmit to the Eccleſiaſticall Court, or otherwiſe to appeale to *Rome*.

LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the charges of Law in theſe kinds, are forced to make ſome bad bargaine and compoſition, being not able to ſtand out.

LXXXI. That whereas Eccleſiaſticall Judges, by giving Oathes to the Advocats and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifeſt their Clients could have little hope of aſſiſtance, when the cauſe any way concern'd the ſaid Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any remedy for this, but by their admiſſion of forraigne Advocates, to whom yet ſo ſhort a time was allowed for bringing them to the Barr as they could not eaſily come.

LXXXII. That the poorer ſort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parſon, were often denied the Communion.

LXXXIII. That Labourers in time of Vintage were Excommunicated, unleſſe they tooke ſuch Seaſons as the Eccleſiaſticks preſcribed, upon pretence that their Tenths might ſuffer dammage thereby.

LXXXIV. That Synodall Judges, going Progreſſe yeerly under pretext of Viſitation, and inflicting puniſhment on offenders, tooke onely occaſion to exact money.

LXXXV. That the Canons of Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, who had power to chooſe a Prelate or Superiour, would not elect him, untill he firſt promiſed and bound himſelfe not to contradict them in any buſineſſe, (how fowle ſoever, and diſhoneſt) and that if they offended, he ſhould not puniſh them.

LXXXVI. That Livings belonging to Biſhops, Monaſteries, &c. were ſet forth to Vicars, at ſo deare Rates, that they were forced to get money againe from the poore for Confeſſions, Anniverſaries, Obits, &c.

LXXXVII. That, though Prieſts by their Foundation ought to ſing ſuch a Maſſe on ſuch a day, yet they will have money therefore. Beſides, with one Maſſe they thinke to ſerve divers Benefices.

LXXXVIII. That if any of their Pariſhioners, for marriage or other occaſion quitted his houſe or dwelling, he muſt pay ſo much to the Prieſt for Teſtimonials, or be Excommunicated.

LXXXIX. That whereas, by the Popes Canons, they onely are denied Chriſtian buriall, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortall ſinne, yet their Eccleſiaſticks extended the Law further, and denyed buriall to men deceaſed by chance, as drownd or killd, untill ſuch money were payd.

XC. That many Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſticall Perſons mixt themſelves with the multitude, dancing and diſguiſing themſelves, wearing

wearing Swords, with which they made affrays, and hurt people, and yet conſtrained them to pay. 1522

That in moſt places, Biſhops, and their Officials not onely tolerated Concubinage, upon paying money in the more diſſolute ſort of Monkes, but exacted it alſo in the more continent; ſaying, it was now at their choice whether they would have Concubines or no. XCXI.

That at the Dedications of Churches, permiſſion was given to the Chaplaines and Prieſts to ſet up Taverns, Dice, Cards, &c XCXII.

That, at the point of death, they perſwaded men by flattery and fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them. XCXIII.

That Mendicant Friers drew many Cauſes to *Rome* unjuſtly, to the grievance of the Layicks, getting alſo ſo much money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hatts for their Generals at a huge Rate, and that they much moleſted Nunneries. XCXIV.

That the Legats and Orators of Popes made Baſtards and others borne *ex damnata coito* to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right heires. XCXV.

And that they made alſo certaine Viſcount Palatines as their Subſtitutes, having power alſo to legitimate and admit Baſtards to ſucceſſion; XCXVI.

And to make Notaries, when yet ſome of them are ſo ignorant, as they know not what belongs to a Notaries place.

Beſides, the ſaid Legats goe about to abſolve men from their Oathes, Pacts, and Obligations, with permiſſion to treat *de novo*; then which nothing yet repugned more to equity and juſtice.

Beſides, that they endeavoured to take Livings from the true Patrons, and beſtow them as they pleaſed. XCXVII.

That, becauſe Religious perſons ſucceeded Secular men in their Inheritance, and not *vice verſa*; there could be no equality, unleſſe that before any entered into a Religious life, they renounced their ſucceſſion in Temporall eſtates. XCXVIII.

That the chiefe part of theſe grievances having been repreſented in the late Diet at *Wormbs* to the Emperor by the Lay-States, againſt Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, that yet no remedy enſued. XCIX.

And that therefore all the Secular States of the Roman Empire renewed now their Petition to the Pope that his Holineſſe would reforme theſe abuſes.

That there are many Grievances more intolerable then theſe, which the ſaid Secular Eſtates of the Roman Empire could ſhew, but (for brevity) did forbeare, as hoping that when thoſe were taken away, the reſt would follow. C.

Wherefore, by way of finall Petition the ſaid Secular Eſtates of the Roman Empire, both of the higher and lower ſort, did beſeech his Holineſſe to take away, amend and abrogate the ſaid Grievances; or otherwiſe that themſelves would take ſuch courſe as ſhould be expedient for the remedy thereof.

1522. While, that his Holineſſe might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digeſt their grievances into theſe Heads, and ſend them to his Holineſſe.

Theſe Abuſes and Grievances (which, as much as through the obſcurity of ſome termes uſed there, was poſſible, I have endeavoured faithfully to abbreviate) being publiſhed, *Luther* became more obſtinate, repenting now his ſubmiſſion at *Wormbes*; Inſomuch that at *Wittenberg*, he doubted not to aboliſh the old Maſſe, and to frame a new Liturgy, &c. Of which more hereafter.

1523. April 15. Regn. 14. Our King finding now his extraordinary waies for levying money to faile, or at leaſt having reſolved to determine them in a Parliament, ſummon'd it to be held in the *Black-friars* in *London* upon the fifteenth of *April*, in the fourteenth yeere of his Raigne. And here the Cardinall tooke order that the Spiritualty ſhould lead. The buſineſſe of Subſidy, therefore, being brought into the Convocation-Houſe, found a faire way for the moſt part. Yet *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and one *Philips* oppoſed it. But the Cardinall, ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent themſelves, prevailed at laſt. Inſomuch that one halfe of the Revenues ſpirituall for one yeere, was granted payable in five yeers following. Hence the Cardinall went to the houſe of Commons, where in an elegant Oration, breach of Faith was layd to the charge of *Francis* the firſt, upon the League ſworne for the generall Peace of Chriſtendome. Beſides, default of payment for *Tournay*, and other things were objected; ſo that the King could doe no leſſe in this publique cauſe, then joyne in war with *Charles* the Emperor againſt him. And becauſe the charge thereof was caſt up to DCCC thouſand pounds, it was required, that the aforeſaid ſumme might be raiſed out of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands to be payd in foure yeeres.

April 29.

This being ſaid, the Cardinall departed. The next day Sir *Thomas More*, (Speaker of the Houſe) inforced this demand, demonſtrating how it was not much on this occaſion, to pay foure ſhillings in the pound. But the Houſe of Commons anſwered, that though ſome were well moneyed, yet in generall the fifth part of mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in ſtocke or Cattell. And that to pay away all their Coyne would alter the whole frame, and intercourſe of things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Land-lords in Corne and Cattell onely; and the Land-lord againe could not put them off for thoſe things he had need of, there would be a ſtop in all Traffique and Merchandize, and conſequently the ſhipping of the Kingdom muſt decay; And the Nation it ſelfe for want of money, grow in a ſort barbarous and ignoble. To this was anſwered.

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as loſt;

or

1522.

or taken away, but onely to be transferr'd into others hands of their kindred or Nation; Herein therefore, that no more was done, then that we see ordinarily in Markets; where, though the Money change Masters, yet every one is accommodated. Howsoever, that no man ought to refuse unto him that fighteth for the honour and safety of his Countrey, so much as will maintaine him; since he denies it not even to his labourer. That those who are imploy'd, must have been fed when they staid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give the uttermost proofe of well-deserving Patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhaust the Coine from the poorer sort; but, to avoid this objection, let the richer go themselves. Let them shew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or, when they would desire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving so poore a stipend, as some of their servants, at home, would scarcely take to stand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themselves more then others, because they have larger Possessions, unlesse they imploy it to the publique good; since, in ancient times, and even true Reason of State, they deserved not so much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defended it. Nor is it well said of you, when you object that this will carry the Money out of *England*, and leave it in *France*; for doth it not carry the men too, and so in effect prove but the same expence? Notwithstanding, if you be so obstinate, as to beleeve that making warre in a Country brings money to it, doe but conceive a while, that the French had invaded us. Would the money they brought over, thinke you, enrich our Country? should any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aside those poore scruples, and doe what may be worthy the dignity and honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worst that can fall out, you should yet eat your Beefe and Mutton here, and weare your Country Cloth; while others, upon a short allowance, fought, only that you might enjoy your families and liberty. But I say confidently you need not feare this penury or scarcenesse of Money; the intercourse of things being so establish'd throughout the whole world, that there is a perpetuall derivation of all that can be necessary to mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to goe farre, I shall produce our own Merchants onely, who, (let me assure you,) will be alwayes as glad of your Corne and Cattell, as you can bee of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in Gods name) do what becomes us, and for the rest, entertaine so good an opinion of our Souldiers, as to beleeve, that in stead of leaving our Country bare, they will adde new Provinces to it, or, at least, bring rich spoiles and Triumphes home.

At last, after some debate and contention, it was agreed by the Commons

1523 Commons, that every man of Eſtate of twenty pound yearly and upwards, ſhould pay two ſhillings in the pound; and from twenty pound a yeare downward to fourty ſhillings, one ſhilling in the pound; and under fourty ſhillings every head of ſixteene yeares old or more ſhould pay foure pence, in two years. The Cardinall hearing no more intended, ſeem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, He told them, that he deſir'd to reaſon with thoſe who oppos'd his demands; but being anſwer'd, that it was the order of that Houſe to heare, and not to reaſon, but among themſelves, the Cardinall departed. Yet by the liberall Motion of ſome of the Lower Houſe, thoſe of fifty pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one ſhilling more, (being three ſhillings in the pound) for three yeares to come, which at length being continued to the fourth yeare, and extended to thoſe who were worth five pound in goods, was all that could be obtained.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, fourteene, and fifteene *Reg. Henry* the eighth, were theſe.

That our Merchants might have eight dayes preferrence before ſtrangers, for buying of broad white-wollen Clothes, brought to *Blackwell*-Hall in *London*; unleſſe in Faires, Ports, Creekes, &c. That ſtrangers uſing a handy Craft, ſhould take no Apprentiſes, nor above two Journey-men, unleſſe they were the King's Subjects. That they ſhould be under the ſearch and reformation of the Wardens and Fellowſhip of Handy-Crafts, and one ſubſtantiall Stranger, to be choſen by the ſaid Wardens. That they ſhould cauſe a Marke to be put on the Wares, and workman-ſhip, to be knowne thereby. That, if they were falſely and deceitfully made, they ſhould be forfeit. That this Proviſion ſhould extend to ſtrangers, living in other Townes than *London*. That, if ſtrangers were wrong'd, they might ſeek their remedy from the Lord Chancellor and Treaſurer of *England*, or the Juſtices of Aſſize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentiſes or Journey-men might continue as before, and ſo to endure till the laſt day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to ſtrangers of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and the Sanctuary of Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*. That, if the Officers refuſed to put a Mark on the Wares, or workmanſhip of Joyners, Black-Smiths, &c. being ſtrangers; That then it was lawfull for the ſtrangers to ſell them without the ſaid Marke. That Lords and others the Kings Subjects of an hundred pounds yearly might take and retaine ſtrangers, being Joyners, and Glaſiers, for their private ſervice, this Act notwithſtanding. That Engliſh men living under forraigne Princes, and being ſworn to them, ſhould pay ſuch Cuſtome to our King, Subſidy and Toll, as other ſtrangers of thoſe parts doe. And that the Governour of the Merchant Adventurers, or the King's Ambaſſadors in Forraigne Countreys, ſhall certifie

1523.

certifie their names to the Chancery, to the intent that order may be given therein to the Kings Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet if any ſuch Engliſh-man, did returne to inhabite here, that then he ſhould be reſtored to all Liberties of a Subject.

A Colledge of Phyſicians (among whom was that famous and learned *Linaker*, chiefe Phyſician to the King) was erected, and certaine authorities and Priviledges granted to them.

Moreover the Statute of V I. *Hen.* VIII. XIII. for ſhooting in Croſſe-Bowes, or Hand-Guns was diſpenſed with in men of one hundred pound *per annum.* That Coyners who make Money in any Mint in *England*, ſhould Coyne of every hundred pounds of Gold, twenty pound into halfe Angels or peeces of xl. pence, and of every hundred pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certaine portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Halfe-pence, and Farthings (the Farthings to have a Marke different from the Halfpence.) That they who bring leſſe then 100 pounds in Bullion or Plate to the Mint, ſhall have the tenth part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet ſhall not extend to the Mint-maſters of York, *Durham*, or *Canterbury*. Concerning which Law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the Subjects, to have ſo much of the ſmalleſt ſort of Coine, yet by reaſon of their littleneſſe, it is all worne out.

That they which be in the Kings ſervice in warres may aliene their Lands, for performance of their wills, without any fine for Alienation. And, if any of them dye in the Kings ſervice in War his Feof-fees or Executors ſhall have the wardſhip of his Heire and Lands.

I find alſo in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And an other for the reſtitution of *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to the ſaid Duke. *M. S.*

Alſo an Act paſs'd that the King ſhall, for his life have Authority by his Letters Pattents at his pleaſure to Reverſe, Repeale, and Annull, all attaindors of high Treaſon, and to reſtore their Heires, &c. *M. S.*

While theſe affaires at home were in agitation, the Cardinall * ſending *Thomas Anniball* Doctor of Law) to Pope *Adrian* then in *Spaine*, * obtained the continuance of his Legantine Power for five yeares more, which yet (ſaith *Polydore*) he made ſo veniall, as if, to recompence the heavy Loanes and payments he had impos'd on the people, he would take order to diſcharge them of their ſinnes at an eaſie rate. March. 9. March. 22. *Pol. virg.*

The King having ſent divers times into *Scotland*, to require that his Nephew *Iames*, might have exerciſe of that Regall Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of *Albany* diſchar'd from his place of *Vice-Roy*, receiv'd ſo uncertaine and dilatory Anſwers, that he thought fit to deſiſt a while from his deſignes in *France*, and to purſue this. Therefore he makes a particular diſpatch to Sir

Thomas

1523 *Thomas Bolen*, Treasurer of his houshold, and Mr. *Richard Sampson* Deane of his Chappell, resident then in *Spaine*, requiring them to excuse him, if he did not proceed so roundly to the execution of the Treaty at *Windsor*, (formerly mention'd) since, for defence of his Nephew, he was constrain'd to take in hand the businesse of *Scotland*; yet that he would, in good time, performe all that could be required on his part. Together with which they were charged, to intimate some jealousies he had of a neare Alliance propos'd betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*; whereof he would gladly be clear'd. Presently after which, he sent the Duke of *Surry* (Lieutenant of
March. the Borders) commanding him to joyne with Marquesse *Dorset*, (Warden of the East and middle Marches) and Lord *Dacres* War-
Aprill. den of the West Borders of *Scotland*. These Lords, having gathered together convenient forces, took *Iedworth*; and, making frequent incursions, did great harm to that Country; without other intention yet (as the Scottish have it,) then to reduce that Nation to a better intelligence with *England*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Albany*, who was in *France*, prepares to return to *Scotland*. Our King, advertis'd hereof, sends out his Navy to intercept him. Sir *William Fitzwilliams* with 36 great Ships, coasting *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a convenient Navy, guarding the Western Seas. While *Fitzwilliams* attended this occasion, he discover'd twelve French Ships, in which the Arch-Bishop of *Glasco* and divers others of quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into *Scotland*. Giving Chase to these, two of them were cast away neere the Havens of *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. After which, *Fitzwilliams*, leaving part of his Fleet to shut up the *French* Ships, (which were fled into those Havens) proceeded himself along the French Coasts, Landing in divers places and wasting the Country; till at last hee
Aug. 10. came to *Treport*, a Town strongly situated and Garrison'd with three thousand Men; which Fortifications our Men (though a far lesse number) gain'd, together with divers peeces of Ordnance, chasing the French that remain'd to the Town. yet finding it was not their businesse to lay a siege at this time, they only burnt the suburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and so return'd. The Duke of *Albany*, knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the English, had caus'd all provision for his returne unto *Scotland* to be conceal'd, and made it to be voyced abroad, that he had no purpose to stir out of *France* this yeare: which our King understanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no sooner in harbour, then *Albany* hasting together his Men and Ships, set saile at *Brest*; and, passing along the West Coast of *England*, landed in the Island of *Arraine*
Sept. 24. *Sept.* 24. to the great joy of the Scots, and with him came *Richard de-la-Pole* and three thousand French. When *Albany* came, the minds of the Nobility were divided, some favour'd the English, some
Buck. the French: It being disputed much before the comming of the Governor, to whether side it were best to adhere.

The

The favourers of the Englisſh Party (which were many,) alleadg'd the conformity in Perſon, Manners, Language, and Lawes betwixt the two Nations; Their living and neighbour-hood within the ſame Iſland; the Power the Engliſh had, not only to doe more good or hurt, but ſooner then the French could prevent them: That the Engliſh were Maſters of the Seas, and thereby, able to ſtop, and interclude all ſuccour that could come to them from any other place. Laſtly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of *Scotland*, wherein he did offer both to maintaine Peace there, and to confirme it, by giving the Princeſſe *Mary* his daughter in mariage unto *Iames* his Nephew, ſince he had vehement ſuſpitions that *Charles* intended a match elſewhere. 1523.

Thoſe who favoured the French (whereof many (ſaith the ſame Author) were gained with large gifts, and Penſions, or were ſuch, as, being of meane fortune, deſir'd to make their advantage in the publique troubles) replyed hereunto, That credit was not eaſily to be given to the ſpecious pretext of a new Allyance, the former having ſucceeded no better; eſpecially, when all things in *England* were ordered chiefely *Ex Arbitrio Thomæ Woolſei Cardinalis pravi & ambitioſi* (as *Buchanan* hath it.) That, the occaſions of falling out betwixt potent neighbours, being frequent; friends were to bee ſought out in any other place. Howſoever, their ancient Ally, (the French) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be loſt for preparations to defend themſelves. *Buch.* *Buch.*

Theſe, though but cavils of the more tumultuous ſort, being joyned to the rancor of others, prevail'd ſo with the heady multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor ſummon'd as ſoone as he came to *Scotland*, it was preſently reſolv'd, that he ſhould raiſe a puiſſant Army. Theſe being gathered, march to a Wooden Bridge over Twede, neare *Mul-Roſſe*, which leads to *England*; here the Duke paſs'd over the greateſt part of his forces, intending the reſt ſhould follow; but becauſe divers muttered againſt the cauſeleſneſſe and danger of this attempt, he thought it his beſt Courſe, preſently to bring them back againe. Paſſing thence, hee commanded Siege to be laid to the Caſtle of *Werke*, lately fortified by the Earle of *Surry*. Some French here, that ſerved on the Scottiſh ſide, found meanes to enter the baſe Court, in which the Cattell and Corne of the neighbour-hood in dangerous times were uſually kept. But the Engliſh, for all other manner of repulſe, ſetting fire only to the hay and ſtraw there, ſmoked out the French: Hereupon a Battery was planted againſt the Walls, and a ſufficient breach made; wherewith an aſſault was given by the French and others, but being beaten back with the loſſe of many, and the Earl of *Surry* being with a great Army not farre of the Duke deſiſted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that yeare, ſhortly after which by the mediation of Queene *Margaret*, a Truce was concluded. Octob. 21. Novemb. 11.

1523. *Tillet.* cluded. And thus our King quitted himſelfe of the troubles which *Francis* ſtirr'd againſt him, in *Scotland*. Let us now looke on *Ireland*, for there alſo *Francis* had his projects. And *Tillet* ſet down a Treaty between *Francis* and *Iames*, Earl of *Deſmond* in *June* 1523. But, as it took no effect, by reaſon of *Francis* his buſineſſe in other parts; ſo it haſtned the ſecond troubles of the Earle of *Kildare*, who though he had freed himſelfe of his impriſonment in *England*, by the favour he got upon his match with *Elizabeth Gray*, Siſter to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and ſo was remitted home to his former charge, (*Pierce Butler* being upon ſome Accuſations put out) yet, being Kinſman to *Deſmond*, he could not ſo behave himſelfe, but that his illwillers found Arguments to traduce him; But of this in its place.

June. *Campion. Hiſt. Iſl.*

Sleid. Com. While theſe things were doing, the Kingdome of *Denmarke* ſuffer'd a great change. For *Chriſterne* the ſecond ſucceeding his Father *John*, *Anno* 1514. the Swedes not long after rebell'd, making *Steno Stura* their Head, who yet being ſlaine in Battaile, and the Swedes overcome, *Chriſtierne* commands his body to be diſinterrd and burnt; which with other cruelties, made the Swedes take arms againe, under *Gaſtavus Erixon*, whom they made their King, and ſeparated themſelves wholy, from the Crown of *Denmarke*: *Chriſtierne* having thus loſt Sweden, and incurr'd the hate of the Danes by his Tyrannicall Government, fearing conſpiracy at home, and warre from abroad, left his Kingdome to be invaded and taken by his unckle *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſt*; (whom the *Lubeckers* ayded in the enterprize) and, flying together with *Iſabell*, ſiſter to *Charles* the Emperor and his three children, (one Sonne and two daughters) as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went firſt to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* with a * ſmall Traine came hither. Their misfortune yet did not hinder them to find a reception worthy their degree; our Queene, being Aunt to his, taking particular compaſſion on them. After all manner of Royall Entertainment, therefore, for the ſpace of about three weekes that they ſtay'd, and divers rich Preſents beſtowed upon them, they thought fit, upon ſome hopes given them of recovering their Kingdome, to depart hence againe into *Flanders*.

1514. 1520. *June 15

The Duke of *Suffolke*, being attended by the Lord *Montacute*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Ferrers*, Lord *Morney*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Berkley*, Lord *Powys*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of ſix hundred Demilances, two hundred Archers on Horſeback, three thouſand Archers on Foot, and five thouſand Bill-men, beſides two thouſand & ſix hundred Priſoners came to *Calais*. To theſe again the Duke added one thouſand & ſeven hundred more, taken out of the Garriſons thereabouts. With this little Army he marched into the Enemies Countrey, taking all places that reſiſted him by the way. At * laſt *Florence d'Egmond Count de Bure* Generall to the Emperor, joyn'd his Forces; ſo that in all they made a-

Aug. 24.

*Sept. 20.

bout

about twenty thousand men, yet as it was now about the latter end of *September*, and the weather prov'd very unseasonable, it was difficult to performe any great action. King *Henry* yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperials said it was impregnable, and that for entring *France*, it were better to coast the River of *Some*, which they did, their designe being to come to a Battell, as being advertis'd that the French had long since attended their comming. But finding no Forces in the field; they besieged *Bray* on the River *Some*. In this Towne, *Monsieur Ancoine de Crequi, Seigneur de Pont-Dormy* commanded, with a strong Garrison; But a breach being made by our Men, and violently assaulted, *Ancoine de Crequi*, having set fire on the Towne, fled over the Bridge, with the men that remain'd, drawing some Boards after him; but our men laying on other Planks, and geting over, chased him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little safe from the fire, but some Cellars of Wine, which in that Cold and wet time, was a great reliefe. From hence, passing over *Some*, they marched towards *Roye*, taking by the way some lesser places. This Towne being summond, and promising to yeeld, Sir *Richard Cornwall* with foure hundred men was sent to take possession of it. Thence the Army marched towards *Montdidier*, where by the way *Monsieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with some of our horse scatter'd, put them to the worst. But at last, more of our men comming, his horse was kill'd under him, and he, mounting on an other, was constraind to flye. *Monsieur de Barnieulles* and *de-Canaples* yet stood the shock, to favour the retreat of the rest; which part while they performed bravely, our men overthrew and took them prisoners, with some others of note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monsieur de Roche-baron*, with about 1200 men, commanded. But, after some foure houres battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yeelded. The Duke with his Army had now pass'd the River of *Oyse*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*, without that he met with any notable encouter. The Parisians hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the comming of *Monsieur de Vendosme*, with some Forces, exempt them altogether from feare. But the time of yeare being far spent, and the weather falling out to be so extreme cold, that almost all the Corne in *France* was frozen and spoild that yeare, (as the French confesse,) our men were forc'd to returne. Besides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countreys* withdrew pay from her Souldiers, and let all the charge fall upon King *Henry*. It was not therefore misdoubt of any attempt of the French, (whatsoever they bragge,) they having no Army in the field, but onely the cause formerly alledg'd that made them retire. They took yet the Castle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet together with the other places, was presently recovered by the French. Our King, hearing now the Armies

1523

Octob. 20.

Bellay.

1523. mies were dissolv'd, seem'd to be much incens'd: his intention being to keepe and fortifie the places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord *Montjoy* with six thousand men to reinforce the Troupes. But, before the Kings pleasure could be certified to *France*, The Duke (who by reason of the foule wayes left his great Ordnance in the Towne of *Valenciennes*) was come, with the rest of his Army, to *Calais*; where he thought good to stay, till the Kings anger were appeas'd, by the representing of those important and necessary causes, that made him desist from any other enterprize this yeare, wherewith therefore the King at last being intirely satisfied, he was received into his former grace and favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies dissolved and ruin'd, resolves in Person to bring a third. For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the French forces could command, and that, together, they had not their pay in due time, he intended now to remedy these faults. But this voyage succeeded worst of all. So little can intervening Accidents, but especially those of warre, be prevented by humane wisdome. Being on his way now as farre as Lyons, he heares three Armies were preparing against him; one on the part of our King, for *Picardy*; an other on the Emperors part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*; and a third on the Spanish side for *Fuentarabye*. That on the English side yet astonish'd him most, as suspecting he had given our King enough to doe in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Therefore, he stayes at *Lyons*, and sends *Bonivet* before with the greatest part of his forces, consisting of the flowre of the Nobility of *France*; In which also *Richard de la Pole* (return'd now from *Scotland*) was; and reserves the rest for the most urgent occasions. Only, he wanted *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, whom I find so considerable a Person at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to speake of him, with much particularity. The causes of his discontentment (as the French writers have it) were many.

Dnplcix. That, being of great bloud and excellent parts, he was excluded from the Kings secret Counsell.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the time of *Loüis* the twelfe, *Francis* challeng'd him to a Duell, (which unkindnesse yet, *Francis* comming to the Crowne effaced by giving him the Place of Constable.)

That he was denyed to have *Renee*, Sister to Queene *Claude*, when yet she desir'd to Marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the King gave the Vantguard from him, being Constable, to the Duke of *Alancon*.

That having lay'd out much Money for the warres of *Italy* out of his purse, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd some Pensions and Rents, which were due to him for divers yeares.

That a Processe or Law-suite was brought against him, about the Duchy of *Bourbon*, being inheritance devolv'd to him, in right of *Susan* his wife lately dead.

That

That *Loüiſe* the Kings Mother, perſecuted him, becauſe he refus'd to marry her, and was a Sutor to *Renee.* 1523.

That the Chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the ſake of *Loüiſe*, who was in greateſt authority.

Theſe again bing induſtriouſly fomented by *Adrian de Croy, Seigneur de Beaurain*, on the Emperors part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of the Law, Reſident for our King with the Lady *Margaret*, and laſtly by Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, who in diſguiſed habit often Treated with him, (as I find by our Records) made him finally Revolt. Neither did our King make difficulty to appear herein. *Francis* having not onely ſupported *Richard de la Pole*, but Treated with *Deſmond*; ſo that finally, conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon*, to this effect; *Mary.*

That he ſhould marry *Leonora*, Siſter to the Emperor, and wife to *Emanuell* King of *Portugall* lately dead.

That he ſhould be King of ſome part of *France*, aſſoone as *Francis* was outed.

That the Emperor ſhould have *Burgundy*, and *Artois*, and our King *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, and the Title of King of *France*; and that, beſides, he ſhould renounce all the claime the French pretend to *Italy*.

This yet was not kept ſo cloſe, but ſome notice of it came to *Francis*, who thereupon with a ſingular Franchiſe, did viſit him, at *Molins*, faining then to be ſick, and diſcover'd the intelligence given him; promiſing yet that all ſhould be forgotten upon his confeſſion, and aſſurance to ſerve him faithfully in his warres; giving furthermore his Royall word, that the inheritance now in queſtion ſhould be reſtored, when it were by Law evicted. *Bourbon* thus ſurpris'd, & counterfeiting his weakneſſe ſtill, confeſs'd he was indeed ſought to, but would never condeſcend to any diſloyalty. The King hereupon departed well ſatisfied in apparance; but as the Proceſſe or Law-ſuite went on, and ſome ſecret Guards were put on him; *Bourbon*, offended, eſcapes in a diſguiſed habit to *Genoüa*: Sept.
whither the *Seigneur de Beaurain* came from the Emperor to offer Decemb.
him his choice, whether he would command the Imperiall Army in *Italy*, or come to *Spaine* (where *Charles* had newly extinguiſhed a Rebellion in *Mallorca*, and given order to beſiege *Fuentarabie*.) But *Bourbon* choſe to command the Army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply beſt with both *Princes*; to whom he was oblig'd (as I find by our Records,) to furniſh five hundred men at Armes, and ten thouſand foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But *Francis* had alſo other ſtrong oppoſitions; for though he labour'd to retaine the Venetians; yet as that State conſidered *Italy* would be quietter when *Franceſco Sforza* held *Milan*, then if it came under the domination of the French, they eaſily abandoned *Francis*.

Whereupon a League was entred into, betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, *Franceſco Sforza*, *Iulio de Medicis*, the *Florentines*, Aug. 3.

1523. thoſe of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoya*; and the Venetians; place being left alſo for our King; By which it was concluded, among other things, that the Venetians ſhould furniſh ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand two hundred Horſe, when *Franceſco Sforza* in *Milan*, or the Emperor in *Naples*, were invaded.

That the Emperor ſhould doe as much for them, in the like caſe.

All parts thus tending to warre, *Bonivet* uſing much dilligence,
Aug. 11. marched ſtraite to *Milan*, where *Colonna* had retir'd himſelfe; The Army of the League being not yet joyned. But *Galeazzo Viſcount* of *Milan*, meeting and deſiring him to ſtay, till hee had raiſed a Tumult in the City (whereof he aſſured him in two or three dayes) *Bonnivet* loſt his opportunity; *Colonna* uſing that ſpace to put the Towne in ſuch defence, as *Bonnivet* retir'd. Yet ſo, as hee forgot not to relieve the Caſtle of *Cremona*, the Garriſon whereof was reduced only to eight Perſons. Neither did he more of Importance (though *Colonna* now dyed) but attended ſix thouſand Griſons, and eight thouſand Swiſſes; But as the Griſons, finding their paſſage ſeiged on, returned; So the Swiſſes, becauſe they wanted only foure hundred Horſe to convoy them, (according to the Agreement made) refuſed to come to the French, when the Imperiall Army, now united, was approaching. This made the French wade through a water, to joyn with them. But *Bourbon*, and the Imperialiſts paſſing alſo, charg'd the *French* ſo, as *Bonivet* being hurt eſcaped, and the *Count de Saint Poll* & *Bayard* ſuſtaind the ſhocke. When *Bayard* having receiv'd a mortall hurt, (whereof he dyed, leaning on a Tree, with his face turn'd to the Enemy) all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon alſo *Aleſſandria*, *Rhodes*, and other places were rendred. But at *Fuentarabie*, *Francis* had no better fortune. For *Frauget* Governor thereof, being deſirous to ſave his goods, yeelded the place without much conſtraint, towards the end of *Sept.* 1523. for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at *Lyons* publiquely.

Notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions, yet *Francis* loſt not his Native courage, but proceeded in his deſigne for *Italy*. For as hee knew the Army of the League had different deſignes, hee hoped ſome occaſion or other would diſunite them; neither did it trouble him that *Sforza* was put in the poſſeſſion of *Milan*: For he knew the Imperialiſts would hold a hand high and hard enough to diſoblidge him. Beſides, he found that a deſigne the Emperor had on *Burgundy*, failed, for want of money to pay certaine Lanſqueners, who thereupon were drawn to his ſervice.

Sept. 14. *Adrian's* death this while intervening, through poyſon, (as ſome have it,) Cardinall *Woolſey* hearing thereof, by a Letter dated 30.
Sept. 30. *Septemb.* 1523. advertiſeth the King hereof; adding further, that his not being at *Rome* was the only obſtacle that could hinder him from obtaining that dignity. Yet, that he thought none there preſent would be Elected, by reaſon of the Faction among them.

Therefore

Therefore hee humbly intreated his Highneſſe, that, ſince heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, hee would now aſſiſt him. This Letter alſo was ſeconded by an other, Dated *October* the firſt, deſiring the King to write with his own hand to the Emperor, to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding all which endevours, He being, about two Monethes after, inform'd that *Iulio de Medici* was made Pope, by the name of *Clement* the ſeventh, thought fit for juſtification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the buſineſſe was not yet ſo clearly carryed, but that many of the Cardinals concurr'd on him; though, by reaſon of his abſence, and the dangerous ſtate of *Italy*, (which requir'd preſent remedies,) they inſiſted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinall to ſend to *John Clerk* now Biſhop of *Bath*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Anniball*, Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the Rolles then reſident at *Rome*, a diſpatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the diſaffection he had ever ſhew'd to the French, but to give publique Teſtimonies thereof according to the greatneſſe of that power which now was in him. The Cardinall, alſo by a particular diſpatch, deſir'd *Richard Pace* to procure, that his Legantine power might be amplified; proteſting that, by reaſon of the Kings Prærogative, and other cauſes, it was not a thouſand Duckats yearely to him: yet, if that his authority and faculties might be enlarged, that it ſhould be thankfully acknowledged. All which *Clement* condiſcended unto, and the Legantine power, which *Adrian* granted only from five yeares to five years; was now (by a new example) given him for tearme of life, *Ian.* 9. 1524.

Thus had *Woolſey* (to comfort him for his repulſe in *Rome*,) a kind of Papall authority in *England*; whereof, alſo, he made the uttermoſt uſe. Though, while amongſt other viſitations, Hee would needs viſit the *Freres Obſervanes*, he found himſelf reſiſted; which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having deſir'd him particularly to ſpare them.

While theſe greater exploites in *France* and *Scotland* paſs'd thus, many brave Actions with ſmall numbers were perform'd in the confines of the Engliſh and French Pale; inſomuch that a company of adventurers there, nick-named the Crakers, grew very famous thereby; till, being at laſt oppreſſed by the *Count Dan-martine*, who with one thouſand five hundred horſe and eight hundred Foot, aſſailed them, being onely one hundred ſeventy five Foot and twenty five Horſe, they tooke their end: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the laſt man. The like feats alſo were done, betweene the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* on either ſide, ſome of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as theſe warres in ſeverall Countries, drave the King to an exceſſive charge, ſo, in *October* this yeare, it was required, from all men worth forty pound, that the whole ſubſidy, granted in Parliament

1523

Octob. 1.

Novemb. 19.

Decemb.

March. 22. 1522.

Aug. 31.

Hall.

1524.

Decemb. 1514.

1523. liament, and payable in foure yeares, ſhould be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire payment.

This the Commons imputed to the Cardinall, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Eccleſiaſticall dignity would ever prove a ſufficient protection for him againſt the hate of the people. Therefore, he doubted not to be the author of many raſh Counſell, upon pretence onely of furniſhing the Kings neceſſities; neither did he beleeve, that, when he had precipitated the Royall Authority to violent and dangerous courſes, himſelfe ſhould fall: as thinking his place in the Church ſo high, as would give him leave ever to looke ſecurely upon any ruine, ſome arguments whereof appear'd in his deſigne to build two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich* (where he was borne) at the price of throwing downe certaine Monaſteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this uſe. The deſigne for the Colledge at *Ipſwich* was to erect onely a Grammer Schoole, to traine up the youth till they were ready for the Univerſity; but that in *Oxford* (call'd firſt Cardinal's, then King's Colledge, now Chriſt's Church) was nobler; for the building was intended moſt ample and magnificent, (as the foundations and firſt lines demonſtrate,) the number of Students, Profeſſors, &c. great; as appears by a Catalogue found among our Records, and inſerted here.

Decanus.
Subdecanus.
Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis. —— } *Omnes Studiis incu-*
Quadraginta Canonici ſecundi Ordinis --- } *bituri.*
Tresdecem Preſbyteri Conductitii }
Duodecem Clerici Conductitii — } *Omnes Divinorum Celebrationi*
Sexdecem Choriſtæ. —— } *quotidie inſervituri.*

Profeſſores Collegii & Academiæ publici.

Sacræ Thelogiæ. —— *Medicinæ.*
Iuris Canonici. —— *Artium Liberalium.*
Iuris Civilis. —— *Humaniornm Literarum.*

Profeſſores Privati & Domeſtici.

Philoſophiæ. —— *Sophiſtriæ.*
Logices. —— *Humaniorum Literarum.*

Cenſores Morum & Eruditionis,	*Quatuor.*
Præfecti Ærarii,	*Tres.*
Vacantes colligendis Redditibus,	*Quatuor.*
Miniſtri Communes Collegii,	*Viginti, in re-*

Oeconomicâ prædictis ſubſervituri.

Summa totius numeri, CIxxxvi.

Aſſignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summæ, Partim in excipiendis Convivio extraneis inſumendæ; Partim in Eleemoſynas ſingulis anni quartis erogandæ. Præter ſumptus equitii, aliorum, quæ in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, & ſunt neceſſaria.

I

1523.

I finde alſo, that about 1524, he ſought in *Italy* and elſewhere, for able men to be his Readers. Among whom at this time the Excellent *John Ludovicus Vives* (a Spaniard) was ſent to him to be Profeſſor of Eloquence in *Oxford*. And, for Books, he ſent to have the rarer ſort copied out of the Popes Library.

Theſe ſo great preparations made the Cardinall uſe many rigorous means of getting moneys, as by viſitation of Religious houſes, &c. and at laſt by the ruine of divers. To performe this yet, he was to obtaine the conſent of the Pope and his King. The reaſons repreſented to the Pope, were I ſuppoſe of this nature.

That his Holineſſe could not be ignorant what divers effects this new invention of Printing had produced. For as it had brought in and reſtored Books and Learning, ſo together it hath been the occaſion of thoſe Sects and Schiſmes which daily appeared in the World, but chiefly in *Germany*; where men begun now to call in queſtion the preſent Faith and Tenents of the Church, and to examine how farre Religion is departed from its Primitive Inſtitution. And, that which particularly was moſt to be lamented, they had exhorted Lay and Ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common people at laſt might come to believe that there was not ſo much uſe of the Clergy. For if men were perſwaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their Native and Ordinary Language might peirce Heaven, as well as Latine; how much would the Authority of the Maſſe fall? how prejudiciall might this prove unto all our Eccleſiaſticall Orders?

That there were many things to be look'd too in theſe Innovators, but nothing ſo much as this; ſince it was cleare, that the keeping of the Myſteries of Religion in the hands of Prieſts, had been a principall means in all ages, of making the Prieſthood Sacred and Venerable. That theſe Myſteries and Rites therefore, as the greateſt ſecret and *Arcanum* of Church-government, ſhould be preſerved. Nay, that the Clergy ſhould rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to Cabale it ſelfe, then permit that all the parts of Religious worſhip, though obvious, as to fall eaſily within common underſtandings, ſhould be without their Explication; ſince it might well be queſtioned whether the Eſſence of Religion (conſiſting in the Doctrine of good life and Repentance) might be held ſufficient alone to exerciſe even the moſt vulgar capacities; unleſſe frequent Traditions concerning former times, and ſuch obſcure paſſages as need interpretation, did concur. In which ſtate of things therefore, nothing remain'd ſo much to be done, as to prevent further Apoſtacy. For this purpoſe, ſince Printing could not be put down, it were beſt to ſet up Learning againſt Learning; and, by introducing able perſons to diſpute, to ſuſpend the Layity, betwixt feare and controverſies. This, at

worſt

1523 worſt yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weiged by his Holineſſe, it was not doubted but he would adviſe, and commend to all Chriſtian Princes, the erecting of new Colledges and Seminaries for the advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many favourers of *Luthers* Sect, but eſpecially of *Zuinglius*, did appeare. Yet becauſe his Holineſſe by our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, had divers times been informed of the great expences of his King in the warres he made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the beſt courſe to deſire any money out of his purſe. That therefore he had thought of another expedient; which he humbly offerd to his Holineſſe; which was, that in regard the number of Monaſteries was greater in this Kingdome, then that there could be found Learned men to ſupply them; That it were not amiſſe to diminiſh the one a little, to increaſe the other. That as this would take away the objection of ignorance, wherewith the new Sectaries in *Germany* had ſo much branded the Clergy, ſo it would furniſh able perſons to reſiſt their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the Roman Church. Therefore he would be an humble ſuppliant to his Holineſſe to give him leave to throw downe a few ſuperfluous Monaſteries, and to imploy the Revenues of them to the building of two Colledges; One at *Oxford*, th' other at *Ipſwich*; and to believe, that all things being rightly conſidered, the fall of thoſe few, might be a meanes to keep up the reſt, eſpecially ſince, in this Kingdome the number of them was thought exceſſive.

To the King; As he needed not to uſe thoſe Motives, ſo he diſcreetly conceald ſuch as might diſcover the ſecrets of Eccleſiaſticall Government. For certainly, what fault ſoever might be objected to the Cardinall, he ſeem'd ſtill a devout ſervant to his Religion, as aſpiring thereby unto the Papacy. Therefore, he ſaid little more unto the King, then that it was fit ſo learned a Prince ſhould advance Learning, and maintaine that Faith, whereof the Pope had made him the Defender. For this purpoſe, he ſhould adviſe him to found more Colledges. Yet becauſe his warres and other Occaſions had ſo exhauſted his Treaſury, he would aske no more, then that the care thereof ſhould be committed to him; who, if his Highneſſe ſo thought fit, would onely ſuppreſſe ſome little and unneceſſary Monaſteries, and imploy the Revenues to this uſe. King *Henry* alſo conſidering, that if, for his urgent occaſions, he were neceſſitated at any time to ſeize on the other Religious Houſes, he might this way diſcover how the people would take it, grants his requeſt. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the Cardinall gave way to this ſuppreſſion, that overture was firſt made, which being purſued afterwards by the Kings ſole Authority, became the finall Ruine of all Monaſteries.

Clement the ſeventh hearing of the preparations of theſe great Princes, had ſent in the beginning of this yeere an expreſſe Legat, which was the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, with inſtructions to procure an Union betwixt them againſt the Turke. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the ſame difficulties, he was forced to returne, without other ſatisfaction, then a particular of the demands by our King made, and the reaſons of them; which our Cardinall promiſed alſo to certifie unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular diſpatch to *Rome*, he wiſhed our Agents there, to ſhew an inclination to peace; reſerving, nevertheleſſe, one eare open to the exploits of *Bourbon*; whoſe proſperous ſucceſſe in *France* (he ſaid) might be ſuch as to alter the caſe. Howſoever, that the place of Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himſelfe offered to come in perſon. 1524.

This while (in the beginning of this yeere) the Princes of *Germany* held a Diet at *Naremberg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) ſent as Legate Cardinall *Campegius*; much complaining of their *Poſtulata* or *Gravamina* the laſt yeere, ſince many points in it ſmelt of Hereſie. About *April* alſo the Emperor from *Spaine* ſends to the Princes at the Diet, deſiring them to ſee the Decree made at *Worms* againſt *Luther* (1521) to be obſerved. (Thus to comply with the Pope it ſeems, whom he deſired to retaine on his ſide againſt *Francis*.) The Princes nevertheleſſe at the concluſion of this Diet, made a Decree, that as ſoon as might be, the Pope by the conſent of the Emperour ſhould call a Councell in *Germany*; and, in the mean time, things to be ripened for a peace in Religion, &c. This ſecond urging of a Councell (for it was preſſed alſo the laſt yeere to *Adrian*) provoked much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our Kings zeale to the Roman See, and particular hate of *Luther*, ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he ſent him a Roſe of Gold, (conſecrated and curiouſly wrought) by *Thomas Hannibal*, (who now returned) as alſo a Bull, ſealed with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*.

March.

Jan.

April.

May 8. 1521.

April 18.

May 16.

May 19.

In the meane time, by often diſpatches, the Cardinall, in our Kings name, urged *Bourbon* to undertake his expedition into *France*; to which purpoſe our King was to allow him an hundred thouſand Crowns a Moneth. *Bourbon*, on the other ſide, required that our King, or his Lieutenant, ſhould at the ſame time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promiſed. When (having given Oath to acknowledge *Henry* the eighth King of *France*) He advanceth towards *Provence*, *June* 24. (on the Emperors part *Monſieur de Beaurain* attending him, and on our Kings, *Richard Pace*;) and in the beginning of *July* enters *France*; where, proclaiming liberty to the Common people who willingly came in, he tooke divers

June 24.

July 2.

1524. divers Townes. Nevertheleſſe, his courſe was ſtaid. For, whereas he had a Fleet of the Emperors to ſecond him, coaſting along the ſhore, to bring Victuals to the Army: Now the French Navy being too ſtrong, kept them off, and ſo intercepted their proviſion. The ſupplies alſo of money to be ſent him by the Emperor and King of *England* were ſlackned; for each of theſe Princes feared leaſt the other ſhould reap the fruit of this Expedition; And *Charles de Lanoy* the Viceroy of *Naples* was thought, beſides, to be willing that *Bourbon* ſhould be repulſed, as one whom he envied for being made Lieutenant in his place. Yet, Aug. 19. for all this, *Bourbon* layes ſiege to *Marſeillis*; but in vaine; for it being ſtoutly defended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*; *Francis* alſo with a great power comming to relieve it, at the ſame time *Bourbons* Souldiers mutined for want of pay; (although Sir *John Ruſſell* had newly brought twenty thouſand pound ſterling from our King;) Sept. 27. the Seige broke up, and the Duke embarquing his Cannon, retired to *Genoüa* with ſome loſſe, the Prince of *Aurange* being taken priſoner there.

Octob. It was now mid-*October*, and a ſeaſon, in all probability, not to begin any great enterprize. Nevertheleſſe *Francis* who had left *Claude* his wife in *July* laſt, and left *Loüiſe* his mother Regent of *France* during his abſence, purſued his deſigne to conquer *Milan*; contrary to the advice of the Pope (who perſwaded peace) and of his Counſellors; (who at leaſt adviſed him not to goe in perſon.) *Charles de Lanoy* hearing this, puts *Antonio de Leyva* in *Pavia*, with twelve thouſand Spaniards, and ſix thouſand Lanſquets; and with the reſt of his Army haſtens to *Milan*. But as he found the Citizens there not much affectioned to him, and ſome of the French Vantguard was approached, he left the Town, and together with the Duke of *Bourbon* and *Ferdinand d' Avalos* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*, with their forces, retired to *Lodi*. Whereupon *Michel Antoine* Marqueſſe of *Salaſſes*, and *Lowys Seigneur de Trimoüille* entered *Millan*. *Francis* being preſently informed hereof, advances his Army; yet ſo, as according to an ancient Military rule, he would not leave ſo ſtrong a place as *Pavia* behind him. Novem. But the obſerving hereof coſt him deere. While he laid ſiege to *Pavia*; the Imperialiſts were but in an ill eſtate; the Pope at moſt ſtanding as Neuter; the Florentines friends but in appearance onely; the Venetians excuſing themſelves, as ſuſpecting the Emperour, in that he would not ſigne the Inveſtiture of *Millan* to *Franceſco Sforza*; and our King, inſtead of giving more Money, requiring that which was due to him, (being 133000 Crowns yeerely, in regard of the Penſion withheld by *Francis*,) which yet being refuſed by *Charles* made him averſe. Beſides, he conſidered the deſignes of the Emperor were onely on *Italy*. *Francis* on the other ſide had a flouriſhing Army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand, whereof yet the moſt part were Mercenaries and Voluntiers; and therefore particularly

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mentioned by me, as not remembring to have read in any Hiſtory, that ſo many of this kinde (being irregular and properly under no command) ſhould be admitted to the hazzard of diſordering a whole Army. And for the other part, being Mercenaries, he had found them ſlow, wilfull, of ſmall truſt, and oftentimes venall; though it cannot be denied, that thoſe whom *Francis* in particular now uſed, have been reputed in all times a valiant conſtant Nation. All which I have the rather obſerved, that the ſucceſſe which *Francis* had not long after, might ſeeme leſſe ſtrange unto the Reader. The Nobility that came with him were indeed principall perſons, *Henry d' Albert*, (the Titular King of *Navarre*) the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Longue-ville*, *Alancon* and *Albanie*, (who, the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon promiſe made him by the Nobility, that nothing ſhould be innovated there, till his returne.) The Countes of St. *Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *L'aval*, the Marſhall of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Mountmorancy*, the Admirall *de Bonivet* (chiefe Authour of this Counſell) *le Seigneur de Fleuranges*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Buiſſy d' Ambroiſe*, *Richard de la Pole*, and many other brave Gentlemen. 1524.

The manner which *Francis* uſed in beſieging *Pavir* ſeem'd to take up more time then ſtood with the ſeaſon, (being now Winter) and the advantage he had over the Imperialiſts, who were neither in number nor vertue ſufficient to repell him. This leaſure the Pope made uſe of to mediate a peace, by the means of the Biſhop of *Verona*, and (when that could not be done) to keep *Francis* yet in good terms with him, promiſing him, therefore indifferency at leaſt, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as he conceiv'd him the ſtronger. But, finding that the Treaty of Accord took no effect, was perſwaded by the French Ambaſſadors (reſident with him) to make a League with *Francis*. The perſwaſions the French uſed, were promiſes, and certaine propoſitions of peace, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be very advantagious to both. And thus at laſt the Pope by the ſecret intervention of *Io. Matthei* the Biſhop of *Verona*, made peace with the French, encouraging them together (ſaith *Bellay*) to attempt *Naples*, which yet the Pope diſſembled ſtrenuouſly, both with our Kings and the Emperors Agents; though, when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was forced to it by the French. Yet, it may be the Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a Meſſage which came from *England*; For I find in our Records, that not long after the time that *Francis* paſſed into *Italy*, there came from *France* into *England*, on *Loüis* the Regents part, one *John Joachin*, a Genoueſſe, whoſe comming (as things then ſtood) was much ſuſpected by the Imperials. And the more, that he kept himſelfe cloſe, and repaired every day to the Cardinall, and conſulted with him onely; but ſo much was diſcovered as the Popes Agent here, by a Letter, adviſed his Holineſſe to make Peace with *Francis* in time; which the Pope did (although to

Novem.

Bellay.

Decem.

Jan. 1525

Hall.

1524 to his losse, as will appeare in its place.) And now *Francis*, not fearing the Imperialists, sends the Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about twelve thousand men, against them of *Lucca* and *Siena*, for the Popes service; and after, to attempt *Naples*, where all the places were unprovided of sufficient Garrison. Besides, he had sent the Marquesse *de Saluces* with foure thousand men to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoüa*. Again, three thousand Italians (their Commander *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt) disbanded, and six thousand Grisons, hearing of some troubles in their Countrey, returned; so that his forces were much weakned. Which *Charles de Lanoy* understanding, took the lesse care to defend *Naples*; as believing the French unable to second the Duke of *Albany*. And, therefore, gave order onely to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Countrey the best he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany*, and raised twelve thousand men.

During these passages in *Italy*, the affaires of *Scotland* seemed to change forme; for the Duke of *Albany* being now so far distant from them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland* (notwithstanding the promise exacted of them by the said Duke, when he departed, May. (which was in *May* 1524, promising to returne in *September* next) inclin'd to the Queens side. So that presently after they began to consult of making peace with *England*; which because they knew King *Henry* would never grant, as long as they acknowledged the Duke of *Albany* Governour, (for so he had lately intimated) they agreed to abbrogate his Authority, and to invest the young King in the exercise of his Regall power. To this purpose, the Queen of Scots wrote to her brother King *Henry* to assist his Nephew herein; who sent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas* late Earle May. of *Surrey*, now (since his fathers * death much lamented, for his *Stow.* great vertue) Duke of *Norfolke*, and Treasurer of *England*, to procure the liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, assisted by the Earles of *Arren*, *Lenox*, and divers of the chiefe Nobility, *Buch.* brought the young King from *Sterling* (where the Governour had appointed him to reside till his returne) to *Edenburgh*, where July 29. he undertooke the Administration of the Kingdome, *July* 29. Aug. 20 whereupon Allegiance was sworne to him, and the Duke of *Albany* was exauctorate; yet not with so generall a Vote, but that the two Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdon* disliked it; alledging both the non-age of the King, and the promise of the Nobility to the Governour, of not Innovating till *September*. Upon this they *Bus.* are both confin'd, but shortly restor'd to their liberty. Our King Sept. soon after sent Ambassadors, *Thomas Magnus* (a Civill Lawyer and a Priest,) and *Rattcliffe* (a Gentleman) to reside in *Scotland*; commanding from thenceforth all hostility to cease. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which the Scottish Ambassadors were to be sent into *England*, for the concluding of a firme peace. Also (for esta-

eſtabliſhing the young Kings power) he offered to maintin (a while) a Guard for him of two hundred perſons. But this good Correſpondence was a little clouded; for while theſe things were in hand the Earle of *Anguis* and his brother *George Douglas*, formerly baniſhed (as we have ſhewed) into *France*, found meanes to eſcape into *England*. The Earle defired ovr Kings ayd, for his reſtitution; but the Queen of Scots, who retained her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly caſt an eye on *Henry Stuart*, (whom afterward ſhe married) laboured the contrary; remonſtrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his comming to *Scotland* at this time would trouble the State. For the Earle of *Arrain*, whoſe power and reputation was great, being Enemy to the ſaid *Anguis*, ſhe ſaid would oppoſe him; but our King ſuſpecting by ſome actions that *Arrain* was French, ſuffered about *October* the Earle to enter *Scotland*, to counterpoiſe him; taking of him at his departure a promiſe or obligation, 1. To procure and maintaine the young Kings Authority, to the excluſion of the Duke of *Albany*. 2. To ſeek to be reconciled to the Queen with all humility. 3. To make friendſhip with *Arrain*, as long as he maintaines the young King, and averts him from *France*; whereupon alſo our King promiſed, that if he did the contrary, he would maintain *Anguis* againſt the ſaid *Arrain*, &c. Thus was *Anguis* reſtord to his Countrey for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambaſſadors appointed to be ſent to King *Henry* for peace; were in danger to be ſtaid; yet I finde that *December* 19. they came, being *Gilbert Kenid* Earle of *Caſſilis*, &c. and intreated peace, and the Princeſſe *Mary* as wife for their King. Our King gave hope of both; (for I finde that both the Emperor and *Francis* made overtures of matches for King *James* at this time.) Howbeit, when our Commiſſioners in private conference treated of peace, and the Princeſſe, it was upon theſe conditions, 1. That they ſhould renounce the League with *France*, and inſtead thereof make the like with *England*. 2. That the young King till he be ripe for marriage ſhall be brought up in *England*. It ſeems yet the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors Commiſſion was not large enough to treat theſe points; ſo, *Decemb.* 30. *Caſſilis* (leaving his fellows here) goes to *Scotland*, and ſhortly after (*March* 19.) returnes to King *Henry* with the reſolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen *Margaret*, ſhewing, that the Lords of *Scotland* will be content to relinquiſh the French, ſo that the match with the Princeſſe *Mary* may be made ſure; but they required that the promiſe, whereby ſhe was engaged to the Emperor, be firſt diſcharged. Our King hearing this, ſaid he would conferre with the Emperor about it; and ſo nothing being concluded, but a Truce for three yeeres and a halfe, the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors departed in *April*.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, diſpatched hither *Adolpho de Borgona, Senior de Beures* Adm. of *Flanders*, with the Preſid. of *Malmes*

1524

July.

Octob. 4.

Decem. 19.

Decem. 23.

Hall.
Leſle.

Decemb. 30.
March 19.
1525.

April.

March.
1525.

1525. *Hall.* to require that the Princeſſe *Mary* might be delivered to him, promiſing hereupon to declare her Empreſſe, and make her Governeſſe of the *Lowcountries*; her Dower alſo was required to be paid preſently, and that our King in perſon would the next yeere invade *France*. But before our King could give a perfect Anſwer to theſe particulars, newes was brought of the battell of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis* priſoner, the manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a place eaſie enough to take, had either the French preſſed it roundly, or a leſſe valiant Captaine then *Antonio de Leyva* defended it. But while *Francis*, as being confident he was Maſter of the field, drew the ſiege out in length, he gave not onely time to the Imperialiſts to joyne an Army; but at laſt failled miſerably in his enterpriſe. The adviſe he approv'd, after a breach and aſſault made in vaine, was to open a way to the Town, on the one ſide of the *Teſin*; for, as that River divided it ſelfe into two Channels, whereof one paſſed by the walls, (which had no defence on that part, but the River, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this current, and ſo to leave the walls bare. But one rainy night alone ſo ſweld the River, that all the Dammes and Workes which the French had raiſed were carried away by the violence of the ſtream. His ableſt Councellors hereupon wiſhd him to raiſe ſiege, and give place to the ſeaſon. Beſides, as the Imperialiſts, with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he ſhould be incloſed betwixt the Town, (wherein was a ſtrong Garriſon,) and the Forces now approaching. It was the even of Saint *Mathias* in *February* 1525, (being the day of the Emperors Nativity) when the *Marquis de Guaſto* leading the Vantguard, the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* the Battell, and *Charles de Lanoy* accompanied with *Bourbon*, the Rereward, came in good order neer the French Army. Their reſolution was to weary the French all night with Alarmes and Skirmiſhes, and towards morning to fall on them with the whole Army; ſo that nothing of importance was intended till full day light; when *Francis*, pointing his Ordnance againſt them, ſo pierced their Squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more cover place. *Francis*, thinking this was a flight, draws his Army out of his ſtrong intrenchments into an open place, with intention to purſue them. The Commanders of the Imperialiſts having thus obtained what they deſired (for they wanted both money and victuals to ſubſiſt any long time) encourag'd their ſouldiers to fight, telling them, that though a King was preſent, there was not therefore more danger, but more honours and riches propoſed to them. That they ſhould but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an aſſured victory. The Souldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the neceſſity they were in) reſolutely promiſed to go on. The Marquis of *Peſcara* having advanc'd a little to diſcover the enemy, return'd; and, with a cheerfull countenance, turning towards the Spaniards, told them that he muſt not conceale from them the cruell com-

Jan.

Feb. 24.

Bell.

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1525.

mand the French King had given, that no Spaniard ſhould be received into mercy. This being a meere invention of the Marqueſſe ſo kindled their courage that they required the Signall, promiſing for the reſt, to ſell their lives as deere as they could. Herewith then a furious battell began; in which yet becauſe the Mercenaries, and eſpecially the Suiſſe, did not ſhew their accuſtomed valour, all the charge fell on the few French that were preſent. None yet fought more bravely among them, than the King; inſomuch that with his own hand (as his enemies did afterwards confeſſe) he kill'd the Marqueſſe of *Civita de St. Angilo*; which example ſo encouraged the reſt of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in ſo little number. During this brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down ſome part of the walls of *Pavia*, iſſued forth with the beſt of his Garriſon, and fell on the backs of the French then fighting. This wholly routed the Army, inſomuch that all now began to fly. The King had his horſe kill'd under him, whoſe fall ſo engag'd his leg, that he could not recover himſelfe. In this poſture one *Juan de Urbieta*, a *Guipuſcoan*, ſeazed on him. But the King declaring himſelfe, and ſaying he yeilded to the Emperor, *Urbieta* without offering any violence, received him as his priſoner. The Kings leg yet lay under his horſe; *Urbieta* thinking by this means he was ſure from eſcaping, runs to ſuccour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being killed, deſiring the King onely to take notice that he wanted two teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him firſt. With that one *Diego de Avila* came, to whom the King alſo naming himſelfe, and ſaying he was already yeilded to the Emperor, *Diego* demanded, whether he had given any Gage thereof? The King ſaying, None was required, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword, (which was bloudy) and his Gauntlet, and therewithall delivered him from his Horſe, by the help of one *Pita*, who for his pains took his Order of St *Michael* from him. This ſo much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himſelfe, he offered a great reward to the Souldier to let it alone, which yet the Souldier denied, ſaying he would carry it to the Emperor. The King being now on foot, divers ſouldiers came in, and as they obſerved ſome contention among thoſe that took him, would without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monſieur de la Motte* (or *Pomperante*, as the French have it, a French man,) comming by chance thither, kneeld to him, and kiſſing his hand with all reverence, made them know how rich a prize they had got amongſt them; The King yet caus'd him to riſe, ſaying onely, that he ſhould behave himſelfe like that man he had ever eſteemed him. Herewith, a great concourſe flocking in, the King was perſwaded to take off his Helmet, which was no ſooner done, but every one tooke a part of a great Pennache (or Feather) he wore thereon, others more preſumptuouſly, cut out pieces out of a Coat of Armes or *Sobraveſte* he wore over his Harneſſe. At all which this magnanimous

Sandov.

1525 King ſhewed no other countenance, then that of ſcorne, as knowing ſufficiently, that in deſpight of fortune, his valour had made him comply with his dignity. The chance of thoſe who deſerted the King was various; many were killed, others, thinking to paſſe the *Teſin* were drowned, among whom ſix thouſand Mercenaries, (the moſt part Suiſſe) are accounted. *Henry de Albert*, thinking to ſave himſelfe by flight, was taken. And now the bruit being generall that the King was made priſoner, divers French, who might have eſcaped, out of a ſingular piety to their King, returned, and yeelded themſelves, ſaying, they would not returne to *France* and leave their King behind them. The firſt of the chiefe Commanders that came in, was the Marqueſſe *de Peſcara*; after him *Guaſto*, and others; at laſt *Bourbon* being armed *Cap a Pee*, and with his Sword all bloudy in his hand, comes towards the King, who hereupon demanded his name: Being told, he ſtept (if one may believe the Spaniard my Author) a little behinde the Marqueſſe *de Peſcara*. He alſo perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and (after he had told him that the King was there) demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon* without more adoe rendered, and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, caſt himſelfe on his knees, and humbly demanded his Royall hand to kiſſe; which yet the King refuſed. Hereupon *Bourbon*, with teares in his eyes, ſaid, Sir, if you would have followed my counſell, you ſhould not have needed to be in this eſtate, nor ſo much bloud of the French Nobility ſhed as ſtains the fields of *Italy*. The King hereupon turning his eyes to heaven, now replied only, Pacience, ſince Fortune hath failed me. Further diſcourſe was hindred by the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*, who, deſiring the King to mount on horſebacke, conducted him towards *Pavia*. But the King intreating he might not be kept priſoner in a Town before which he had lately ſo puiſſant an Army, they brought him to a Monaſtery adjoyning. *Henry de Albert* the Comte of St. *Paul*, and divers other priſoners being delivered to ſeverall Cuſtodies. From hence the King was remov'd to a ſtrong Caſtle called *Piciquiton*, and there kept with a great guard of Spaniards under *Hernando de Alancon*, till other order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this victory, a Meſſenger was ſent, to acquaint him with the ſucceſſe. In the mean time *Francis* was uſed with all reſpect. For more oſtentation whereof, *Charles de Lanoy* brought (before Supper) the Baſon, the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto* the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towell; which courteſie he requited, by inviting them to ſit at the Table with him. After which, requiring ſome money might be furniſhed to him for play, he paſs'd away the time the moſt cheerfully he could.

Sandov.

March 10. *Charles* was at *Madrid* when this great news came to him. The ſence he ſhewed of it, was ſuch as became a wiſe Prince, and one that was not himſelfe exempted from a Quartan. He compared the afflictions of Fortune with thoſe of nature, and found the difference

1525.

rence ſo little, that he thought himſelfe to want even the advantages of Liberty as much as a priſoner. For, if he conſidered *Francis*, as in the cuſtody of his Guards, he lookt upon himſelfe as in the cuſtody of his Phyſitians, and confin'd to his Chamber by a ſtronger hand then that which held *Francis*. Moreover, he ſaid, it was not for Chriſtians to rejoyce for their Victories againſt each other, but onely againſt Infidels.

Our King was not advertiſed hereof ſooner then the ninth of *March*. When a Meſſenger from the Princeſſe *Marguerite*, Governeſſe of the *Low-countries*, informed him of all the particulars. *Charles de Lanoy* not omitting alſo to * write to him thereof (as I finde by our Records.) This being brought to Counſell, it was thought fit the King ſhould comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving ſome publique demonſtration of joy. Therefore the King going to St. *Pauls*, and cauſing a Maſſe to be ſung in a more ſolemne manner then ordinary, ſeem'd to celebrate the victory, though inwardly not ſo well ſatisfied thereof. For, as he conſidered *Charles* grown now to more greatneſſe then ſtood either with reaſon of State, or due terms of neighbourhood, He deliberated with his Councell what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to ſend immediately Ambaſſadors into *Spaine*, with charge to repreſent unto the Emperor, how that this warre being made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the fruit ſhould redound to both. That the part his Highneſſe pretended to, was Inheritance in *France*, which he deſired (upon ſome fitting Treaty with *Francis*) might be reſtored. To which his Highneſſe doubted not but the Emperor would afford his beſt aſſiſtance; as well becauſe it was juſt in it ſelfe, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be attained by faire means, to require the Emperor, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make war in *France*, wherein his Highneſſe would likewiſe concur. Neither could his Highneſſe doubt that the Emperor would refuſe to embrace this motion, ſince the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for as his Highneſſe was purpoſed to ratifie and make good the intended match betwixt the ſaid Emperor and the Princeſſe *Mary*, who was heire not onely to the Crown of *England*, but to his Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought ſo beneficiall and advantageous, as he ought not to thinke it much to deliver up *Francis* to his Highneſſe hands, upon conſigning of the ſaid Princeſſe to his. Eſpecially, ſince by an expreſſe Article of the foreſaid Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all uſurpers upon each others Right. All which being founded upon a ſolemn agreement, confirmed by Oath, could not ſeem inſolent, what indiſpoſition ſoever might be found in the Emperor to accompliſh it. Notwithſtanding which, if (as it was moſt likely) this propoſition ſhould take no effect, and that the Emperor would derive

March 9.

Feb. 24.

March 22.

Records.

1525. March.

the totall benefit of his prize upon himſelfe; that his Highneſſe yet might make ſo much uſe thereof, as with more juſtification to take that order which pertain'd to his preſent occaſions, and the peace of Chriſtendome. This advice being approved by all, a Diſpatch was made, and given to *Cutbert Tonſtall* (Biſhop of *London*, and Lord Privy Seale) and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, ſent then to Spaine; wherein alſo an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was propoſed. In which further it was offered, that the Princeſſe *Mary* ſhould be given into the Emperors hands upon fitting conditions. Many other particularities conducing to the ends above-mentioned were ſpecified therein; though for the reſt it ſeem'd not probable to ſome of our Counſellors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being reſolved (what promiſe or advantage ſoever was preſented to him) to ſuffer none elſe to partake of the profit or honour he had acquired in his Victory. This propoſition finding no reception in *Spaine*, but what was before imagined; Our King returns to that brave and wiſe reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelfe Arbiter of Chriſtendome, and to fall on him who interrupted the publique peace. Many reaſons alſo of great moment concurred to this Reſolution. For the Lady *Margarite* (Regent of *Flanders*) who ought by the late League to have raiſed forces againſt the French, began already to treat with them concerning an accomodation. Beſides, the Flemings being grown ſtrong by Sea, had not onely very inſolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonſtrance made in that behalfe, had inhanſed our Coyne, and thereby ſecretly deriv'd great ſummes into their Countrey. Againe, when demand was made onely for repayment of that money which was lent the Emperor in his greateſt neceſſity, nothing yet was returned but a dilatory and frivolous excuſe. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ranſomming of *Francis*. Nor of a match purpoſed with *Donna Iſabella Infanta* of Portugall, which reflected on his daughters reputation. Laſtly, the Popes Breve, repreſenting the danger of Chriſtendome through the proſperity of the Turke, (who had now taken *Belgrade*, and *Rhodes*, and thereby opend ſeverall wayes to *Italy* and *Germany*) and, together, exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to joyne againſt the Common Enemy, had ſo prevaild with our King, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his inheritance in *France*, and to indeavour an univerſall Peace. In the furtherance of which good deſire, as the remembrance of the kind interview betwixt him and *Francis* did operate not a little, ſo the reputation that *Francis* had gotten by his courage ſhewed in this late action, had kindled in the minde of our generous King a compaſſionate zeale for his delivery. Therefore, at the requeſt of the Kings mother of *France* (who by the mediation of *Giovanni Joakim* had much diſpos'd our King

to

to returne to his ancient friendſhip with *Francis*) He ſent to *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight his Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, to intercede for the delivery of *Francis*; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to *Charles*; where, after an excuſe of his not ſooner writing, becauſe they who had charge of him would not permit it, he ſaid that the greateſt comfort he found in this his miſerable condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands of ſo generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to any thing, which might bee unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to performe. That hee hoped therefore ſufficient ſecurity would bee accepted for his delivery, ſince thereby, inſtead of detaining an unuſefull Priſoner, hee ſhould make a King his ſlave. Howſoever, that it was more profit to have him a faithfull friend, then to ſuffer him to dye deſperate. None yet was ſo vigilant and intentive either for his delivery, or the Generall good of the Kingdome, as Madam *Loüiſe* his mother (Regent of *France*) who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambaſſades and Treaties, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republiques to favour the deliverance of her Sonne. Through her care alſo *Andrea Doria* (Generall of the French King's Galleys) reconducted the Duke of *Albany*, who, though farre ingaged in the Enemies Country did yet, without any conſiderable loſſe of his men, returne to *Marſeilles*, April 25. 1525. April. 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chiefe Princes and Eſtates in Chriſtendome would puiſſantly labour for the delivery of *Francis*, ſent *Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain* with certain propoſitions dated *March* 25. 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the Summe. *Sandov.*

That an unverſall Peace and League ſhould be concluded betwixt all Chriſtian Princes, and ſecurity on every ſide be given, for the continuance thereof.

That either of them two, with twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe ſhould invade the Turk.

That, for further ſecurity, the *Dolphin* ſhould marry with the Princeſſe *Maria* (daughter to the King of *Portugall*, and the Queene *Leonora*,) and the Dowry ſhould be a mutuall diſclaime in each others Inheritance.

That the King of *France* ſhould reſtore and leave the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in that eſtate and manner as it was in the time of *Charles* the laſt Duke thereof; And *Theroüenne*, *Heſdin*, and all that was uſurp'd in *Artois* ſhould be redeliver'd.

That *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould reinjoy his former eſtate, and (particularly) have the County of *Provence* conferr'd upon him, which thereupon he ſhould hold under the Title of King thereof.

That the King of *England* ſhould have all reſtor'd that appertain'd to him, or otherwiſe was agreed upon.

That all the followers of the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould be reintegrated in their former poſſeſſions. That

1525. That the Prince of *Aurange*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, the *Seigneur* de *Bonze*, and *d'Autroy*, should be set at liberty, and all restor'd to the Prince of *Aurange*, which was taken from him in the warres of *Brittany*.

That Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, and *La Reyna Germana*, second wife to *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*, with divers other Princes and great persons (particularly nominated in the said Articles) should be righted in their just demands, for restitution in all things taken since the warre.

That all Commerce betwixt the subjects should be renewed hereupon.

That the chiefe Parliaments of *Paris* and elsewhere in *France*, should satisfie the agreement.

That the King himselfe, being at liberty, should, with all due solemnity, confirme it, as also the *Dolphin* as soone as he came to the age of foureteene.

When these Articles were presented to *Francis*, some of them so displeas'd him that he is said in a fury to have drawne his dagger, and spoken those words, It is better for a King of *France* to dye after this manner. Insomuch that *Hernando de Alancon* who was present, hastily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the Emperor, hee gave order that the Prince of *Aurange*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada* should be set at liberty. *Moncada* comming to Court, brought two Letters one from the King, the other from *Madame Loüis*, his Mother, by which (as also by the intervention of the Arch-Bishop of *Ambrun*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, (who were deputed Ambassadors upon this occasion) these conditions following were offered. *Sandov.*

That *Dona Leonora* (Sister to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of *Portugall*) should not be given in Marriage to *Bourbon*, (howsoever promised him) but to the King of *France*, and the *Infanta Dona Maria*, her daughter, unto the *Dolphin*.

That the Dukedom of *Burgundy* should be held by *Francis*, as the Dowry to the Queene *Leonora*, and should be left to the Heires-males betwixt them. If no such issue yet should happen, that the Dukedome should then descend to the second son of the said Emperor; If the Emperor should have no Sonnes, but daughters, that then the second Sonne of the King of *France* should marry one of the said daughters, and have *Burgundy* for her Portion.

That *Francis* would renounce all the right and interest hee had in *Millan*, *Genoüa*, and *Naples*, together with all debts and Pensions that could be demanded on that occasion.

That hee would release the superiority and dominion that hee pretended over *Flanders*, and *Artois*, and for this purpose would obtaine the consent of all the Estates of *France*.

That he would restore *Hesdin* and *Tournay*.

That, for the Lands he held neare the River of *Some*, he would pay the Emperor a just price. That,

1525

That, when the Emperor ſhould goe to his Coronation into *Italy*, or otherwiſe that if he or his brother *Ferdinad* ſhould make war, he would pay halfe the charges of his Army, and goe along in Perſon.

That, if the Emperor would paſſe into *Italy* by Sea, he would command all his Galleys to attend him at *Barcellona*.

That, if the Emperor would make warre againſt the Infidels in *Afrique*, or *Greece*, he would pay halfe the charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Perſon.

That all the Emperor had Capitulated with the King of *England*, and all that was due by way of borrowing or Penſion to the ſaid King, ſhould be paid and accompliſhed, in ſuch manner that the Emperor might be altogether diſcharg'd, and free thereof.

That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon*, all his Eſtate, and pay him his Penſions, and moreover give his daughter in marriage to him, together with ſuch a Portion as was fitting her degree and quality, and that when any Army ſhould be rais'd by him for the Emperors ſervice, the ſaid Duke ſhould be Generall, in caſe the King went not himſelfe in Perſon, and that all former diſſervices, and unkindneſſes ſhould be forgotten.

That ſufficient ſecurity by the Parliament of *Paris* ſhould be given of theſe particularities.

Upon Mature deliberation taken concerning theſe propoſitions, The Emperor replyed, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was his Inheritance, and therefore not to be diſpos'd of, or alienated according to any mans fancy or arbitrement. Concerning the marriage propos'd between *Francis* and *Leonora* his Siſter; That he could reſolve nothing without the conſent of *Bourbon*, to whom he was promiſed. That for the buſineſſes of *Italy*, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for *Naples*, ſince *Francis* had no right thereunto, there was no occaſion to make uſe of his diſclaime. That it would content him much to have *Burgundy* reſtor'd in the ſame manner that his great Grand Father *Charles* injoyed it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would thinke fit to goe and receive his Crown in *Italy*. The French on the other ſide inſtead of *Burgundy* offered great ſummes of money; but *Charles* inſiſting ſtill upon *Burgundy*, nothing was concluded. So that, leaving *Madrid*, the Emperor went to hold his Courts (or Parliament) at *Toledo*, where, among other things, it was Petitioned by the Eſtates aſſembled, that the Emperor, being now of age to marry, ſhould take to wife *Donna Iſabella Infanta* of *Portugall*, and not the Princeſſe *Mary* our Kings daughter.

While affaires paſſed thus betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, Our King, who knew he might have uſe of money on theſe occaſions, and (howſoever) did well underſtand that the maintaining of a ſure Peace at home, was almoſt as coſtly, as the making of a warre abroad, adviſed with his Councell how to provide himſelfe. Yet March.

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1525. as the Cardinall had undertaken the King ſhould never want, as long as he might mannage the publique affaires; So they gladly diſcharged themſelves on him. But Princes ought to take heed, into whoſe hands they commit their extraordinary power, leaſt it hazard their ordinary, it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not raſhly to be put into anothers hand. Neither ſhould they inforce any thus violently; when buſineſſe may be done in a calme and gentle manner. The Harmony of Government conſiſting in ſuch a delicate proportion, that no one part can ſafely be ſtrained higher, unleſſe the reſt may well be tuned and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this yeare, (being the ſeventeenth of the Reigne of our King,) when, Com-
Aprill. miſſions being granted forth into all the Counties of *England*, for the levying the ſixth part of every lay-mans goods, and the fourth of the Clergies; The people, in generall took it ſo ill, that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; alleadging, Firſt, That theſe Commiſſions were againſt the Law. Secondly, their own poverty, and that the King, ſince the foureteenth of his Reign, had of
Hall. them twenty fifteens. But as this ſeem'd to be done, without that the King was fully inform'd thereof, ſo when the ſequence appear'd, it was reſolved to diſavow the whole proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters ſent through all the Counties of *England*, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way of benevolence: This got the Cardinall many a Curſe, and the King as many Bleſſings. Notwithſtanding, under this Title of Benevolence he required great ſummes of all his Subjects, and particularly of
May 8. the Citizens of *London*. But one of their Lawyers anſwered, that by the Statute, 1°. *Ri. tertii, Cap. ſecundo*, ſuch Benevolences were forbidden. But it was replied, That Lawes made by uſurpers oblige not Legitimate Princes. That *Richard* the third, was not only a Tyrant, but a Murtherer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to ſuffer by the Law, then to make any. Therefore his intentions, were, only by popular and licentious wayes, to obtain the favour of the Commonalty, as having no other means to ſubſiſt. That our King, being the true and undoubted heire of the Crowne, could be tyed hereby no further then it pleas'd himſelfe; it being abſurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious aſſembly, and approv'd no otherwiſe then by a Criminall in the higheſt degree, ſhould binde an abſolute and lawfull Monarch; wherefore if they had no better evaſion, it were not fit to maintain this. Thereupon the Cardinall purpoſing to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, hee begins with the Lord Major: But the Major deſiring leave not to declare himſelfe fully, till he had ſpoken with the Common-Councell of the City, the Cardinall wiſht him and the reſt of the Aldermen to come to him privatly, and give what they would. In the Country yet, (where they ſeem'd more obſtinate,) ſome Ring-Leaders of the

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1525.

people (who had taken Armes) upon the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to *London*, and there impriſoned. The King yet, perſiſting in his intention not to puniſh any on this occaſion, (as being advertis'd that the Common ſort of his ſubjects excuſed themſelves by their want of meanes, and not of affection to ſupply his Majeſties occaſions) brought the matter to the Counſell-Table, where the Cardinall, by way of Apologie, ſaid, that he had done nothing herein, without adviſing firſt with the Judges, who affirm'd poſitively, the King might lawfully demand any ſumme by Commiſſion, and that the Counſell of State confirm'd this courſe. But the King ſaying that he was made beleeve his Subjects were richer then indeed hee found them by this Commiſſion, all the fault was laid on the falſe informers, and Pardon given to all thoſe who had denyed the former Benevolence. Hereupon the offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where, after a ſharp charge laid againſt them by the Kings Counſell-Learned, the Cardinall ſaid, That, notwithſtanding their grievous offences, the King, in conſideration of their poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition, that they would give in, ſureties for their good behaviour henceforth. But they replying, that they had none; The Cardinall firſt, and after him the Duke of *Norfolke* ſaid they would ſtand bound for them, wherewith they were diſcharged. *Hall.* *Hall.* *Hall.*

The Cardinall who, by a Concurrence of the Papall and Regall authority, had ſuppreſſed divers Monaſteries, and given that Terror to the reſt, that he drew large ſummes from them, would not yet deſiſt ſo, but continued ſtill his purpoſes of converting the profits of all theſe, which by any colour, might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other uſes, among which while he reduced the Monaſtery of *Beggam* in *Suſſex*, A diſguiſed company, in ſtrange viſors, taking the Channons along with them, reimplaced them, and ſo departed; promiſing, at the ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all times to their ſuccours. But theſe Apparitions did not long haunt the houſe; for the King's Counſell, underſtanding hereof, ſo examined the Channons, that they at laſt confeſſed the Authors, who therefore were ſent for, and grievouſly puniſhed. The Cardinall thus every way eſtabliſhing his authority, was thought by this time, between viſitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, Diſpenſations, and many other wayes, beſides the great Penſions he had from Forraine Princes, to have made his Treaſury equall to the Kings (Notwithſtanding the ſummes he often tranſmitted to *Rome*;) in which way of inriching himſelfe, one *Iohn Allen* Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompanyed with a great Traine, and riding from one Religious houſe to another, in a kind of perpetuall progreſſe, or viſitation, did the Cardinall no little ſervice. But as this at laſt became a publique grievance, ſo the King tooke notice of it, in ſo ſharp a manner, *Hall.*

1525 ner, that the Cardinall was enforc'd, not only to excuſe himſelfe with much ſubmiſſion, but to promiſe never to do ſo any more; proteſting with all that he had made a Laſt Will, or Teſtament, wherein he had left a great part of his Eſtate unto his Highneſſe. Upon which ſubmiſſion of the Cardinalls (as I take it) the King ſent him this Letter, written all with his own hand, as we find it in our Records.

As touching the matter of *Wilton*, ſeeing it is in no other ſtraine then you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid, and troubled, I marvaile not that it overſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election was but conditionall. Wherefore, my Lord, ſeeing the humbleneſſe of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heynous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignely and lovingly accepted on your behalfe, promiſing you, that the very affection I beare you caus'd me thus to doe. As touching the helpe of Religious Houſes to the building of your Colledge, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appeare to all the world, and the occaſion of all their numbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realme, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill gotten is beſtow'd upon the Colledge, but that the Colledge is the cloake for covering all miſchiefes. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to heare it ſpoken by him, which I ſo intirely love. Wherefore, me thought I could doe no leſſe, then thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little me thinketh toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of the Exempts for having of their old Viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take money? and if they were ill, it were a ſinfull act. Howbe it your Legacy herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines* be a cloake, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed by him who ſo intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not onely from this, (if conſcience will not beare it) but from all other things, which ſhould tangle the ſame; and in ſo doing, we will ſing, *Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus*. And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I doe meane it, for I enſure you (and, I pray you thinke it ſo) that there remaineth, at this houre, no ſparke of diſpleaſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving Soveraigne and Friend,

HENRY R.

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One of the liberties which our King took at his ſpare time was to love. For, as all recomendable parts concurr'd in his Perſon, and they, againe, were exalted in his high dignity and valour, ſo it muſt ſeeme leſſe ſtrange, if amid the many faire Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, He both gave and receiv'd temptation. Among whom, becauſe Miſtreſſe *Elizabeth Blunt*, daughter to Sir *Iohn Blunt* Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of nature, and education, to be the beauty and Miſtreſſe-peece of her time, that entire affection paſt betwixt them, as at laſt ſhe bore him a Sonne. This Childe, proving ſo equally like to both his Parents, that hee became the beſt Embleme of their mutuall affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and ſo much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the age of Six years, Hee was made Knight publiquely, and the ſame day created Earle of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, and Lieutenant Generall beyond *Trent*, and Warden Generall of the borders of *Scotland*, and * ſhortly after Admirall of *England*. After which, hee was firſt bred up together with *Henry* Earle of *Surrey*, in the Caſtle of *Windſor* (which the Earle elegantly deſcribes in a Sonnet extant in his workes) from whence (*November* 1532.) they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which acquaintance and friendſhip was indear'd againe by a match of the ſaid Duke with *Mary* the Earles Siſter; by whom yet he had no iſſue. Howbeit, I find, hee was very perſonable and of great expectation, inſomuch that hee was thought, not only for hability of body, but mind to be one of the rareſt of his time, for which reaſon alſo he was much cheriſhed by our King, as alſo becauſe he had no iſſue Male by his Queene, nor did, perchance, expect any.

1525. *Hall.* 1519. June. 18. *July 16 1532. Novemb.

The Cardinall had now built his faire Palace at *Hampton*-Court. But as hee wiſely conſidered, that it would but adde unto that envy for which hee had already ſuffered ſo much, He gave it the King, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond* Houſe.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this time, had gotten among thoſe Germans, who were either weary of their obedience to the ſtricter parts of Eccleſiaſticall Government, or deſirous to reforme the errours and abuſes of it, (now ſo generall, as even Pope *Adrian* himſelfe confeſſed that many were crept into *Rome*) had prevailed farre. Yet as others examined which way hee tooke to make his Reformation, ſo they thought Religion yet not ſo exactly formed, but that it might bee caſt in a better Mold. Therefore not onely *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, beganne a Reformation ſomewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, oppoſite

1525. enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things, Publiſhed it with much applauſe of the inferior ſort. For, as he fain'd hee had power from God to depoſe Princes, and ſubſtitute others, and that, againe, Hee taught, All goods ſhould be Common, and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, He was followed by huge multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, He Preached Auſterity of life; councelling Men to Prayers, Faſtings, and all other devotions; which might argue, His intention was not ſo much to invade other Men's poſſeſſions, as to eſtabliſh a Moderate Equality. Thus did hee ſeaſon falſehoods with Truths, and ill with good, while the vulgar ſort, who could not diſtinguiſh betwixt them, admired, and followed all. To remedy theſe ſo dangerous aſſemblies and opinions, the chiefe neighbouring Princes raiſed ſome Forces; and prevail'd ſo farre, that, at laſt, they diſſipated, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their beſt defence, ſinging onely a Pſalme, (whereby they invoked the Holy Ghoſt) while *Muncer* (who it ſeemes truſted leaſt to his own Doctrine) fled away; yet being purſued and taken, together with his Companion *Phifer*, they ſhortly after loſt their Heads. His Sect yet tooke not his end ſo; as being re-

1534. vived againe, in part, not many yeares after, by *Iohn* of *Leyden* and *Knipper Doling*, who, to his other impieties added this, that in a throng of people, being borne upon mens Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghoſt.

Such was the generous diſpoſition of our King, that not onely for *Francis* then a Priſoner, but the expulſed King of *Denmarke*, *Chriſtiern*, he interceded with his beſt Offices. Therefore, this yeare, he ſent *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight to perſwade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chaſed him ſo much as the guilt and horror of ſhedding ſo much bloud there (ſo great a perſecuter is Cruelty of it ſelfe:) But the angry Danes obſtinately denyed. The next inſtance then was, that at leaſt his Sonne (who was Nephew to *Charles*) might ſucceed. But this alſo was refuſed; They alleadging they durſt not commit the ſupreame power over themſelves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The French King being weary of his reſtraint in *Italy*, had deſired he might be removed into *Spaine*; both as he hoped the Emperor might be perſwaded to come to ſpeech with him there, as that he reputed change of Priſon to be a ſecond liberty. *Charles de Lanoy* alſo concurr'd in this requeſt, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having obtained this favour, he found

June 7. not yet the Emperor ſufficiently diſpoſed to ſee him, though otherwiſe

wiſe he could not complaine of being either debar'd the pleaſure of hunting, or any other reaſonable exerciſe. Finding yet ſtill that the Emperor did eſtrange himſelfe ſo much, as not to vouchſafe him one viſit, he fell ſick; for he did not think that his misfortunes had made him forfeit his dignity; or that, for being a Priſoner of war, he had extinguiſhed his Title to be a King. *Charles* underſtanding this, whether out of compaſſion, or feare of looſing *Francis*, reſolves to goe to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, who ſaid preſently *Monſieur, veys aqui vueſtro eſclavo*; The Emperor anſwered again *No Sino, buen hermano, y amigo libre.* The King replied *No Sino, vuesfro eſclavo.* The Emperor anſwered againe, *No Sino, libre amigo, y buen hermano*; and thereupon wiſht him to have a care of his health, which he much deſired, and that his buſineſſes would ſucceed well. The Emperor not thinking this curteſie ſufficient, returnes to ſee him the next day again; which ſo comforted *Francis*, that he amended ſuddenly. Whereupon the Emperor reſolved to returne to his buſineſſes at *Toledo*. But Madame *Marquerite Ducheſſe de Alancon*, Siſter to *Francis*, hearing of his ſickneſſe, made haſte to ſee him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteouſly entertained, and accompanied to her brother's lodging; where, after many affectionate proteſtations, he left them together, and ſo held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whether *Madame de Alancon*, not many dayes after, followed him, mediating ſtill the delivery of her brother. To whom ſhe deſir'd the Emperour to give his Siſter *Leonóra*, upon the conditions above-mentioned; and that the King, her brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a match equall to this; wherein ſhe was thought to have intimated her ſelf, as being newly made widow by the death of her husband, the Duke of *Alancon*. As for the right of *Burgundy*, ſhe deſired it might be determined by way of juſtice before the 12 Peers of *France*; but the Emperor diſliked this, ſaying, that he was contented that learned perſons in the Law on both ſides ſhould treat here of, and that the Pope ſhould be Umpire; but Madame alſo did not approve this. The French writers adde, that promiſe was made by *Francis* at this time alſo, that the King of *England* ſhould receive intire ſatisfaction. *Madame de Alancon*, finding at laſt how little her intreaties prevail'd, deſired leave to return, and by the way to ſee her brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might eſcape; which was at laſt reſolv'd, by changing cloathes with a *Negro*, who carried Wood and Coales to the King's chamber, and blacking his face with Cole-duſt. Which invention as it is like enough to be a Ladie's, and ſomewhat better then the lending him her Maske, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This plot was kept ſecret, onely betwixt the King, his Siſter, one *Clement Chappion* his Chamberlaine, and an other Treaſurer. But *Monſieur de la Roche-pot* ſtriking this *Chappion* on ſome occaſion, he, as being diſcontented and without remedy,

1525

Sept.

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1525. flyes to the Emperor, and discovers all. The Emperor yet would not suddenly beleeve it, nor without better inquiry into the businesse; as not thinking (if one may beleeve the Spanyard my Author) that the King of *France* would, in such an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his liberty. Therefore, in favour of this conceit of the Emperor's, hee so represents the crime, as if *Francis* ought to beleeve, that it was more Honorable for him to stay in prison, then escape it; howsoever it seemes his ancient courage was so farre from being abated, as it increased rather by his close keeping. Therefore he sent *Monsieur de Montmorancy* to tell *Charles*, that he was resolved to indure any thing sooner than to restore *Burgundy*, or yeeld through constraint that which did not become him, so that he desired onely to know the place of his Imprisonment, and number of his attendants. The Emperor answered, that he was content to appoint him a place, and to nominate those that should guard him; for the rest, protesting that it griev'd him much that *Francis* should refuse to doe that for the Ransome of his person, which he was bound to doe, for the sake of Justice only. But ample Commission and consent being come from Madame the Regent and Parliament of *Paris* to transact a further agreement, *Francis* demanded that he might have *Donna Leonóra*, and, for her Portion, the Counties of *Mascon* and *Auxcre*, promising, in consideration thereof, to restore the rest of *Burgundy*. But to this demand of *Leonóra*, *Charles* answered againe that being obliged to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him first: yet, to satisfie the King, he sent to *Bourbon*, to let him know how much it concerned him, that *Francis* might have *Leonóra*. But *Bourbon* (it is doubtfull whether out of his former contumacy and stubbornesse, or out of a violent affection to the Lady) answered, that hee had lost great possessions in *France*, only to have the Honor to match in that neereneſſe of bloud to the Emperour. This seem'd much to trouble *Charles*; at last, sending for *Bourbon*, he offer'd him, in recompence of *Leonóra* the Investiure of *Milan*, which *Bourbon* accepted, the writings or Patent for which my Author sayeth he saw in *Simanca*, not expressing in the meane while, how this concurr'd with the Investiure, which, a little before, he saith, the Emperour gave to *Francesco Sforza*. To reconcile which difficulty I shall produce (out of a dispatch extant in our Records) the reason, as I conceive it; for though *Charles* had (together with the possession) granted *Sforza* the Investiture of *Milan*, yet it was upon condition, that *Sforza* should pay him twelve hundred thousand Crowns towards his charges, and that the said Investiture should remaine in the hands of *Lanoy*, till the warre of *Italy* were ended. But *Sforza* finding this too hard, joyned with the adverse Party, and gave occasion to the Emperor to bestow the Investiture on *Bourbon*. And he had reason to be content therewith; For *Donna Leonóra*, hearing

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of this competition about her, decided the controverſie in favour of *Francis*; ſending word to the Emperour, that ſhe had rather be a Queene of *France* then wife to *Bourbon*. 1525.

This while, the Pope, the Venetians, and Princes of *Italy* on the one ſide Leagued together for the defence of *Italy* againſt the Emperor inviting alſo our King into the treaty; our king on the other, mediated for *Francis*; neither did it diminiſh the ſuſpition entertained by them that *Charles* pretended to an univerſall Monarchy in Chriſtendom, becauſe, preſently upon the making of *Francis* Priſoner at *Pavia*, he had written to our King, as wel as to all other the ſaid principall Perſons, that he ſhould take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Eſtates of *Francis*, ſince, being his priſoner, hee could doe no leſſe then protect him againſt all others. While theſe Treaties proceeded, *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his guards. The *Count de Saint Paul* alſo devis'd meanes to eſcape without paying any Ranſome.

Madame *Loüiſe* the French Regent continuing her Meſſages and Ambaſſades, ſollicites our Kings aſſiſtance for the redeeming of her Sonne. To which purpoſe a Treaty was concluded at *Moore*, Auguſt 30. 1525. in this manner, as our Records have it. Aug. 30.

That all injuries, done and received in the late warre betweene *England* and *France*, ſhall be forgotten.

That confederation for mutuall ayd and intercourſe of Merchandice ſhall be eſtabliſhed, together with free paſſage of ſubjects through each others Dominions, ſo that they exceed not a hundred armed men.

That all taxes and impoſitions laid by each of the Kings upon the Subjects or Merchants of the other, within theſe laſt 50 years, ſhall be extinct, and no new ones impoſed.

That one ſhall not protect the diſobedient Subject of the other, nor entertaine Rebells, Traytors, or Fugitives; but, within twenty dayes after due requiſition made, ſhall deliver them up.

That no Letters of Repriſalls (or Merk) ſhall be granted on either ſide, but only againſt the principall Delinquents, and that but in caſe of denyall of Juſtice.

That, if the Subjects of the one or the other offend againſt this Treaty, they ſhall be puniſh'd, without that the Treaty ſhall, any way therefore, be infringed.

That, preſently upon the ratification of this Treaty, the priſoners of warre on the one and the other ſide ſhall be releaſed, as alſo the French Hoſtages.

That, in this Treaty ſhall be comprehended the friends and allyes of each Prince. That is to ſay, on the King of *France* his part, the Pope, the Kings of *Scotland*, *Hungary*, *Navarre*, and *Portugall*; the State of Venice; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, *Geldres*, *Ferrara*; the *Suiſſe*, the Marqueſſes of *Montferrat* and *Saluces*: On the

1525. King of *England's* part, the Pope, the Emperor *Charles*, the King of *Denmark*, of *Hungary*, of *Portugall*, Queen *Mary* Dowager of *France*, Lady *Margaret* Arch Dutcheſſe of *Auſtria*, *Ferdinand* brother to the Emperor, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*: the State of *Venice*; the B. P. of Liege; the Dukes of *Urbin*, *Cleve*, *Tuilliers*, the houſe of *Medici*, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Hanſiatique* Townes; Upon condition, that they accepted it within Six Moneths next enſuing. Whoſe violating of the League yet ſhould not be underſtood as a breach betwixt the principall contractors.

That yet this Treaty ſhall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, ſo, as it ſhould hinder the principall contractors to recover their right and Lands whatſoever, with-held by any, ſince the Treaty of 1518.

The King of *England* ſhall doe his beſt endevour, to procure, as ſoone as may be, the Liberty of *Francis*, and to induce the Emperor to accept reaſonable conditions.

That this Treaty ſhall be ſign'd and ſworne to by *Francis*, within three Moneths, if he get his liberty ſo ſoone, or, otherwiſe, hee ſhall confirme it by his Letters, written with his own hand, and ſent to King *Henry* the eighth. And that Madame *La Regente* ſhall renounce all exceptions, which in Law as (by *Senatûs-Conſultum Velleianum &c.*) may be taken againſt this Treaty.

That the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*, Duke of *Longueville*, *Comte Saint Paul*, Mr. *de Lantrech*, Mr. *de Montmorancy*, Mr. *de Preſſi*, *Comte de Maleuſe*, and *Comte de Bryan*, as alſo the principall Cities, *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Ioloſa*, *Amiens*, *Roüen &c.* ſhall, under the Obligation and forfeit of all their goods, ſweare hereunto, to obſerve this Treaty, within three Monethes after the date hereof, (in which alſo their heires and ſucceſſors ſhall be comprehended) giving, for this purpoſe, a Bond with their Seale annexed, to be ſent to the King of *England*, within three Monethes. Moreover certaine Bonds were given for the debts and moneys hereafter ſpecified. *viz.* Two Millions of Crowns, at the payment of fifty thouſand Crownes at a time in *Calais*, The firſt payment to begin within fourty dayes after the Treaty. The ſecond the firſt of *November* next inſuing. The next the firſt of *May* following, and ſo from terme to terme, and yeare to yeare, till the whole be ſatisfied to King *Henry* or his ſucceſſors. After the payment of which, the ſaid King *Henry* ſhall, during his life (and no longer) receive yearely the ſumme of 100000 Crownes.

Aug. 30. This Treaty was concluded *Aug.* 30. by the Commiſſioners on both ſides; *viz.* for our King, *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Cant.* *Thomas Carlis Ebor.* *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Marqueſſe of *Exon*, *Charles* Earle of *Worceſter*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*. For the Regent of *France*, were *Iohn Brinon*, *Premier Preſident de Roüen*, and *Giovanni Ioachim Seigneur de Vanlx*, Mr. *de Hoſtel* to *Loüiſe*. And was * proclaim'd in *September*; and, in *October* *Iohn*

Sept. 8. Octob.

Taylor

Taylor Doctor of Law, and Sir *William Fitz-William* were sent into *France*, to take the Regents Oath. By another Treaty this yeere at *Lyons*, I finde the Regent obliged herselfe to pay all the Arrerages due to *Mary* our Kings sister out of *France*, by reason of her marriage with *Loüis* the twelfth, as also to suffer her to enjoy the profits and rents of all the Lands left her in joynture, according to the Treaty *Octob.* 8. 1514. 1525. Octob. 8. 1514.

Francesco Sforza being informed now that a strong League was intended by the Pope, Venetians, and divers others, against the Emperor, was perswaded to enter into it; upon pretence that by their assistance he might sufficiently defend his Countrey. But this was his ruine; for the Marquesse of *Pescara* understanding hereof, or (as others say) supposing it onely, questions him; but *Sforza* denying constantly that ever he gave his consent thereto, the Marquesse demanded the Castle of *Milan* and *Cremona* for security. But *Sforza* utterly refusing this, the Marquesse of *Pescara* tooke *Milan* and laid siege to the Castle (which onely remained to *Sforza*) and after *Pescara's* death (which happened by sickness) the Duke of *Bourbon*. The conclusion hereof was, that *Sforza* (by constraint) yeelded the Castle upon conditions, and so retired at length to the Army, raised by the League against *Charles* the yeere following. July 24. 1526.

The Emperor who had now treated of marriage in many places, * concluded it at last with his Neece, *Donna Isabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugall*, and daughter of *Manuell* and *Maria*, *Infanta* of *Castile*, whom yet he married not till *January* 2. 15 16. Alleadging for his excuse to our King, that at the request and petition of his Courtes or States assembled at *Toledo*, he had preferred this Lady before our Princesse *Mary*, which therefore he desired might be understood for no breach of friendship. Our King also considering the tender age of his daughter, not yet fit for marriage, and that it was an incongruity to ally himselfe with a Prince against whom he might have so soon occasion to draw his Sword, (as may appeare by the League above mentioned) seemed very well content to relinquish the Match, upon this mutuall consent. After which time the friendship betwixt them grew so remisse, at last it dissolved wholy, Insomuch that the Ambassadors of both sides were recalled home, and *Charles*, who before was accustomed to signe his Letters to King *Henry* alwaies *Tuus Filius & Cognatus*, from henceforth subscribed onely *Carlos*. Novem. *Sandov.*

But I the lesse wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, since a richer booty then that of *Francis* fell into his hands, that is to say *Peru*, where the Mines of *Potosi* (and many others which for want of Labourers remain to this day buried and unusefull) were first discovered. Which began in this manner. *Sandov.*

Vlasco Nunnez having first * discovered, from a hight Rock neere *Darien*, the *Mar del zur*, * *Hernando de Magellanes* (a *Portuguez*, but set forth by *Charles* the fifth) afterwards found out the Straits that beare * 1513. * 1520.

1525. beare his name, and paſſed through them with two ſhips to the Iſle
* 1521. April. Novem. 8. of *Zebut*, and others in that Sea; but * dying in the voyage, his companions went on to *Borneo* and the * *Moluccaes*, and many other places, whence one of the ſhips * returned to *Spaine*, by *Capo de Buena Eſperanca*, and ſo firſt compaſſed the Globe, *Iuan Sebaſtian de Cano* a *Biskayan* being Pilot. The other ſhip was taken by the *Portuguez*. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknowne
* 1523. Sept. 6. ſtill, *Franceſco Picarro* living at *Panamà* (being the furtheſt part of Land, where it is narroweſt, betwixt the North Ocean and the *Mar del Zur*) firſt attempted the * diſcovery of that Coaſt, bending at laſt to *Peru*, which afterwards he * Ranſackt; For landing his men
* 1525. * 1533. at a time when there was diſſenſion betwixt *Guancar* the lawfull heire, and *Atabaliva* his younger brother, he made his advantage thereof, to the overthrow of both, and of *Atabaliva* firſt, in this pretext. *Picarro* having his Forces in a readineſſe, ſent a Dominican Frier, with a Croſſe in one hand, and a Breviary in another, who
Sandoval (as the Spaniſh writers have it) told *Atabaliva* (then in the head of his Army) that God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of nothing, and that he ſent his Sonne down to be born of a Virgin, and to die for our ſinnes upon a Croſſe, like that he bore; and that he roſe the third day; and left Saint *Peter* his Vicar, and the Pope his Succeſſor, who had given the Emperor that Countrey; if he would not belive this, commanding him alſo to make War, and deſtroy him & his Religion. *Atabaliva*, who though full of ſuperſtitious worſhip, did yet venerate a ſupreme Deity (confeſſed in theſe parts by the name of *Viracocha*, or *Baracocha*, as in *Mexico* by that of *Teuth*, and in *Guatimala* by that of *Cabovit*, in *Nueva Eſpanna* by that of *Tocahuvaguamaorocoti*,) and together acknowledged Vertue and Vice, Reward and Puniſhment, after this life, as believing the ſoule Immortall; found this Ambaſſage ſtrange, and ſaid, he believed no Power on earth was ſuperiour to himſelfe, yet that he would be glad to hold friendſhip with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wondred at him, becauſe he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not diſpute it, ſince it was ſo ancient, and received in his Countrey. And, for worſhipping of Chriſt that died, he ſaid, he thought he had done better in worſhipping the Sunne and Moon that never died, as believing (which I finde by the Hiſtory of the *Incas*, written by one of that
Hiſtoria de los Incas by *Garci laſſo de Vega*. Blood-Royall) that the Sunne did goe about the World on Gods errand. Laſtly, he demanded, who told him that God had made the World on that faſhion? To which the Dominican anſwering, the Breviary, and together putting it in his hands; *Atabaliva* turning over a few leaves (as if he expected ſome ſuch expreſſion from thence) but finding he underſtood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the Dominican exclaiming that the Goſpell was on the ground, and demanding vengeance, *Picarro* diſcharged ſome great Ordnance, and his ſmall ſhot againſt him, wherewith the terrified Indians

Indians fled, and *Atabaliva* was taken prisoner. *Atabaliva* hereupon offers for his ransome as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Roome where they were, which being accorded and almost performed in effect, *Picarro* upon false pretences most cruelly put him to death, though Baptized; For which also the Conspirators and *Picarro* himselfe came at last to ill deaths, as the Spanish Writers observe. Howsoever for the present, the Spaniards proceeded in their Cruelty to others, of all sorts, especially of the Blood-Royall, and got infinite Treasure, their Temples being planked with Gold, and their graves full of Treasure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have insisted too long upon these Barbarismes. 1525. 1541.

The yeere of our Lord 1526 was now entered when *Charles* required his Councell to advise him whether it were best to deliver *Francis*; and if so, upon what terms? *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* did not thinke fit the Emperor should lose the benefit of such a prize; Therefore, though he perswaded the delivery of *Francis*, yet he wisht that the most advantageous conditions that could be made thereof should be taken suddenly, and before the League, which was now forming against him, could be concluded. That, this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the businesse of *Germany*, to resist the Turke, and to suppresse *Barbaroxa* and other Pirats that infested his Seas. Others, and among them *Gattinara* the Chancellor, said, that there was lesse danger of *Francis* being in prison then abroad; especially, since it did not appeare sufficiently, the new League would be broken off, when *Francis* had his liberty, but rather strengthned and confirmed, as being not directed so much for the delivery of *Francis*, as opposed to the greatnesse of *Charles*. That many things might be done while *Francis* was unsetled, which would take no effect when he were restored to his former estate. Therefore, his best course were to finde some meanes to reverse the children of his Prisoner, and other affaires in *France*, within his power, that so nothing might interrupt his Designes elsewhere. And that himselfe should undertake his journey to *Italy*, before he let goe so dangerous an Enemy, who if once loose, would rather make war for redeeming his losses, then improve them by standing to any servile conditions. Lastly, that his Imperiall Majesty ought to believe, that if *Francis* being in prison would not make restitution of *Burgundy*, he would muchlesse doe it when he were free. *Hernando de Vega* said, that *Francis* was very well in *Madrid*. To which, *Gattinara* replied resolutely, there might be use both of detaining and letting him goe; onely, since he saw so little hope of performance (what security soever were given) he thought it best either to let him goe freely, and therein put a perpetuall Obligation upon him, or to keep him still where he was. This was a wise advise. The Emperor yet chose rather to adhere to them who 1526

coun-

1526 counſelled him to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. Therefore, conſidering *Francis* offered his two Sonnes for Hoſtages, while himſelfe going to *France*, mediated with the Eſtates for reſtoring *Burgundy*: and that, without this perſonall interceſſion there was little hope of any ſatisfaction or peace; he thought it beſt to deliver *Francis*, as that which at leaſt would declare to the Chriſtian World, that he deſired the quietneſſe thereof. So that upon the

Jan. 14. fourteenth of *January* a Treaty (called the Concord of *Madrid*) was concluded, the Tenor whereof according to the moſt ſubſtantiall Articles is here ſet down.

Charles the Emperor, and on his part *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Hugo de Moncada*, and *Juan Aleman*: And *Francis le Roy Tres-Chriſtien*, and on his part *Francis* Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, and *Jean de Selue Primier Preſident du Parliament de Paris*, and *Philip Chabot*, having Commiſſion from *Madame Loüiſſe* Regent of *France*, in vertue of the power given her by *Francis*, before his impriſonment (thought therefore Authenticke) did upon the day and yeere above written Treat, Accord, and conclude theſe Articles following:

1. That there ſhall be a good and ſecure Peace and Confederation eſtabliſhed between the two Princes, ſo that they ſhall be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, for the mutuall defence of their Eſtates and Kingdoms.

2. That Traffique and Commerce ſhall be renewed betwixt their Subjects on either ſide, upon payment onely of their ancient Cuſtoms; and that the Sea ſhall be ſecured from Pirats.

3. That the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, together with all the rights, members and dependances, ſhall in the name of Him, his Heires, and Succeſſors, be reſtored within the ſpace of ſix weeks after the *Francis*, notwithſtanding any Decrees of Parliaments, pretence of delivery of the Salique Law, or other claime whatſoever.

4. Becauſe yet, for the better performance of theſe things which are required, the French King alleageth it is neceſſary that he ſhould preſently repaire home; it is therefore concluded, that upon the tenth of *March* next the ſaid French King ſhall be ſet free in that part of *France* which adjoyns to *Fuentarabie*; upon condition nevertheleſſe, that at the ſame houre and inſtant, (the number of Attendants on both ſides being equall) the Dolphin his eldeſt ſoune, and Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond ſonne, or (inſtead of the ſaid Duke) *Monſieur de Vendoſme*, *Iohn* Duke of *Albany*, *Monſieur de St. Pol*, *Monſieur de Guiſe*, *Monſieur de Lautrech*, *Monſieur de la Val*, the *Marquis de Saluces*, *Monſieur de Rieux*, the great *Seneſchall* of *Normandy*, the *Mareſchall de Montmorancy*, *Monſieur de Brion*, and *Monſieur de Aubigny*, ſhould be delivered to *Charles* as Hoſtages till all conditions were performed; which being done, that within the ſpace of foure weeks a Ratification by the Parliament of *Paris*, and all the other Parliaments of the ſaid Kingdome ſhall be delivered

unto

1526.

unto *Charles*; whereupon the ſaid *Charles* doth ſweare and promiſe upon the Faith of a Prince to return the ſaid Hoſtages, upon condition yet that the third ſonne of *Francis*, being Duke *de Angouleſme*, ſhould at the ſame time be given to *Charles*, to be kept and brought up in his Court, and with him. And the French King doth furthermore promiſe, in caſe theſe things were not performed, (that is to ſay, the reſtitution of *Burgundy*, and the reſt in ſix weeks, and the Ratification in foure more enſuing) to returne priſoner to *Charles*. And, for this purpoſe, as he had ſworne already, ſo when he is at liberty, he ſhall renew and confirme the ſaid Oath, before ſuch Commiſſioners as *Charles* ſhall appoint. And that upon his ſaid returne to *Charles*, his Hoſtages ſhould be delivered.

5. That *Francis*, for Himſelfe, his Heires, and Succeſſors, ſhall renounce his whole right, claime, and intereſt, in all the Kingdomes, Eſtates, Lands, and Seigneuries, which are now in the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, and eſpecially in the Kingdome of *Naples*, as well for all propriety therein, as any penſion or payment demanded for the ſame. And that the Inveſtiture thereof, given by the Apoſtolique See to his Anceſtors or him, as alſo all Capitulations made to this effect heretofore, ſhall not be available for the ſaid Kingdome of *Naples*, or for the Eſtates of *Milan*, *Genoüa*, *Aſti*, and their dependencies. And that the Grants or Writings to this purpoſe, whether Pontificiall or Imperiall, or onely between him and *Franceſco Sforza*, ſhould be delivered to *Charles*. And that *Francis* ſhall, for Him, his Heires, and Succeſſors, renounce all his demand or claime to *Flanders*, and all other places thereabouts, now in the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, together with all ſuperiority over them. In lieu whereof, the ſaid *Charles* promiſeth to relinquiſh his Title to *Perone*, *Montdidier*, the Counties of *Boulongne*, *Guines*, *Ponthieu*, as alſo all the Cities, Townes, Seigneuries on both ſides of the River of *Some*, now in the poſſeſſion of *Francis*, reſerving onely the Countries of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſur la Seine*, which ſhall be diſpoſed of particularly hereafter. And that all other Lands, Townes, and Seigneuries not mentioned in the preſents, ſhall be reſtored to the Eſtate in which they were before the Wars.

6. That, in performance of the League defenſive betwixt both Princes, they ſhall ſuffer no hoſtile Forces to paſſe through either of their Conntries, to the hurt or prejudice of the other, and that either Prince being invaded, may have of the other five hundred Horſe and ten thouſand Foot, with convenient Artillery (or any leſſe number) at the charges of the demandant; and, for the offenſive League, that it ſhall extend no further then to their joynt Enemies, and by the mutuall advice and conſent of both.

7. That a marriage ſhall be had and made betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora*, a diſpenſation for that purpoſe being firſt obtained, and that ſhe ſhall be delivered to *Francis* at the ſame time that the Hoſtages ſhall be reſtored by *Charles*.

8. That

1526. 8. That her Dowry ſhall be two hundred thouſand Crownes *de Soleil*, beſides her Arras (*i. a pledge given in Spaine where marriages are recorded*) which did appertaine to her upon her firſt marriage.

9. That, beſides the aforeſaid ſumme, the Emperour out of his abundant love to his ſiſter *Leonora*, ſhall beſtow the Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and the Seigneury of *Bar ſur la Seine* on her, and her heires males onely.

10. That the Queene *Leonora* ſhall renounce all rights of Goods or Heritage that might deſcend to her from the part of her Grandfather *Maximilian*, her father King *Philip*, or Queen *Joane* her mother, ſave onely the collaterall ſucceſſion, in caſe the ſaid *Charles* or his brother *Ferdinand* ſhould die without iſſue.

11. That the ſaid Queene *Leonora* ſhall receive from *Francis* Jewels to the value of fifty thouſand Crownss to remaine to her, her heires and ſucceſſors.

12. That if the ſaid *Francis* and *Leonora* ſhall have iſſue male betwixt them, the eldeſt ſonne ſhall be Duke of *Alançon*, and have in poſſeſſion the Dutchy thereof, conferrd on him by *Francis*, and on his mothers part the above-mentioned Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſur la Seine*, and that his other ſonnes ſhall be provided for according to the degree, reſerving ſtill the right belonging to the Dolphin. And that the daughters ſhall have ſuch portions as the Kings of *France* uſually give.

13. That, in caſe *Francis* die before *Leonora*, ſhe ſhall have for Arras ſixty thouſand Livres Tournois of Rent, yeerly to continue, during her life onely.

14. That, in caſe *Leonora* ſurvive *Francis*, it may be lawfull for her to returne to *Spaine*, *Flanders*, or *Burgundy*, and carry with her all her Goods and Jewels; and that before the ſolemnity of the ſaid Marriage, the ſeale of the ſaid King and Dolphin, and of the eſtates and principall places of the ſaid Kingdome of *France*, together with due acknowledgements and obligations ſhall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the accompliſhment thereof, both by way of Excommunication, and alſo by Arreſts, and detaining of all perſons of the ſaid Kingdome, of what quality ſoever.

15. That a marriage ſhall be ſolemnized between *Francis* the Dolphin, ſonne and heire to *Francis*, and *Donna Maria* daughter to *Leonora*, and her firſt husband *Manuell*, in words *de futuro*, when the ſaid Lady ſhall attaine to ſeven yeeres of age, and by words *de præſenti* when ſhe ſhall be twelve. And that her brother *Don Juan* King of *Portugall* ſhall give his conſent thereunto, with ſufficient proviſion for her Dowry.

16. That the ſaid Infanta *Maria* ſhall at twelve yeers of age be conducted to *France*, and conſigned to *Francis*.

17. That *Francis* ſhall uſe his beſt means to diſpoſe *Henry d' Albret*,

bret, together with his Brothers and Sisters to renounce their Title to *Navarre*, or when they could not procure any such disclaime, not to assist him or them in their pretences. That *Francis* likewise shall use his best meanes to dispose the Duke of *Gueldres* to leave (after his life) the Dutchy of *Gueldres* and County of *Zutphen* to *Charles*, or when he could not procure this, to assist *Charles* with three hundred Horse and foure thousand Foot to recover it. 1526.

18. That *Francis* shall not give assistance to Duke *Ubricke* of *Wirtenberge*, nor to *Robert de la Mark* or his sonnes, against the said *Charles*, but rather help him to represse them, nor interpose himselfe by way of Treaty in favour of any Potentate of *Italy*.

19. That when *Charles* shall passe in person to *Italy*, *Francis* shall lend to the said *Charles* his Fleet in the *Mediterranean* Sea, being well equipped, for the space of three Moneths, and no longer. And, whereas *Francis* promised to assist *Charles*, both with men and Artillery for his Voyage, he should in lieu thereof, pay in money two hundred thousand Crownes, giving him good security for it; yet, if the Emperour demanded five hundred great Horse, together with sufficient Artillery, *Francis* should furnish them at his own proper costs.

20. That because *Charles*, for the better drawing *Henry* King of *England* to his party against *Francis*, had promised to pay unto the said *Henry* the summe of one hundred thirty three thousand three hundred and five Crownes yeerely, in lieu of those Pensions and Rents which the said *Francis* was bound to pay to *Henry*, and during such termes as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a Treaty concluded at *Windsor June* 19. 1522, more at large appeareth,) and because, since that time untill a late League betwixt *Francis* and *Henry*, all the said money remaines in arreare; And because *Francis* saith, he hath taken order with *Henry* for the payment of the said intire summe; therefore it is agreed, that *Francis* shall save harmlesse the said *Charles* from all demands on the part of *Henry*; And, furthermore, shall give an Authentique Copy of the said late agreement betwixt him and *Henry*, sometime before the end of foure Moneths next ensuing the date hereof; as also of the Acquittances he shall receive from *Henry* upon payment of the said summes, which shall be such, as *Charles*, his Heires, and Successors may remaine indempnified and discharged thereof for ever. So that, if *Charles* should be called upon for satisfaction in these particulars, *Francis* shall take the businesse on himselfe, and defend it as his owne, without that *Charles* shall be any way molested therein. July 19. 1522.

21. That, because this particular Treaty is made in the way of a Generall League, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turkes, Infidels, and Heretiques; therefore,

1526. that ſupplication ſhould be made in both their names unto his Holineſſe; that he would write unto all Chriſtian Princes and Eſtates to joyne herein; as alſo to Authorize a Cruzada for the ſaid Enterprize; to endure at leaſt for three yeeres next enſuing, not exempting Eccleſiaſticall perſons from it. And, if need be, that *Charles* and *Francis* ſhould go in perſon to this Holy warre by Sea; that then they ſhall joyne and unite their forces together with thoſe of the great Maſter of the Knights of Saint *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Genoueſi*; or, if the danger appeare not ſo great, as to require their preſence in the ſaid Warre, that then a Generall for conducting the ſaid forces ſhall be appointed by *Charles*; or, if otherwiſe it ſhould be thought neceſſary themſelves ſhould goe in perſon, that then Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to reſide in each others Dominions for the determining of all differences that ſhould ariſe in their abſence.

22. That, becauſe *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, together with divers of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, did for a while abſent themſelves from *France*, and the ſervice of *Francis*, and that for this cauſe the Dutchies of *Bourbon*, *Auvergne*, *Chaſteleraut*, the Counties of *Clermont*, *&c.* had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that *Francis* preſently, or at furtheſt in ſix weeks after his delivery, ſhall reſtore unto the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon*, as well as to all the reſt of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, (whether Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular) their former poſſeſſions; together with the juſt value of all the Goods that have been taken from them, as alſo the Writings or Deeds by which the ſaid Poſſeſſions were formerly held, and alſo the true profit of the ſaid Lands and Poſſeſſions, during their abſence, and to ſtay all ſuits and proceedings againſt them on this occaſion. Furthermore, that the ſaid Duke ſhall not be conſtrained perſonally to appeare in the French Court, but that he may adminiſter, and diſpoſe of all his Eſtate and Poſſeſſions; by ſufficient Deputies and Officers appointed thereunto, and receive the Revenues thereof, in ſuch place as himſelfe ſhall chuſe, when it were out of *France*. And that the ſaid Officers ſhall not be moleſted in execution of their charge. And, as for the Right the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* pretends to the County of *Provence*, and the Dependencies thereof, it is agreed that a juſt and equall hearing and deciſion thereof ſhall be permitted and given before competent Judges, whenſoever the ſaid Duke ſhall recommence his former ſuit therein; and that the ſaid Duke, his Friends, Allies, and Servants, may without prejudice to their Rights or Poſſeſſions ſtay or continue in the ſervice of the Emperor. And that, for performing of all theſe particulars abovementioned, *Francis* ſhall give good and ſufficient warrant and aſſurance; according to form of Law, and the terms uſuall in this caſe.

23. That

1526

23. That, before the fifteenth of *February* next all priſoners on both ſides, and particularly *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange* ſhall (without paying any Ranſome) be ſet free and returne to their ſeverall Counties, unleſſe their Soveraignes by mutuall conſent doe otherwiſe determine.

24. That all Rebels and Fugitives on either ſide ſhall be remanded, (onely thoſe in the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoua*, and County of *Aſti* excepted) who ſhall be freely pardoned, and within ſix Moneths reſtored to their former Eſtates. As for thoſe who are charged with heynous crimes of that nature, as they cannot be returned home, without ſcandall and inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a Moneths warning they ſhall depart from thoſe places to which they are retired, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and ſent to their lawfull Soveraigne or Superior.

25. That all Prelates and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, as alſo all Subjects, of what condition ſoever, ſhall on either ſide returne to their former Places, Eſtates, and Poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding any Confiſcation, Guift, or Alienation thereof whatſoever.

26. That, becauſe in the Cortes of *Caſtilla*, the Conſuls and Univerſity of *Burgos* had complained of divers loſſes they had received, contrary to ſome ancient Priviledges, (both before and ſince theſe warres) which they pretend to hold from the Anceſtors of the moſt Chriſtian King as Duke of *Brittany*, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the particulars, the ſaid priviledges ſhall be confirmed, and a friendly end made, or otherwiſe Juſtice done on the offenders.

27. That, becauſe the Clothes made in *Catalunna*, *Roſellon*, *Cerdenna*, and other places of the Crowne of *Arragon*, are not permitted to be carried through the Territories of *France* into other Countries without danger of Confiſcation; it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient Cuſtomes, they ſhall have a free way and paſſage, both by Sea and Land, along all the French Dominions.

28. Becauſe *Madame Margarete*, Aunt to *Charles*, hath much mediated this peace; and becauſe a certaine Neutrality, by the conſent of *Charles*, was accorded betwixt her and *Francis*, for the Countries in her poſſeſſions, during their late warres, according to which ſhe ought to enjoy the County of *Carlois*, and certaine Granaries of Salt, &c. notwithſtanding which, they have by force been taken from her; It is agreed therefore, that they, together with the profits in arreare, ſhall be reſtored to her, during her life onely. And, that afterwards they ſhall deſcend on *Charles*, and his heires.

29. That, becauſe the Queene *Donna Germana de Foix*, widdow

1526.

dow of *Arragon*, ſaith, ſhe had received a definitive ſentence in the Parliament of *Paris*, by which the Townes and Lands of *Marceni*, *Turſen*, *Gavierdey*, and *Gavaret* are adjudged to her; It is agreed that *Francis* ſhall ſee the ſaid ſentence executed by ſtrong hand, if need be.

30. *Item*, Becauſe *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, ſince his ſervice of the Emperor, hath had divers places and rights in *Dauphine* and *Bretagne* taken from him by *Francis*, and ſome moneys detained; It is agreed, that he ſhall be reſtored to his former poſſeſſions, and the ſaid moneys paid, and good and ſpeedy juſtice done him in his other demands.

31. *Item*, becauſe *Philip de Croy* Marquis of *Arelcon*, pretends to divers Lands, and other Rights in *France*, which ſince theſe Warres have been taken from him; it is agreed he ſhall be reſtored to them, and juſtice done him in his other demands.

32. *Item*, becauſe the Princeſſe of *Chimay* pretends to certaine Goods and Inheritance deſcended to her, as in the Right of the *Seigneur de la Brit* her Father, as alſo to ſome Goods of her mother and Brethren; It is agreed that good and ſpeedy Juſtice be done her.

33. *Item*, that *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* ſhall have right done him by *Francis* for part of the Dowry of his wife.

34. *Item*, that *Adolpho* of *Burgundy*, *Seigneur de Beures* Admirall of *Flanders*, ſhall be reſtored to his right of the Caſtle and Lands of *Crevecœur en Cambreis*, in the manner he held it before the warre.

35. *Item*, that *Monſieur Charles de Pompet*, Camarero to the Emperor, ſhall have the money reſtored him, which contrary to the Priviledges of the Univerſity of *Paris*, he was conſtrained to pay for the ranſome of his children, Students there, when the late war began.

36. *Item*, that *Guillaume de Vergi* ſhall have right done him for the Seigneury of *San-de-ſier en Perchois*.

37. *Item*, that the Seignuers *de Frenes*, *Conde de Gaures*, *Monſieur Audriano de Croy*, *de Reulx*, *de Meleny*, *Conte de Spinay*, and *Sieur de Reulx*, ſhall have the Goods reſtored which they enjoyed before theſe late warres.

38. *Item*, that the *Marquis Antonio de Saluces* his Mother and Siſters, as alſo *Frederico de Baugy* ſhall have thoſe Goods reſtored, which were taken in theſe late warres, and Juſtice done them.

39. *Item*, that the *Seignuer de Monago* Biſhop of *Graſo* ſhall be replaced in his Biſhopricke, and Juſtice done to him, and againſt thoſe who killed his brother.

40. *Item*, that the *Seigneur de Luz* ſhall be reſtored to his poſſeſſions which he enjoyed before he entred the Emperors ſervice;

vice; and good and ſpeedy juſtice done in certaine Lands he pretends deſcended to him from his Anceſtors during thoſe warres. 1526.

41. *Item*, that the Pope, the King of *England*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmarke*, *Portugall*, and *Scotland*, *Don Ferdinando* brother to *Charles*, (and his Lieutenant Generall of the Empire) *Madame Margarete* Aunt to the Emperor, the Electors and other Princes of the Empire) who are obedient to the Emperor) the Seigneures of the Ancient Leagues and Cantons of *High-Germany*, may upon notification of their deſire to be admitted into this League, (and not otherwiſe) be received thereinto at any time within the ſpace of ſix moneths next enſuing.

42. *Item*, that *Francis* being ſet at liberty, ſhall in the firſt Towne he ſhall come to within his Kingdome, give Letters Patents for the ratification of this Accord, and ſend them to *Charles*. And that the Dolphin, when he ſhall attaine the age of fourteen, ſhall likewiſe ratifie them with a ſolemne Oath, in which he ſhall renounce all advantages, which by minority of age he might take hereafter to infringe the ſaid Oath.

43. *Item*, that both *Charles* and *Francis* ſhall ratifie this preſent Capitulation and Agreement, and all that is contained therein, (each for his part) before Ambaſſadors appointed for this purpoſe; and eſpecially *Francis*, when he is free in his Kingdome, ſhall ſweare ſolemnely upon the Evangeliſts in the preſence of the true Croſſe, to keepe and hold all that is contained in the ſaid Capitulation; and that both of them ſhall ſubmit themſelves herein to the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction and Cenſure, even to the Invocation of the ſecular power to conſtraine them; And that they ſhall appoint their ſeverall Proctors to appeare for them in the Court of *Rome*, and before the Pope, where they ſhall voluntarily accept the condition and fulmination of the ſaid Cenſures, in caſe of Contravention; And that neither of them ſhall demand or ſue for abſolution of this Oath or Cenſure; or if they doe, that it ſhall not be availeable without the conſent of the other.

44. *Item*, becauſe no man may pretend ignorance, it is agreed that this Peace ſhall be publiſhed before the fifteenth of *February* next, both in the Dominions of *Charles* and *Francis*, and eſpecially in the Frontiers, and ſuch other places as have been accuſtomed in the like caſe.

This was Signed: *Francois*, *Carles de Lanoy*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, *François Archeveſque de Ambrun*, *Jean de Selue*. *Chabot*.

The Treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mentioned, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, for the laſt Seale *Sandov.* Jan. 14.

1526. and ſolemnization thereof, ſaid Maſſe. This being done, *Francis* comming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Book of the Evangeliſts, (which the ſaid Archbiſhop held) did ſweare by the Sacrament, and the holy Evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the daies of his life, nor to give counſell or favour that any other ſhould breake it. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, and the Secretary *Aleman* in the Emperors name. (For the Emperor in perſon did not thinke fit to ballance his free Oath, with that of *Francis*, then in reſtraint.) This being performed on both ſides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and *Pleyto omenaie* (being a kinde of homage) of *Francis*, who as a Prince and the moſt Chriſtian King promiſed and gave his fidelity and Royall word to returne into *Spaine* a priſoner within the ſpace of ſix moneths, in caſe he did not accompliſh all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his hands thereupon to be held betwixt thoſe of *Charles de Lanoy*. This being ended with much ſeeming content on all parts, the Emperors Commiſſioners went to *Toledo*; where, upon relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to ſend the *Seigneur de Praet*, Chevalier of the *Toiſon d' Or* who had been in *England*, and was now his Ambaſſador in *France* to meet with the French King at *Bayona*, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample ratification of his Oath.

Sandov. Some few daies after this Treaty (commonly called *Concordia de Madrid*) *Charles de Lanoy* having power and Commiſſion from the Queen *Donna Leonora*, privately contracted a marriage with *Francis* in her name, and then having Commiſſion from him again, went to the Queen *Leonora* and contracted a marriage with her in the name of *Francis*. After which time the Emperor treated no more with *Francis* as a priſoner, but a neere Ally, in ſo much that at the next viſit, he offered him the right hand. I obſerve yet the Emperor would not permit *Francis* to enjoy *Leonora* his ſiſter till he had fully accompliſhed the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his laſt words to *Francis*, (being then licenſed to depart) ſeem ſo ſenſible of any thing, as of her honour. At which time alſo (for further obligation of *Francis* unto this agreement) I finde by *Sandoval*, he demanded of *Francis* whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them? *Francis* anſwered, Yes; for further confirmation repeating the moſt particular Articles. *Charles* then demanded, Are you willing to performe them? *Francis* anſwered againe, Yes. Adding, he knew no man in his Kingdome would hinder him. And, when you finde that I doe not keepe my word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for *Laſche & Meſchant*. *Charles* replied, and I wiſh you to ſay the like of me if I doe not give you liberty. Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long farewell. This being done, *Charles* returned.

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1526

There was much difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt *Francis* and his two ſonnes, neither could they (almoſt) deviſe how to ſecure it from jealouſie on either ſide. At laſt theſe Articles were agreed. Feb. 26.

1. That no man at Armes, or other Souldier might within ten daies before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty League of the place; and that thoſe who were come already ſhould retire.

2. That no Gentleman of the French Kings houſhold ſhould paſſe *Bayona*, till the King were come to St *Ivan de Luz.*

3. That the number of Foot garriſons in either Frontier ſhould not exceed a thouſand. And that when Madame *Loüiſe* the Regent had declared whether ſhe would give the two eldeſt ſonnes of *Francis* in Hoſtage, or the Dolphin only with the twelve others above mentioned, that then it ſhould be adviſed whether the number were to be increaſed.

4. That at the day of the delivery neither man nor woman, neighbour nor ſtranger ſhould be neere the place.

5. That ſix daies before the delivery, *Charles* ſhould appoint twelve perſons to viſit the Coaſt, on that ſide where the River of *Fuentaraby* joyns with *France*: and that foure perſons appointed by Madame *Loüiſe* ſhould be ready there to doe whatſoever was required for performance of theſe Articles. And that for this purpoſe Madame *Loüiſſe* might alſo appoint twelve on the other ſide of the River, whom foure on *Charles* his part ſhould likewiſe attend.

6. That neither on one or other ſide of the ſaid River (paſſing neere *Fuentarabie*) there ſhould be any Boats or Pinaces, but two (which muſt be of the ſame bigneſſe) to paſſe *Francis* to the one, and the Hoſtages to the other ſide, and that the twelve Deputies on either part ſhould take order herein.

7. That there ſhould be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the place appointed for the Delivery.

In ſequence of which capitulation, it was further agreed, That *Charles de Lanoy*, with twenty five armed men, with Swords and Daggers onely, for guarding of the French King, and as many with *Monſieur de Lautrech*, in like manner weapond, for conducting the two Hoſtages, ſhould come to the ſides of the above-mentioned River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Barque faſtned with Anchors, ſhould be built, on which yet no body ſhould ſtand; and that two Boats of equall bigneſſe, fitted for twenty Oares apeice, ſhould be ready there, of which *Francis* ſhould chooſe one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all French, and unarmed, ſhould enter his Boat, and bring it to the ſide of *Spaine*, at the ſame time; that the other with twenty Spaniards unarmed March 15.

1526. likewiſe, ſhould be brought to the French Coaſt. That thereupon *Charles de Lanoy* conducting the King, and taking ten perſons onely with him ſhould paſſe to one ſide of the ſaid Bridge at the ſame time that *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the Hoſtages, and ten perſons ſhould likewiſe come to the other. That none of the ſaid perſons yet ſhould put themſelves upon the Bridge, but *Charles de Lanoy* with the French King and one other, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the two Hoſtages, and *Madame de Briſac* and *Chauvigny*. That thereupon the exchange ſhould be made in one inſtant. Before yet any thing was done the ſame day, that a Boat with foure Rowers Spaniſh and foure French, and a Gentleman of either Nation, ſhould viſit the Coaſt on both ſides, and take order that every thing ſhould be prepared. For feare yet leaſt ſome ſuppoſititious children ſhould be tendered inſtead of the Dolphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the *Seigneur de Praet*, the Emperors Ambaſſador ſhould come along with them, while another Frenchman was allowed to attend *Francis* in his paſſage.

March 18. Thus upon the eighteenth of *March* 1526, after one whole yeere and ſome daies impriſonment, was *Francis* delivered to his Boat, and by mutuall conſent, at the ſame time accompanied with twelve Spaniards (whereof *Charles de Lanoy* and *Hernando de Alarcon* his Guardian were two) to the French ſhore, while the Hoſtages, accompanied with the like number came to the Spaniſh coaſt; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the performance of all this, but that a ſtay was made while the two children kiſſed their fathers hands, and that his laſt words to *Lanoy* confirmed againe his promiſe to the Emperor. As ſoon as *Francis* came to his own ground, he got haſtily upon a Turkiſh and ſwift horſe, and ſuddenly putting Spurs to him (if we may believe *Sandoval*) and caſting one of his Armes over his head, and crying *Ie ſuis le Roy, Je ſuis le Roy*, poſted to S. *Ivan de*

March 19. *Luz*, and the next day to *Bayona*, where the Lady his mother and many other principall perſons with much anxiety attended him.

I am the more particular in the Relation of theſe paſſages, both that the example is rare, as that it leads to the underſtanding of that which followeth in our Hiſtory; and the rather, that it was the ſubject that chiefly took up the time and thoughts of our King, whenſoever his proſpect was turnd on forraigne affaires; inſomuch that he might be truely ſaid a principall Actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve *Francis*. Therefore as he had ſent *Cutbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, long ſince into *Spaine* to mediate his delivery with the Emperor, ſo now hearing he was in his way homewards, he diſpatches Sir *Thomas Cheney* to congratulate his ſafe returne, and to

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take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore* above-mentioned; which *Francis* accepting, sent a messenger immediatly to advertise our King of the conditions of his delivery, and to acknowledge that he ow'd him chiefely his liberty; as both *Sandoval* relates it, and our Records, under his own hand, confirme; which faire termes produced; afterwards, a more firme correspondency betwixt them. 1526.

Charles de Lanoy & Hernando de Alancon having in vaine sollicited *Francis*, at *Bayona*, to accomplish that part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, seem'd yet to receive some satisfaction, that they were referr'd untill their comming to *Paris*. (The King pretending he could doe nothing, effectually, till hee had spoken with the principall persons of the Estate and Parliament. Here againe they presled *Francis* unto the performance of that he was bound to by so many Oaths and promises. But *Francis*, for a conclusion, positively answered, that it was not in his power to dismember any part from the Kingdome, without consent both of the same part, and the whole Kingdome; And therefore, with many loving words, desired that his Ransome might be chang'd to some equivalent summe of money. But *Charles* would by no meanes hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by Treaty happily detained the Queene *Leonóra* from passing into *France*, so he determined rather (at what price soever) to take off the Pope, Venetians, and *Francesco Sforza*, and the Florentines from a League they were entering into with *England* and *France* against him, then to decline any way the least Article of the late Concord and Agreement. May.

This League (called *Clementina & Sanctissima*) was begun (as the French hav it) by the instigation of our King, during the Imprisonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded, till about two Moneths after his delivery. To give this a more auspicate beginning, the Pope (as the Spanish History hath it) sent to the French King a Relaxation of the Oath he made to observe the concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon pretext alleaged by *Francis*, that those of *Burgundy* would not consent, by any meanes, to be alienated from the French Crowne. *Charles de Lanoy & Hernando de Alancon* finding matters thus distemper'd, and unlike to sort to any good end, desired leave to returne, which *Francis* granted, upon condition that they would goe to *Spaine* immediatly, and not to *Italy*, whither (in regard of his Government) *Lanoy* desired much to passe through the French Territories. Though others write, and our Records confirme it, that they departed not till the following Teaty was sworne, at *Cognac* in their presence. Which that they might make more specious to the Emperour, they offered him place to enter into it, upon certain conditions. This Treaty, concluded between Pope *Clement* the seventh, *Francis* the French King, *Tillet.* May. 22. *Sandoval.*

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1526 May 22.

the Venetians, *Francesco Sforza*, and the Florentines, was to this effect.

1. That the contractors of this League and concord shall be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other. That this Clause yet shall not extend to the Dominions held by the Pope and Venetians, out of *Italy*. And that the said Contractors shall, particularly, defend the Person and Dignity of the Pope against all his adversaries.

2. That place shall be left for the Emperor *Charles* to enter hereinto, if he desire it, and for *Henry* King of *England*, not onely as a Contractor but Protector of this most holy League and Concord, as also for *Don Hernando*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the rest of the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Christendome. Provided yet, that the said *Charles* shall not be admitted hereunto, but upon these ensuing conditions. That is to say, unlesse he first restore the two Sonnes of *Francis*, which he detaines as Hostages, and take in Lieu of them, some reasonable and fitting Recompence and satisfaction. As also unlesse he leave the Dutchy of *Millan* freely unto *Francesco Sforza*, and the rest of the Estates and Dominions in *Italy*, in the forme and manner they were before the late warre; And unlesse, when he enters *Italy*, to be Crown'd there, he bring with him such Family and Traine only, as the Pope and Venetians shall think fit; which yet is intended shall be such, as may take away suspition of violent attempt, and preserve together the Imperiall Dignity; And unlesse within three Moneths, after the Conclusion of the said Treaty, (the King of *England* entering into it) he pay unto the said King all the Money due to him.

3. That an Army shall be raised by the said confederates, which shall consist of thirty thousand Foot, two thousand five hundred men of Armes, and three thousand Light Horse, together with the Artillery and Munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the Pope should furnish eight hundred men at Armes, and seven hundred Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot: The French King eleven thousand Crownes the Moneth in Money, and five hundred men at Arms (called *Maistres*) comprehending one thousand Light Horse: The Venetians eight hundred men at Armes, and one thousand Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot; *Francesco Sforza*, the Duke of *Milan*, foure hundred men at Armes, three hundred Light horse, and foure thousand Foot. That certaine Suisse should be raised for the said League, at the charge of the French King; who, besides the above mention'd, shall have a powerfull Army to hinder the passage of any considerable Forces into *Italy*. All which, are to be imployed against the Perturbators of the Peace of *Italy*, untill they be reduced to the Estate of not being able to keepe the Field.

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1526.

4. That, when this Treaty ſhall be ratified by all the confederates, they ſhall joyntly deſire *Charles* the Emperor to reſtore the two ſonnes of the French King, and, in caſe he refuſe, ſhall denounce warre to him, till he reſtore them. For the execution whereof (the war of *Italy* being ended) the confederates ſhall furniſh to the ſaid French King ten thouſand foot, one thouſand men at Armes, and a thouſand Light Horſe, or money for the rayſing and payment of them.

5. That the Confederates ſhall defend each others Eſtate againſt all Invaſion: In which caſe thoſe of *Italy* ſhall furniſh ten thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe to the French King, and he as many to them againe.

6. That the Confederates ſhall have an Armado of twenty eight Gallies at leaſt, whereof the French King ſhall furniſh twelve, the Pope three, and the Venetians thirteen, to be imploy'd in this war, unleſſe the French King have particular uſe of his part. 7. That, for removing all ſuſpition of attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, the French King ſhall not only permit the preſent Duke to injoy it, but ſhall defend him againſt all adverſaries, with the proportion of Forces above mentioned, he paying, in conſideration of the claime and expence of the French King, ſuch a Penſion (at Lyons in *France*) as the Pope and Venetians ſhall ordaine; which yet ſhall not be leſſe then five hundred thouſand Duckats yearely.

8. That, becauſe this peace may be univerſall over *Italy*, all goods taken away in theſe late occaſions, ſhall be reſtor'd, and all men reinplac'd in their former poſſeſſions.

9 That the French King ſhall give ſome Lady of the Bloud Royall of *France*, (by the nomination of the Pope) for wife to the Duke of *Millan*, and ſhall procure the Suiſſe to defend his State on all occaſions, as they were formerly accuſtomed. That the *Concado de Aſti*, as being diſtinct from *Millan*, and anciently pertaining to the Houſe of *Orleans*, ſhall be reſtored to the French King, or at leaſt the government thereof, to be adminiſtred by the Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Sonne to the French King, or his Deputie.

10. That *Antonio Adorno* ſhall remaine Duke of *Genoüa*, if either he enter into this League, or, otherwiſe, alter the forme of the City government, in ſuch ſort as may be thought moſt for the ſecurity and quiet of *Italy*, reſerving yet to the French King his Title and right of Superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in poſſeſſion of the ſaid City.

11 That if the Emperor deny or delay to performe what is required in the ſecond Article, that then preſently after ending the war for the Pacification of *Italy*, the Confederates ſhall invade the Kingdome of *Naples*; and, if the Emperor be expulſed thence, that then it ſhall remain at the diſpoſition of the Pope, as being held in Feud of the Church; and that, in recompence of the pretence, which the French

1526. French King hath to it, the Pope, with consent of all the Cardinals, shall binde himselfe and successors to pay yearely to the King of *France* a convenient Pension, which shall not be lesse then sixty five thousand Crownes *de Soliel.*

12. That in Case any of the Confederates should dye or faile, yet the League should continue firme among the rest, and that the Successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the Confederates shall take upon them the defence and protection of the House of *Medicis*, even to the restitution of them to their former greatnesse and dignity.

14. And because the most serene and powerfull King of *England*, Defendor of the Faith, hath alwayes affected Peace, as appeares by the good Offices done to the French King, and hath alwayes imploy'd his Forces in service of the Catholique Church, as his Father did before him; And because no Authority, Superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the Conservation of good Men in Peace or repressing of those who are ill: Therefore, it is agreed, that his Majesty shall be Protector of the most Holy League and Concord. For which purpose, the said Confederates doe offer to him and his Heyres an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*, with the Title of Duke or Prince, not lesse worth then the yearly rent of thirty thousand Duchats. And to the Cardinall of York, for his great paines and service in this Businesse, they offer an other State in *Italy* worth ten thousand Duckats yearely.

15, That the Confederates shall make no Treaty with others then these who are mentioned in this present Concord: And that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the ratification of this Concord, every one, who is contained in it, shall name his friends, provided, that they be not Subjects, nor vassals, or enemies of the greater part. And so the Pope nominated the King of *England*, and the Marquesse of *Mantua*, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed. The King of *France* naming the King of *England*, *Scotland*, *Navarre*, *Portugall*, *Polonia*, *Hungaria*, The Dukes of *Savoye*, *Lorraine*, and *Gueldres*, and the thirteene *Cantons* of the *Suisse*; The Venetians nominated the King of *England*, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the French King send his Moneys within the space of a Moneth to *Rome*, or consigne them to *Venice* or *Florence*, and give security for payment to the Banquers six dayes before every moneth.

18. That all, who enter the League, shall, in the space of one Moneth, approve and confirme it. And if the Duke of *Millan*, because he is straitly beseiged, cannot performe his part, that then the Pope and Venetians shall signe it for him.

And

And thus farre I have followed the Spaniſh Relation. By the French I find only ſuch a League was ſign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, the two and twentieth of *May*, 1526. 1526.

¶ Our King finding himſelf thus choſen Protector of the League, adviſes what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Counſell, it was reſolved, moſt prudently, that he ſhould not be a Party, where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor alſo, inform'd hereof, proteſted againſt *Clement* the ſeventh, as an ungratefull perſon; he having been by his favour firſt made Cardinall, and after Pope, in deſpight of Cardinall *Soderino's* Allegation, that he was a Baſtard, and, therefore, uncapable of either of the ſaid dignities: Neither had he other evaſion to clear himſelfe, but that he produced witneſſes, how his Father, *Julian de Medicis*, before his death, (which he received by a ſtab as the Prieſt lift up the Hoaſt) had at length marryed his Mother. Againſt the French King he exclaimed, as perjur'd and falſe; and againſt the Venetians, as uneonſtant. Howſoever, his greateſt care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in *Italy*, upon publiſhing of the League (*July* 8) Solemnly, by the Pope, they levyed their appointed numbers, yet *Francis*, being put in hope of the reſtitution of his Children, delay'd ſo much on his part, That, at laſt, the Imperiall Army conſtrained *Sforza* to yeeld *Millan*, reſerving yet the Revenues thereof to his uſe, as hoping thereby to content him. But the deſpited and diſtruſtfull Duke, not ſatisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on Foot, in *Italy*, of which, the Duke of *Urbin* was made Generall. This while the Emperor was advertiſed, how, in ſequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis* his Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and Kings Councell had diſannull'd and annihilated the Concord of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Perſon who was conſtrain'd, and in Priſon. To colour yet this refuſe, *Francis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Granada*, (where the Emperor was) to tell him againe, *Burgundy* could not be Alienated from the French Crowne; and that, if hee would returne his Sonnes at a reaſonable Ranſome, (which I find by the French was two Millions of Crownes) he would take his Siſter *Leonora* for his Queene; if not, that he would recover them by force. The ſeverall Ambaſſadors alſo of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, (and particularly the Engliſh) concurr'd herein; requiring further, that he ſhould recall the Spaniards out of *Lombardy*, and reſtore *Franceſco Sforza*; leave his pretence to *Naples*, and not goe to *Italy* with an Army, and that he ſhould pay the King of *England*. All the Contractors of the League, in Caſe of refuſall, denouncing warre. The Emperor anſwerd, That the French King ſhould doe ill, not to keepe his Oath and promiſe. Neither could he excuſe himſelfe ſufficiently by laying the fault on his Parliament or Kingdome, they being privy and conſenting to it. That he would detaine the Hoſtages; July. 8. July 24.

and

1526 and, for the Queene *Leonóra*, ſhe was not demanded in ſuch termes as it was fit to ſend her. For *Franceſco Sforza*, that he would chaſtiſe him as his Vaſſall. That he would hold his right in *Naples*. That he would goe to *Italy*, when and how he liſted. And that, if all made warre againſt him, he would, by the help of his good Subjects, defend himſelfe againſt them all, and that he would pay the King of *England* with French Money.

I muſt returne now a while to ſpeake of home buſineſſes, that the Reader may ſee wherefore our active King prevail'd himſelfe no more nor otherwiſe of theſe great occaſions. It was only want of Money; The ſcarcity whereof alſo was the excuſe his people made, for not furniſhing thoſe Contributions, he demanded. Hereupon our King inquires into the cauſes. Among which becauſe ſecret tranſportation of Money was thought one of the greateſt, he adviſes concerning the remedy. All his Counſellors yet did not concurre in the ſame opinion; for ſome affirm'd, no Merchant would carry away Coine unleſſe he found gaine by it; And that this, returning home againe, inrich'd the Country. Others ſaid, there were ſubtleties yet, which, if order were not taken, would draine away our moneys inſenſibly, it being manifeſt to all, that would take the paines to conſider it, that, unleſſe the Commodities and Coine of our Country kept both Standard and proportion with thoſe, with whom we Traffiqued, there would be loſſe. That the Crafty Flemmings, therefore, when they deſired to raiſe the price of their Commodities, inhanſed likewiſe the value of our Money, eſpecially Gold; leaſt our Merchants ſhould be diſcouraged to buy, when they find the price of the Commodity ſo much rais'd. The conſequence whereof was, that our Merchants deſired, by ſtealth, to convey over their Money in *Specie*, as having, thereby, the benefit of the inhancing; whereas, if they received it in the *Low-Countries* by Bill of credit or exchange, they ſhould not only looſe this benefit, but pay ſomewhat to thoſe which furniſh'd them. Againe, that when our Merchants had occaſion to returne from the *Low-Countries*, they were not ſuffered to carry back their Moneys in *Specie*, but were forc'd to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they loſt againe. Thus, notwithſtanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great ſums were conveyed over, to the impoveriſhing of the Kingdome. The onely remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our Money at home, to the ſame Rate that it paſſeth at a broad, which will both keepe our Money from Tranſporting, and make the Exchange without loſſe: Neither was there other meanes to prevent theſe Inconveniences: which had now extended ſo farre, that our Gold was as frequent and currant among our Neighbours, almoſt, as at home; Whereas yet, little, or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary payments. Beſides, they made an other advantage hereof: For as their Standard was baſer then ours, ſo they Coined our

Gold

Gold againe, and made no little profit that way. Thus did our neighbours many wayes procure the wealth of their Country and damage of ours; and would do more, when timely order were not taken. Which our Hiſtorians have thought worth the ſetting downe, and my ſelfe have the more inſiſted on, both to ſhew the rate of Gold and Silver in thoſe times, and to help the Reader to underſtand the ſecond enhanſing under this King *Anno* 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angell-Noble of Gold was hitherto in waight $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce, in eſtimation ſix ſhillings eight pence of Silver, which Silver was two ounces. Thus the proportion of Gold to Silver was twelve to one. Againe, an ounce of Silver (or halfe-Angell) paſs'd for three ſhillings foure pence; ſo twelve ounces (or a pound) was juſt forty ſhillings, which is two pound, as we commonly count our Money. 1526.

But *Henry* the eighth now, by Proclamation, advancing the value of both (one tenth part) the Angell was rayſed to ſeven ſhillings four pence (which was the rate at which it paſs'd in the *Low-Countryes.*) And, conſequently, an ounce of Gold eſtimated at forty foure ſhillings, and an ounce of Silver three ſhillings eight pence, and a pound weight at forty foure ſhillings, the proportion being (*ut ſuprà*) twelve to one. The ſudden benefit of this appear'd ſuch, that, in *November* following, there was another enhanſing of one forty fourth part. So that the Angell was ſeven ſhillings ſix pence, the ounce of Gold forty five ſhillings, and the ounce of Silver three ſhillings nine pence. And, by theſe meanes, much of our Gold (as our Hiſtorians obſerve) was brought back again. But *Anno* 1544. theſe Mettalls were againe enhanſed one fifteenth part. So Gold came (from forty five ſhillings) to forty eight ſhillings an ounce; and Silver (from three ſhillings nine pence an ounce) to foure ſhillings; and a pound waight of Silver was forty eight ſhillings. Sept. Novemb. 1544.

This while *Solyman* brought two hundred thouſand men into *Hungary*, with which (neere *Buda*) he wholly defeated the Army of *Lowis* King thereof, being forty thouſand, and conſtrained him to flye away: till, by the fall of his Horſe, having his Legge ingaged, he was drown'd in leſſe then a ſpan-deep of water and mud, ſo that it concern'd all Chriſtian Princes to make Peace, but chiefely the Emperour, whoſe Siſter King *Loüis* had marryed; and whoſe brother *Ferdinand* in the right of his wife, *Anne*, Siſter and Heire to the ſaid King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* claimed to ſucceed in both Kingdomes. *Francis*, being not Ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. Therefore hee ſent in *September* 1526. the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourdeaux* (with whom alſo the *Nuntio* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadours joyn'd offices) to deſire the Emperor to ſend back his Children, and to accept ſome honeſt Ranſome in Money; promiſing, withall, his love and friendſhip. But *Charles*, now incenſed, told the Arch-Biſhop, that, if he would Sept.

have

1526. have his children, he must, according to his Oath and promise, return prisoner himselfe; (adding, that his Kingdome could not hinder him herein, however he pretended they would not consent to the restitution of *Burgundy.*) Wherein yet, he should but imitate the example of King *Iohn* his predecessor; who, being prisoner in *England*, and permitted to goe home upon the like termes, did (when he was not able to pay his Ransome) most faithfully return again, and yeeld his body unto custody, where he dyed. Then, taking the Ambassador aside, (as *Sandoval* hath it) he bid him tell the French King his Master, that he had done *Laschement* and *Meschamment*, in breaking the Concord of *Madrid*, and that, if hee denyed it, he would make it good in person against him. But *Francis* wanted not courage to reply in the same Language, as will appeare afterwards.

Sandov.

In the meane time, as hee thought it concern'd him to defend his reputation in any probable way, rather then to confesse in himself so notable a falshood; he caused an Apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of *France*) to be published, and sent to all Christian Princes, the effect whereof was.

1516. That the Emperor had first broke the confederation of * *Noyon*, in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdome of *Naples*, the restitution of *Navarre*, and divers other Rights. Besides, that hee had made warre in *Milan*, which was his by inheritance, the Concession of Popes, and *Donation in Feud* by *Maximilian* the Emperor. And, which was worst of all, had enticed his Vassall the Duke of *Bourbon*, to rebell against him, and invade *Provence*. That, thereupon, hee had, indeed, drawne his sword, and chas'd the Imperiall Army from before *Marseilles*, and followed it to *Italy*, where hee was unfortunately taken Prisoner; yet that he had protested to those, who kept him there, that, if the Emperor requir'd unjust or unpossible things, he would not performe them, but rather that hee would revenge himselfe, when he was free. That, as he doubted, least, through his absence, some troubles might arise at home, hee had procured his liberty the best way hee could. In the whole frame whereof, if any thing were to be disliked, it must be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreasonable conditions, than to him who found no other meanes to escape. Notwithstanding, that, at his returne, he had for the satisfaction of his Honour, required of his chiefe Nobility and Counsellors, what he ought to do, both according to equity, and the maintenance of his Royall Dignity, who, upon mature deliberation, answered: That insolent Pactions and Contracts, which comprehend in them notable dammage, and detriment to the Contractor, as being impos'd on him, from one more powerfull, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary, and therefore in themselves voyd. Besides, that, when he was sacred at *Rheims*, he was then sworne not to Alienate any Patrimony of the Crown, from which oath therefore, as being formerly

formerly made, and more Obligatory, he could by no means depart; eſpecially, when the Inhabitants of *Burgundy* (which was the Country demanded) would not conſent thereunto. Wherefore, if the Emperor preſſed him to any thing contrary to theſe Duties and Obligations, hee muſt think it was not without a ſpeciall providence from above, that he recovered his liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant, that he was tyed by the greateſt bond of Religion, not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he beleive, that the Preſidents of the Parliaments of *France* would conſent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howſoever, that none could think him falſe or perjur'd, as long as the *Hoſtages* (as the Counter-value of all that was capitulated) had beene deliver'd to the Emperour. Neither was it enough to ſay, that, in demanding *Burgundy*, the Emperour did but require his own; ſince that Dutchy was (long ſince) annexed to *Normandy*, and incorporated into the Crown of *France* by King *Iohn*, and conſequently govern'd by the ſame Lawes; Among which the *Salique* being principall, the Emperors Title, as being claimed from a daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this affaire had been Communicated to ſome out of this Kingdome, who underſtood well what was to be done in ſuch Caſes, and that he had received much Comfort. In concluſion, as there remained nothing elſe for him to do, ſo he had offered a Condigne Ranſome in money, and other good Conditions, which might both redeem his deare Children, and teſtifie the deſire hee had to recover his lately married wife, who was alſo detained from him; yet that hee was ſtill refuſed. All which premiſſes being duly conſidered, he appealed to all Chriſtian Princes, and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the fault were his, and not rather the Emperours, who, by his injurious and impoſſible demands, had fruſtrated himſelfe. Thus (as many thought) did *Francis* ſtrive to elude his Oath with reaſon of State; and to cover the breach of his Faith under a pretext of impoſſibility, without making any good excuſe at all (that is extant) for his not returning; (though more eaſily palliated then the reſt) both as ſuſpition of ill uſage might be held a kinde of naturall defence and evaſion in this kinde, and as his Kingdome would leſſe conſent hereunto, then to any other condition. And certainly, had the Emperour ſufficiently conſidered all theſe Circumſtances, he would have followed their counſell, who adviſed him, either to detaine *Francis* till he had made ſome advantage thereof, or elſe have let him go freely. Neither ſhould the Clementine League (begun during the impriſonment of *Francis*) have de- 1526.

1526. terr'd him; as being not concluded ſo much in favour of *Francis*, as directly againſt him, whoſe greatneſſe did then many wayes appeare. So that to let *Francis* goe, was but to fortifie his adverſaries againſt himſelfe. Hee thought fit yet, to command an Anſwer to this *Apologie*; wherein the Title, by which hee claim'd all his doubtfull poſſeſſions, (eſpecially that of *Naples* and *Province*) is ſet downe, and the Fault layd on *Francis*, with as much bitterneſſe as the cauſe requir'd, all which is ſet downe by *Sandoval*. *Francis*, finding now there was no other was to recover his children, but by force, makes all the friends he can: wherefore, about the end of *July*, ſending ſome Ambaſſadors to our King, a League was concluded, 8. of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1526. by which both Kings did oblige themſelves reciprocally, not to Treat or agree apart, or ſeparately with the ſaid Emperor, concerning the reſtitution of the two children of *Francis*, (when yet they were freely offered) nor the money due from the Emperour to our King; but joyntly and together. And, as for all other buſineſſes, they ſhould paſſe without derogation or prejudice to their former Treaties, which were underſtood to remaine entire. And that neither of the ſaid Kings ſhould, in any kind, aſſiſt the Emperor, when he were invaded by the other. The perſons who chiefely procured this Treaty, were *Giovanni Ioakim* (now ſtyl'd *Mounſieur de Vaux*,) and *Iean Brinon* the *Premier* Preſident of *Roüen*; who, being (as is before ſaid) diſpatched by *Francis*, came to King *Henry* April 28. and, being admitted, the Preſident, in an Eloquent Oration in Latine, before our King, ſet in his Throne, and attended by the Ambaſſadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Venice*, and *Florence* (who at this time laboured to draw him into the League of *Italy*) profeſſed publiquely, that it was the King's goodneſſe meerly that made him abſtaine from *France* at this Seaſon, the occaſion of invading it being ſo faire, during the Impriſonment of the King his Maſter. This being ended, Sir *Thomas Moore*, in the ſame Language, wittily anſwered him: Concluding at laſt, that ſince they acknowledg'd this goodneſſe in the King, it ſhould be an obligation on him to continue it; wherewith the Ambaſſadors departed, much ſatisfied. Our King alſo, conſidering the difficulties hee found to procure Money, divided his time, betwixt buſineſſes at home and his pleaſures, not neglecting yet the publique weale of Chriſtendome; For which purpoſe, he ſent Sir *Iohn Wallop*, not only to the Princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to joyne againſt the Turke, but to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to comfort her for the loſſe of her Husband, adding with all ſuch a ſupply of money as might teſtifie his Zeale to that

Sandov.

Aug. 8.

April 28.

Cauſe

Cauſe was greater then theirs, who by kindred and neighborhood to the danger, were more concern'd therein. 1526.

The Army of the late League having now begun a Warre, with ſome doubtfull ſucceſſe, in *Italy*, the Pope, for his juſtification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, 23. *June* 1526, a kind of Apologie for his taking Armes; alleadging, that, as he was *Pater communis*, he thought himſelfe bound, by all the wayes he could, to procure a generall good before any Particular, exhorting him for the reſt, to moderate his immenſe Ambition, to give Peace to *Italy*, pardon to *Franceſco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, and contentment to all the confederates in their juſt demands. To which *Charles* ſharply anſwered (by Letter Dated 17. *September* following) laying the fault of that diſſention among Chriſtian Princes (which had given occaſion to the Turke to conquer ſo much in *Hungary*,) from himſelfe, and on the Pope chiefely; telling him, among other things, that, regularly, hee ought not to draw his ſword, when even it were againſt the Enemies of our Faith. Then, taxing him, as if hee were ungratefull, falſe, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the peace of *Italy*, and the Chriſtian World, and among others, for *Franceſco Sforza*, proceeding thence to a bitter expoſtulation with the Pope, as is more at large ſet down by *Sandoval*; by whom alſo I finde, that *Charles* ſollicited all the Cardinals, openly, to call a Generall Councell for the good of Chriſtendome, (as of themſelves,) when, otherwiſe, the Pope would not conſent thereto.

June 23.

Sept. 17.

Sand. & Sleid.

This while *Don Hugo de Moncada*, comming into *Italy* to offer ſome conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they tooke no effect, Treated ſecretly with *Pompeo* Cardinal *de Colonna*, and others of that Family; who ſuddenly, with three thouſand men onely, or as others ſay ſix thouſand, entred *Rome*, ſacking part of it, and cauſing that terror to the Pope that he fled to the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*. Neither could hee free himſelfe, till hee had agreed with *Moncada* for a Truce of foure monethes with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of *Lombardy*, And a Pardon to all the *Colonneſi*. Whereupon *Moncada* alſo withdrew his Forces out of *Rome*.

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

Our King, being not yet inform'd hereof, had ſent to *Charles*, to offer his beſt indeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, proteſting, that if he accepted his good will herein, he would diſclaime all intereſt in the *Clementine* League, although that Ambaſſadors from all the Confederates were at that inſtant, in his Court ſufficiently authorized to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon ſends inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors Reſident in *England*, to Treat accordingly of an end;

1526. end; to which purpose also he dispatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to Court *January* 14. to Treat hereof. Howbeit, as matters were likely to be spun out into a greater length then stood with his Masters occasions hee shortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spiceries of the *East-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas by the decision of Pope *Alexander* the sixth 1493. the *East-Indies* were given to to the *Portugalls*, and the *Westerne* to the *Spaniards*, so that the first Bound was a Line drawne from North to South, distant from the Ilands of *Capo Verde* the space of foure hundred miles Westward (all on this side being allotted to the *Portugall*, the other side being permitted to the *Spaniard*) this Line yet in favour of the *Portugalls* (who by their riches, power at Sea, and Conquests in *Africa* had made themselves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty miles Westward; whereby betwixt these two Neighbor Princes alone a new World with the immense wealth belonging to it, was divided; yet with this honour to the *Portugall* that his discoveries and possessions gave denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occasioned antiently the calling these parts after its name, and the new Conquests on the Spanish part, though hugely distant, following the Style. Notwithstanding which large Empire, able to satisfie any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not emulation betwixt those Princes. Insomuch, that neither Alliance, Neighborhood, nor the danger they should incurre, if other Princes prevailed themselves of their dissentions, could keep them in good termes. Therefore I finde, by a Letter from *Edward Lee* our Kings Almoner, and now Ambassadour in *Spaine*, *Dat.* at *Medina del Campo*, the 21 of *January* 1527. The Emperour laid claime to some Spiceries in the Eastern parts, which I finde, by *Sandoval*, to have been the *Molucca's* lately discovered, (as we have shewed,) by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugall*, who, to buy out the King of *Spaine*, offered, two Millions of Duckats; which yet the Emperour accepted not for the present, but chose rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King; and, thereby, either to draw a great summe of Money from him, and, together, to ingage us in a quarrell against the *Portugalls*, while himselfe continued his Navigation securely to the *West-Indies*; or, at least, to detaine him a while, from a League he was now entring into with *Francis*. I doe not finde yet what answer our King return'd thereto. But as no effect followed, I beleeve the offer, though advantageous, was (out of ill information concerning these parts) rejected.

Holin. Jan. 14. 1527.

1493.

1527. Jan. 21.

And

And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and underſtanding, beſides, what rough uſage the Pope had received from *Moncada*, reſolves, according to his former League, to joyne againſt that Prince which appear'd moſt refractary. Therefore, conceiving the fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd preſently into a ſtrict League with *Francis*, chooſing rather to concurre with him particularly, then to embrace the *Cleuentine Accord*, as containing many Articles in it, that no way concern'd him. Therefore ſending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he propoſes to *Francis* the Princeſſe *Mary* in marriage (ſince *Charles* had denied him *Leonora*. And, beſides, offers to enter an Offenſive League with him (ſuch as his confederat's in *Italy* had made) for the recovery of his children, and forcing the Emperour to reaſonable conditions. *Francis*, gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princeſſe *Marie's* Picture, which, together with our King's, is granted, and the match treated, in *France*, by our Agents, the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *Fitz-William*. The French King, if he married her, requir'd ſhe ſhould be preſently given up into his hands : But our King not agreeing thereunto (by reaſon his daughter, was yet but eleven yeares old.) *March* the ſecond, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount of *Turrenne*, and *Antoine Veſey* the Preſident of *Paris*, came into *England* ; where, on the laſt of *Aprill* (as I find by the French, and our Records) Three Treaties were concluded, in which theſe are the moſt remarkable Articles.

1526.

1526. Decemb. 24.

1527. Jan

March 2.

April 30.

I.

In the firſt the preceding Treaty betwixt them was confirm'd. Beſides, it was agreed, that the ſaid Kings ſhould ſend their ſeverall Ambaſſadours to the Emperor, with Inſtructions conformable to each other, (ſo that their Language might be the ſame,) aswell concerning a Ranſome of the *Dolphin*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (then Hoſtages with *Charles*) as payment of the Debts due from him unto *Henry*, and other ſatisfaction for his Rights.

Aug. 8.

II.

That they ſhould propoſe alſo, in name of the ſaid King, ſuch decent conditions and offers, which ſhould be by them advis'd, and purſue them inſtantly with the ſaid *Charles*. And, if either hee refus'd, or made no anſwer within 20. dayes next following, or, otherwiſe, detained or excluded the ſaid Ambaſſadors from coming to his preſence, That then, by their Heralds (or Kings of Armes) they ſhould denounce war againſt him, in ſuch forme, manner, and order, as ſhould be declared in the ſecond Treaty.

1527

III.

Furthermore, it was concluded, that an Alternative marriage (for ſo the *French*, and our Records call it) ſhould bee made; betwixt *Mary* daughter of the ſaid King of *England*, and the ſaid *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Sonne; and that the determination (of the Alternative ſhould be reſerv'd to the enterview of both Kings, in the Towne of *Calais* (at a moderate expence) which ſhould be declared preſently after the refuſall of *Charles*: In which caſe *Henry* ſhould ſend unto *Francis* ſome faithfull Perſon, to adviſe concerning the particularities thereof. Alſo, the Articles of the ſaid Alternative marriage were remitted untill the aforeſaid time. Howſoever, it waspreſently agreed, that, if the ſaid Princeſſe *Mary* or her iſſue did not ſucced to the Crown of *England*, and that the ſaid warre were not made againſt *Charles*, that then this Treaty of a more ſtreight alliance ſhould bee void. Notwithſtanding which, if the ſaid Alternative Marriage were broken off by the common conſent of both Kings, they ſhou'd yet bee obliged reciprocally unto the ſaid warre. Upon condition ſtill; that *Francis* ſhould reinbourſe (at convenient dayes of payment) unto King *Henry*, the expences hee ſhould bee at; and, beſides, ſhould furniſh unto the ſaid *Henry*, as long as hee lived, yearely, of the Salt of *Broüage*, the value of fifteene thouſand Crownes. But if the ſaid Marriage were hindred on the part of *Henry*, the ſaid *Francis* ſhould not bee bound to pay the aforeſaid expences of the warre. On the other ſide, that hee ſhould pay them double, if the impediment proceeded from him.

2. By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, that, preſently after the refuſe, delay, or non-admittance, of their Ambaſſadors, that the entercourſe commerce, and Traffique betweene their Subjects and thoſe of the Emperor ſhould be forbidden. Nevertheleſſe, that by their Ambaſſadors, they ſhould offer the reſpite of forty dayes, to the intent that the goods of their ſaid Subjects, might bee reciprocally with-drawne, if the ſaid Emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actuall warre againſt him in the *Low-Countreys*, an Army ſhould be levied of thirty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand five hundred Men of Armes, *à la Francoiſe*, a Band of Artillery (ſo termed then) and neceſſary Ammunition: whereof *Francis* ſhould furniſh the aforeſaid one thouſand five hundred Men at Armes, and twenty thouſand Foot; and *Henry* tenne thouſand Archers or Halberdiers, whom five hundred of the ſaid Men at Armes ſhould accompany and convey, whenſoever, by the command of the ſaid King,

or

or their Generalls, they ſhould be divided from the body of the Army. And that victuals and other proviſion ſhould bee delivered to them, at the ſame price that other Foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the narrow Seas, as well as for hindring all intercourſe, and Traffique into the ſaid *Low-Countries*, a Navy ſhould be equipped of fifteene thouſand Men, beſides Marriners and Seamen. Whereof *Francis* ſhould furniſh tenne thouſand, and *Henry* five thouſand, each of them at their proper coſt and charges. That at *Calais*, *Abbeville*, or other the moſt commodious Townes, under the obedience of the ſaid Kings, certaine privileged Marts or Fayers ſhould be appointed, and that thoſe Merchants which uſually frequented the *Low-Countries*, ſhould be drawn and invited thither, by all meanes poſſible. That the number of their ſaid Armies, both by Sea and Land, ſhould bee kept intire, and that the Townes, and ſtrong places, which were conquered, and priſoners taken, ſhould be equally divided betwixt the ſaid Kings. And that the Spices and other Merchandize of the Portugall ſhips, paſſing by the narrow Seas, ſhould not be permitted to be ſold in the *Low-Countries*; but onely in *France*, and *England*, while the ſaid warre continued, according to the proportion of that uſe and neceſſity, that either of the ſaid Kingdoms ſhould have thereof; Provided yet that, if the King of *Portugall* did declare himſelfe in favour of *Charles*, that, in this Caſe, he ſhould be held as their Common Enemy, and his goods and Subjects adjudg'd as good prize. And that the like courſe ſhould be held withall others who ſuccour'd the Emperor in his ſaid warres; which neither of the ſaid Kings ſhould abandon or leave off, or otherwiſe Treat of any Peace, Truce or other Ceſſation of Armes, without mutuall conſent. That place ſhould be reſerv'd for the Pope, Venetians, and *Franceſco Sforza*, to be compriſed in the ſaid confederation; upon condition yet, they ſhould continue the warre begun by them in *Italy*, as long as the ſaid Kings proceeded in their wars in the *Low-Countries*. That the ſaid *Francis* ſhould diſpoſe *Henry de Albret* King of *Navarre*, as alſo the Duke of *Gueldres*, and *Robert de la March*, *Sieur de Sedan*, to make warre, on their part, upon the Countries of *Charles* next adjoyning to them. That if *John Sepuſe*, *Vayrode* of *Tranſylvania*, (pretending to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, againſt *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, and brother of the ſaid *Charles*) have not yet allied himſelfe with the Turke, and that the ſaid King of *Bohemia* did any way aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the ſaid Kings; that then, by their joynt Letters, they ſhould animate and comfort the ſaid *John Sepuſe* to the defence of his cauſe, to the end hee might both abſtaine from any dependencie on the Turke, and that hee might divert the ſuccour of the ſaid King of *Bohemia*. That alſo, by their joynt Letters,

1527.

1527. ters, they ſhould ſignifie to the Princes of *Germany* this confederation, together with the cauſes thereof, to the end they might forbeare giving aſſiſtance to the Emperor, and be excited to bring the ſaid Emperor unto reaſon, which whenſoever the ſaid Emperor would accept, *Francis* ſhould condeſcend thereunto, by the intervention of *Henry*.

3. By the third Treaty, true, ſolid, firme, perpetuall, and inviolable peace, amity, union, confederation, League, intelligence, and concord between the ſaid Kings, and their poſterity, even to the end of the world, was accorded, by Decree, and Law, obliging them, and all Kings their ſucceſſors, no leſſe then the Oathes they take at their Sacrings and Coronations. According whereunto, they did reſpectively promiſe and agree, that the ſaid Kings and their Succeſſors, ſhould never be inquieted or moleſted, by them or any of their Succeſſors, being Kings, in the Lands, Countries and Seigneuries, which either of them held for the preſent; which therefore they and their heires ſhould quietly poſſeſſe for ever. In conſideration whereof, the ſaid *Francis* did bind himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours, Kings of *France*, to pay, every yeare, at two ſeverall termes, after the deceaſe of the ſaid King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors, forty ſix thouſand Crownes *de Soleil*, and twenty foure *Sols Tournois*, without deduction or prejudice of the ſumme of eighteen hundred thouſand Dcc, xxxvi. Crownes *de Soliel*, xxxii. *Sols*, due to the ſaid *Henry*, by Obligation, and Treaty of the xxx. *Auguſt*. 1525. or of that which ſhould remaine to be paid after his deceaſe; moreover the ſaid *Francis* bound himſelfe, and his Succeſſors, Kings of *France*, to give of the Salt of *Brouage* yearly, as well to the ſaid *Henry*, as to his Succeſſors, to the value of 15000 Crowns, as is above mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any Subject or Ally of the ſaid Kings contrary to this third Treaty, that their Peace and Amity ſhould not yet be broken, but that the offenders and Delinquents only ſhould be puniſhed. and in every one of the ſaid three Treaties, an expreſſe Article was inſerted, that the precedent Treaty of *Auguſt* 30. 1525. ſhould be by them confirm'd, and, no wayes, infring'd, or diminiſhed. Laſtly, by Letter or Agreement apart, bearing Date likewiſe 1527, the ſaid Kings declared, that they would have themſelves held, underſtood, and reputed as one and the ſame, and that either of them ſhould be ſtill concern'd in the other. Theſe Treaties being concluded and * ſworne, (yet ſo as the Biſhop of *Tarbe* made not a few doubts concerning the Princeſſe *Maries* Legitimation) which we ſhall finde afterward occaſioned the devorce, they were diſmiſt, and Honorably rewarded, and afterwards (as I finde) ſent by *Francis* to *Spaine*.

May 5.

While theſe things paſſed, the Pope, aſſoone as the Imperials had quitted *Rome*, and left him at his liberty, ſends to our King a Letter,

Septemb.

Septemb. 24. complaining of the indignities offered to his Perſon by *Moncada*, and the *Colonneſi*, deſiring his Grace to ſet his hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the Apoſtolique See. Moreover he told our Ambaſſadors, (as they write) that if the King of *England*, by whoſe incouragement (he ſaith) he enter'd this Labyrinth, will yet effectually aſſiſt him, and the French King, amend his former ſlackneſſe, &c. he will do as hee did before, notwithſtanding this late agreement with *Moncada*, to which he holds himſelfe not bound, becauſe he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our King in *November*, ſent him about thirty thouſand Duckats for a preſent. The Pope thus being heartned, cites the Cardinall *Colonna* to appeare at *Rome* upon paine of deprivation of his dignity: he, on the other ſide threatning to call a Councell againſt him, and depoſe him as a Simoniac; The Pope, hereupon, gathers an Army, and with about ten thouſand men, led by the *Conte de Vandemont*, brother to the Duke of *Lorraine* (to whom the Pope now pretended to give *Naples* as the right of his family) enters the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers places belonging to the *Colonneſi*, and approcheth the very Gates of *Naples*. But now new ſuccours comming from *Spaine*, the Pope was diſtreſſed and glad to Treat againe with *Lanoy* the Vice-Roy, and to give the Imperialiſts ſixty thouſand Duckats, whereupon alſo it was agreed that the Armies ſhould retire on either ſide, and a Ceſſation of war ſhould be accorded, for eight moneths. But the Pope finding this accord alſo too diſadvantageous (as having diſarm'd himſelfe thereby, and diſcontented both the French and our King) intends to diſavow it, and to provide himſelfe of Money) by creating 14 Cardinals, for which he had three hundred thouſand Duckats; But *Bourbon* prevented his attempts. For being actually generall of the Imperialls (who for want of pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage) he takes a pretext to invade *Rome* it ſelfe; For (as the intelligence in our Records hath it) comming neare that City *May* 5. He ſent to the Pope for leave to paſſe through it, and his Territories into the Realm of *Naples*, and to have victualls for his Money; But the Pope denying it, *Bourbon* reſolves to aſſault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri* an old Commander defended. But *Bourbon* having an Army of thirty thouſand Men, upon *May 6.* 1527. Marches directly to the walls; where carrying a Ladder before the reſt of the Souldiers with which he meant to ſcale the Town, a ſhot kill'd him; which kind of death ſome writers ſay, he call'd upon himſelfe, by a kind of Imprecation; when the laſt yeare, being at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their quiet at a great price, wiſhing he might be ſhot to death the firſt time, he went to the Field if they ſhould be oppreſſed any more, by ſuch payments, which yet hee forced them unto ſoone after. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, threw a Cloake over, his Body, as fearing it might diſcourage his Souldiers. But they whether out of

1527. Septemb. 1526.

Novemb.

Feb.

March. 29.

Record.

May 5. *Guicciard.* 18

May. 6

Bellay.

1527. indignation for this losse, or greedinesse to sack the Towne, enter'd it with fury; killing in the way divers Bishops, and surprizing some Cardinalls that were flying to the Castle Sant *Angelo*; The Pope and *Renzo de Cen.* being already retir'd thither with seventeene Cardinalls, and the Ambassadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Souldiers. The Prince of *Aurange* (who now tooke upon him the charge of Generall) did all that was possible to restraine the Souldiers, from their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwithstanding which, their impetuosity was such, that (without making difference betwixt holy places an prophane) they Ransack'd the City for the space of six or seven dayes, killing above five thousand Men. Not content with this yet, they laid Siege to the Castle, and brought the Pope to such necessity, that to free himselfe from further danger, He and thirteen Cardinalls, that now remain'd with him, agreed, That foure hundred thousand Duckats should bee paid to the Army within two moneths, and that the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, together with those of *Ostia*, and *Civica*, *Vecchia*, and other places, should be deliver'd into the hands of the Imperialists. That the Pope with the said Cardinals should remaine in the Castle, till part of the Money were paid, and good Hostages given for the rest. Which being done, that he should goe to *Gajeta*, or some other place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Emperors pleasure.

Sand.

May 11.

Grollier. Hist. Rom. dirept. Guicciard. L. 18.

June 5.

Guicciard. l. 18.

Hereupon the Guard and service of the Popes Person was Committed to *Hernando de Alancon* and victualls put into the Castle (where the Pope remaind under some restraint not free from danger) though otherwise reverenced in all apparance, according to his dignity. And now the Cardinall *Colonna*, and others that sided with the Emperor began to Treat Concerning a Generall Councell, Conformable to a late Bull of Pope *Iulius* the second, by which it was declared, that a Pope might bee deprived from his Place, and an other substituted, when there were Cause for it (And they pretended to prove this Pope a *Simoniac.*)

Sandov.

It was now the begining of *June* 1527. when the Emperor being at *Valedolid* took notice of this succesſe, divulg'd already over all *Christendome.* Nevertheless he shewd not any other sence thereof, then such as might be expected from one to whose ambition and power nothing could seem either great or new. Yet as he knew that all Christian Princes must needs be highly interessed in the imprisonment of the head of their Church, so he thought fit to satisfie them herein. Among all which none seem'd so considerable as our King. To whom therefore in a letter dated from *Valledolid*, 2 *Au.* 1527 He made a kind of Apology for these proceedings; beginning first with giving an account thereof, then demanding our Kings advice;

June. *Sandov.*

thereupon

thereupon declaring alſo the cauſes why his Army could not be withheld from invading of *Rome*. Yet ſo, as he diſclaimed any part, either the counſeling or authoriſing thereof. Notwithſtanding which (as God could draw good out of evill) ſo he hoped a benefit might redownd to *Chriſtendome* thereby. Wherefore, that he ſhould intreat him again, as his good Unkle and Brother; that he would ſend his Opinion what further was to be done in this caſe. And particularly, that he would aſſiſt him againſt the Enemies of our Faith; againſt whom, when their inteſtine Wars were compos'd, he reſolved to imploy his Blood and Life. He forgot not alſo, upon the* inſtance of ours and the French Ambaſſadors for the Popes liberty to *write gently unto his Highneſſe, offering his love and friendſhip in caſe he deſired it. But to the chiefe Officers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, and *Franceſco de les Angeles* Generall of the Franciſcans, he ſent Inſtructions, which for ſome ſpace amuſed them. For he commanded to ſet the Pope at liberty, yet ſo as together they ſhould provide, that from a friend he ſhould not become an enemy. The Prince of *Aurange*, *Hernando de Alancon*, and ſome other principall Commanders met hereupon; where, after a long conſultation, how to reconcile and interpret this Riddle, they reſolved at laſt, that to deſpoile the Pope firſt of his Money, and then to deliver him, was the beſt way to comply with their Inſtructions. After therefore having extorted great ſums, not onely for the Emperors Occaſions, but their own; he was diſmiſſed out of the Caſtle of St *Angelo*, as ſhall be told in its place. Yet ſo, as they ſuffered him not to depart out of their reach; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwiſe; ſo that although by the former Convention he was to be removed to *Gaiera*, ten Miles diſtant thence; or ſome other place belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples* (whither not onely the burning of his Pallace, Library and Records did ſeeme to compell him, but the Peſtilence then raging in that City; (whereof alſo *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* died; into whoſe charge therefore *Hugo de Moncada*, mueh againſt the Popes will ſucceeded;) yet, ſaith *Guiccardine*, with much diligence, intreaty, and Art, hee procured to ſtay in *Rome*. From whence upon the firſt ſurrender of the Caſtle hee complained (as I finde by our Records) to our King and Cardinall; proteſting that all the helpe and ſuccour hee could expect in this extremity, was from hence, and therefore implored his aſſiſtance. Which Petition therefore hee cauſed to be ſeconded by the thirteene Cardinals then with him, and to be diſpatched hither by *Gregory de Caſalis*, our Kings Agent in *Rome*, and now returning to *England*.

1527.

July 20, Aug. 2.

Aug. 2. *Sand. v.*

Octob.

June 6.

This while the Ambaſſadors of our King in *Spaine* mediated potently for delivery of the Hoſtages upon more reaſonable terms then had been hereunto propoſed; and in concluſion ſo prevailed, that

1527. that (as *Sandoval* hath it) *Charles* protested to our Ambassadors, that for his sake onely he would relinquish his demand for the restitution of *Burgundy*, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well for the ransome of the two sonnes of *Francis*, as for the recompence of the great expences he was at for breach of the Concord of *Madrid*, the sum onely which *Francis* had offered voluntarily long before to *Charles de Lanoy* (which were 2000000 Crowns) upon condition yet that *Francis* should observe the rest of the Articles in the said Concord. But all this againe was interrupted by the continuall intelligence of the Popes imprisonment, which so incensed our King that he would not so much as vouchsafe an answer to the above mentioned Letter of *Charles*, but prepared to joyn in a stricter League with *Francis*, as judging that *Charles* would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to Universall Monarchy.

March 14. Thi while *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* sent Ambassadors hither to invite our King to joyn against the Turke Notwithstanding which, as *Iohn Sepusé Vayvod* of *Transylvania*, pretending he

Sleid lib.6. was chosen King of *Hungary* by the greater part of the Nobility, had lately complained of *Ferdinands* usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, so no other satisfaction was returned, but a Protestation made by Sir *Thomas More*, that the fault was not our Kings if more were not done therein; all these miseries which he so much lamented being occasioned by the Ambition of

Hall. *Charles* the Emperor, his Brother who (notwithstanding his media-

May 3. tion) could not be induced to accept the overtures generally proposed him for a peace. And that till this were done, the Turke must needs prevaile. Whereupon the Ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismissed.

Our King at this time intended to proceed according to his Treaty with *Francis*; but as he now heard that *Rome* was sack'd, he made

May 29. *May* 29. a new confederacy with him, by which they agreed mutu-

Tillet. ally to desist from their warre in the Low-Countries, and to transport it into *Italy*; according to which, *Francis* obliged himselfe to send an Army of 30000 Foot and 1000 great horse, to joyn with the Venetians, and others of the Clementine League. And that *Henry* should contribute thereunto Monethly 32222 Crowns *de Soleil*, to be deducted out of the Money which the said *Francis* owed him; And that this Contribution should be understood to be in lieu of those Forces, which by the late Treaty he should have furnished for the Wars in the *Low-countries*. And that therefore all the other Articles of the said Treaty should remain in full effect and vertue. It was agreed also that *Henry* might send a Commissary which should visit the Army in *Italy*, and advertise him of all passages. For the better accomplishment of which Treaties, Sir *Thomas Bolen*

Knight

Knight, lately * made Viſcount *Rochforte*, and Sir *Anthony Browne* being joyned in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Bath* (then Reſident at *Paris*) were commanded to ſee *Francis* ſworne thereunto, which accordingly was performed. Sir *Francis Pointz* Knight alſo, upon the tenth of *May* 1527, was ſent to *Spaine*, where Doctor *Edward Lee*, and *Hierome* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (lately come from *Rome*, and diſpatched to the Emperour) were reſident on the part of our King. To accompany him in which journey and negotiation, *Clarenceaux* King of Armes was ſent to act his part, when the gentle perſwaſions of our Ambaſſadors could not prevaile. The Propoſition on their part to be made, was briefly this, That in regard our King was at halfe the charge of the warre, *Charles* ſhould ſend him halfe the Prize and Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hoſtages; and that if he denied, *Clarenceaux* ſhould denounce him Warre. To this rough meſſage, *Charles* anſwered with much gravity; That the Propoſition made was of great moment on either part. So that whether hee accepted or refuſed it, it was fit hee tooke time to adviſe with himſelfe, both that his good will to our King might be conſerv'd, and *Francis* might be uſed according to his demerits, who had ſo perfidiouſly behaved himſelfe, that hee had broke his promiſe almoſt before he made it. Therefore that hee would declare his reſolution by Letters unto *Henry*; and that, till then, he would make them no abſolute Anſwer. All which was done purpoſely by *Charles*, that hee might gaine time. Our King and *Francis* being advertiſed of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Popes diſtreſſe would no longer intermit to give order for their owne, as well as the generall Affaires of *Chriſtendome*. Therefore our Cardinall was commanded to *France* both for concluding the marriage of our Princeſſe *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleans* his ſonne, (as is before mentioned) as alſo for other occaſions, which ſhall be hereafter declared. Though whatſoever they treated concerning her marriage in ſo many places, and with perſons of ſo different ages, her Husband, *Philip* the ſecond, was now but newly born at *Valedolid*, *May* 21. 1527.

1527. June 18. 1527. May 10. July 3.

The Cardinall having kiſt the Kings hand, and received his Inſtructions, arrived at *Calais* with a Noble Equipage, being neere a thouſand Horſe, the eleventh of *July* 1527. departing thence towards *Boulogne*, (leaving yet the great Seale behind him in *Calais* with Doctor *Taylor* Maſter of the Rolles;) where he was met by *Monſieur de Byron* with a thouſand Horſe, and after by *John* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and the Chancellour of *Alancon*, who accompanied him in his way to *Monſcreüil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*. *Francis* in the meane time aſſuring

July 11. July 22. *Stow.* July 23, July 24.

1527. ring him by Letter, that Himſelfe and Madame *Loüiſe* his Mother would meet him at *Amiens*, as ſoone as he had confiſcated the Lands of *Bourbon*, and extinguiſhed his Title and Dignity. This occaſioned the Cardinals ſtay for ſome daies, yet ſo as hee wanted not a juſt exerciſe for that power which *Francis* had given him, whereſoever hee went to releaſe all thoſe priſoners hee thought capable of mercy. While hee ſtaid thus at *Abbeville*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee*, our Kings Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, ſent him the Emperours demands, in caſe the reſtitution of *Francis* his Children were propos'd; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highneſſe ſo thought fitting. Hereof therefore, by
July 29. a Letter dated the twenty nine of *July* 1527, hee advertiſed our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperour were determined to traine the Pope to *Spaine*, (to which alſo hee heard the Pope was inclin'd) yet that the project was ſo dangerous, as it was not by any meanes to be ſuffered; ſince, thereby *Charles* might both eſtabliſh the Imperiall Authority in *Rome*, and ſeize on the Patrimony of the Church, or at leaſt conſtraine him to furniſh what money he would, and together compell him to make ſo many Cardinals of the Spaniſh faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to Elect what Succeſſour hee pleaſed. Neither did hee ſee how this could be avoyded, unleſſe *Andrea Doria* were commanded to uſe the Fleet he had then at Sea, for intercepting of the Pope; who, what ſhew ſoever he made of willingneſſe to come to
Jun. 6. 1527. the Emperour, complained yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Popes owne hand in Cipheres, to his Highneſſe, and conveyed by *Gregory de Caſalis*, might appeare; which alſo was confirmed by divers Cardinals then attending him. Beſides, that it were convenient, that the Forces his Highneſſe was bound to furniſh for the warres of *Italy*, ſhould be joyned with *Lautrech*, (who was now deſigned by *Francis* to purſue the warre there) and imployed to hinder the Popes paſſage; In which affaire alſo, ſome Princes of *Italy* might be drawne to concurre, when his Highneſſe would write to them; All which was the rather to be ſpeeded, that the Biſhop of *Worceſter* had written from *Spaine*, that the Emperour went to ſow diviſion betwixt him and *Francis*. This Letter was ſeconded by another of the ſame date, which yet contained onely an overture for a meeting betwixt Madame *Loüiſe* and himſelfe, on the one part, and the Emperour on the other, at *Perpignan*; wherein all theſe difficulties ſhould be reſolved.
July 31. Moreover, by a Letter dated from *Abbeville* the 31 of *July*, he certifies the King, how *Monſieur de Bouclans* had propos'd on the Emperours part, a match betwixt the Duke of *Richmond*

mond, naturall ſonne to our King, and the daughter of *Portugall* with *Millan* for Dowry; which yet (as being colourable oney) he thought fit ſhould not be much inſiſted on. Onely, becauſe it was neceſſary to keepe good correſpondence with the Emperour, hee thought it not amiſſe to entertaine ſpeech thereof. And together (by a Letter the firſt of *Auguſt*) to deſire our Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, to quench all Rumors concerning a Divorce bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to aſſure the Emperour, that the firſt originall thereof aroſe onely from the objection which the Biſhop of *Tarbe* (when he was lately in *England*) made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princeſſe *Mary*. At laſt, *Francis*, together with Madame *Leüiſſe* his Mother, comming to *Amiens*, the Cardinall with all his Traine ſets forth from *Abbeville*; whereof notice being given, *Francis* being Royally attended, meets him a mile and halfe out of the Towne; And, after Proteſtations that he owed his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his lodgtng. Shortly after which, the Cardinall obtaining Audience, declared his buſineſſe, conſiſting principally in three points.

1527

Aug. 1.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 4.

Firſt, *To require the Reſolution of* Francis *concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before mentioned.*

Secondly, *To adviſe concerning the meanes of making Peace with the Emperour; upon ſuch termes as the reſtitution of* Francis *his Children might be procured.*

Thirdly, *To determine how the Pope might be delivered out of Captivity*; (for which purpoſe our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Cardinall carried over with him 240000 li. of our Kings Treaſure.)

Holinſhed.

To the firſt, it was anſwered, *That the Duke of* Orleans (*as more ſuiting in yeers*) *ſhould be recommended to the Princeſſe* Mary.

To the ſecond, *That* Francis *for reobtaining of his Children, would, among other things, renounce his claime in* Milan.

To the third, *Little more was ſaid, then that the Pope* (*as ſoon as poſſible*) *ſhould be ſet free, by Mediation, or Force.*

Beſides which points, an interview was propoſed on our Kings part, betwixt him and *Francis*; but *Francis* excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of the great Charges he muſt be at till his Children were redeemed, the motion was urged no farther.

After this, *Francis* brought our Cardinall to *Compeigne*; from whence he wrote to the King, that howſoever *Francis* did

1527. did promiſe to renounce *Milan*; yet, that it was beſt not overſtrictly to tie him to it untill his Highneſſe diſcovered whether the Emperour would really conferre it in Dowry upon the match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much ſatisfaction by the Cardinals Negotiation, writ a Letter with his own hand, acknowledging therein the good ſervice he had done him and the Kingdome divers waies; and particularly in

Aug. 18. three Treaties, concluded *Auguſt* 18. 1527, which, by the French and our Records, I finde thus related.

1. The firſt Treaty was concerning the Princeſſe *Mary*; who (according to the reference formerly made) was to marry the Duke of *Orleans*, reſerving notwithſtanding unto a further time, the particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Tranſportation of the ſaid Duke into *England*, the charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermote it was declared, that if the ſaid marriage, either by death, or conſent of both Kings, or any other accident, tooke no effect, That yet the other Treaties betwixt the ſaid Kings (being of the thirty of *Auguſt* 1525. and of the laſt of *April* 1527.) ſhould remaine in full force. The interview of the two Kings, which (the laſt of *April*) was agreed to be at *Calais*, was remitted to a further time. The contribution, to which the ſaid *Henry* obliged himſelfe for the warre of *Italy*, was expreſſed to be twenty thouſand *Eſcus de Soleil* for *June*, and for *July* thirty thouſand, and for every of the Moneths of *Auguſt*, *September*, *October*, thirty two thouſand two hundred twenty two Crownes. Upon condition yet, that the ſaid Contribution ſhould be abated proportionably, if the number of Souldiers imployed in the ſaid warre were diminiſhed. That, after the ſaid Moneth of *October* *Henry* ſhould contribute no more; and that, if peace were made ſooner, he ſhould be diſcharged of the ſaid Contribution. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his money ſpent in this warre, as long as the perpetuall Peace was conſerved.

2. By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, that the ſaid *Henry* ſhould not charge himſelfe with the protection and aſſurance of the peace, whenſoever it ſhould be concluded betwixt *Francis* and *Charles*: but in caſe onely that the ſaid Peace could not otherwiſe be made, which therefore ſo hapning, the ſaid *Francis* did agree, that he ſhould take the ſaid protection and warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing ſhould be attempted by him by reaſon thereof, either againſt him, his Kingdome, or Subjects. Moreover, the ſaid *Henry* conſented, that, for the good of the intended Peace, the marriage betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora* Siſter to *Charles*, ſhould be validated and confirmed; upon condition yet, that thereby

thereby no prejudice ſhould follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any peace were made with *Charles*, by which *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould enjoy *Milan*, it was declared by the ſaid Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certaine Penſions aſſigned to either of them, upon the ſaid Dutchy, by the League of *Italy*, when *Franceſco* ſhould refuſe to pay them. That if warre were commenc'd by the ſaid Kings againſt *Charles*, upon his refuſall of the conditions offered to him, then the like Priviledges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the Engliſh Merchants had a (yeere ſince) in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, they ſhould now have in other places under the obedience of *Francis*, as long as the ſaid warres ſhould laſt; the ſaid places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter. 1527.

By the third Treaty, it was concluded betwixt the ſaid Kings, that no Councell-Generall, ſummoned by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperours authority, ſhould take effect; and, that for this purpoſe they ſhould cauſe their Clergy on either ſide, by publique and ſolemne proteſtations to renounce and deteſt all ſuch Convocation. That any Commandement, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the ſaid Pope, being in captivity, and tending to the dammage of the ſaid Kings or Subjects, and eſpecially to the prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, ſhould neither be obeyed by them, nor ſuffered to be obeyed; but that they ſhould be declared as of no effect, and the bringers of them puniſhed. That during the ſaid Captivity of the Pope, whatſoever by the Cardinall of *Yorke* (aſſiſted by the Prelates of *England* aſſembled and called together by the Authority of the ſaid King) ſhould be determined concerning the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſticall Affaires in the ſaid kingdome of *England*, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the ſaid *Henry*, ſhould (the conſent of the ſaid King being firſt had) be decreed and obſerved. (To confirme which power, the Pope* ſent him a Bull, to be Vicar-Generall throughout all the Kings Dominions.) It was alſo agreed, that *Francis* and his Clergy ſhould have the like power in *France*, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the Taſte that our King took of governing (in Chiefe) the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the diſſolution of Monaſteries, it ſeemes the firſt Arguments and Impreſſions were derived from the Cardinall; Who having now in a Conference with certaine Cardinals at *Campeigne*, reſolved that the aforeſaid Order for the goverment of the Church was in theſe times requiſite, tooke on him the charge of our Eccleſiaſticall Affaires (though *Guiccairdine*

Tillet.

Hall.

Sr Roger Dwisden in his Hiſtorie vindicat. of ye church of England fro Schiſme p. 107. Edit. Lond. 1655. is of another opinion in his notes. of which by and by.

without aduenture (ſayth he) the Cardinall neither did, nor durſt have moved one ſtep in making ye Eccleſiaſticks liſs dependent on ye Lapacy, ye from common law or cuſtom [illegible]

1527. *ciardine* write that he ſent for a Bull to be Legate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and the Imperialiſts gave out that he attempted to make himſelfe Pope of the Engliſh and French Church, by a Schiſme from the See of *Rome*.) The paſſages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to *Rome* *Septemb.* 16, *Woelſey* prepared to returne. Whereupon *Francis*
Sept. 21. not onely richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Towne, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the Titular King of *Navarre*, the Popes Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinall now haſting homeward, came to *Calais*, where having eſtabliſhed a Mart, hee arrived
Sept. 30. at Court toward the end of *September*, where much demonſtration of affection was given him by our King. To correſpond with this Ambaſſade, *Francis* ſent *Anne de Montmorancy* *Grand-Maiſtre*, *John du Bellay* Biſhop of *Bayonne*, *John Brinon* the Primier Preſident *de Roüen*, and *le Seigneur de Humieres*, as
Bellay. his Ambaſſadours to ratifie the ſaid League here. Theſe, with
Octob. 20. divers other Cavaliers, (being in all about ſix hundred horſe) were conducted to *London*, *October* 20. and lodged in the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace. After which, Audience being given
Novem. 10. them, they were *Novemb.* 10. entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a Feaſt (the moſt ſumptuous, ſaith *Bellay*, that ever I ſaw) and then with a Comedy, in which his daughter the Princeſſe was an Actor. On this day alſo the King of *England* received at the hands of *Montmorancy*, the Order of St *Michael*; And *Francis*, with no leſſe ſolemnity, that of the Garter, in *Paris*. For which purpoſe, our King had ſent over *Arthur* *Plantagenet* Viſcount *Liſle* (naturall ſonne to King *Edward* the fourth,) Sir *Nicholas Carew* Maſter of his Horſe, Sir *Anthony* *Browne*, all Knights of this Order, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* Garter-Herauld. Both Princes likewiſe giving their Oath and Seale (which was in Gold) for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of theſe Treaties, thinkes fit to prevent the execution of them, by a timely conſent unto all that could in reaſon be expected from him. Therefore at *Palentia*, *Septemb.* 15. he offered this Agrecment unto the French,
Sept. 15. Engliſh, and other Ambaſſadours reſiding in his Court; which
Sand. alſo for the preſent they ſeemed to accept. That the Article for the reſtitution of *Burgundy* ſhould be raſed out of the Concord of *Madrid*, reſerving ſtill to the Emperour his Right. That *Francis* ſhould pay for the ranſome of his ſonnes, the two Millions of Crownes which were offered. And that out of them ſo much ſhould be allowed, as would pay our King. Furthermore, that *Francis* ſhould take upon him to ſatisfie *Henry*, as well as to keepe *Charles* indemnified from the Obligation,

ligation, by which hee tyed himſelfe in *London* by particular Treaty, which was, that he ſhould pay unto *Henry* the ancient penſion which *Francis* payd him, together with any other ſumme that *Francis* ſhould refuſe to pay onely becauſe he ſaid *Henry* had declared himſelfe his enemy. That the French ſhould oblige themſelves to reſtore *Genoüa*, and all the reſt that they had taken in *Lombardy*, before the Hoſtages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of *Milan*, *Charles* ſhould nominate and appoint certaine Judges, who ſhould determine the cauſe betwixt them. And that if hee were not found culpable, then his eſtate ſhould be reſtored to him, and the inveſtiture given him; otherwiſe, that the Emperour ſhould diſpoſe thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the reſt, the Concord of *Madrid* ſhould be obſerved, ſaving in ſome few points of ſmall importance. When theſe Articles were approved on both ſides, the Ambaſſadors of *France* ſaid, that they wanted ſufficient Authority from their King to ſigne them, which yet they promiſed to ſend for, and procure. And ſo the concluſion of peace at this time was deferred on their parts. *Charles* not much tronbled herewith, returnes to his former Arts of dividing our King from *Francis*. Therefore he ſends privately to the Cardinall (now returned from *France*) offering him, beſides his ordinary Penſion, large ſummes for this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding which (ſaith *Polydore*) becauſe he had denied him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, to which (if we may believe the ſame Author) he vehemently aſpired, he was found inexorable. 1527. *Polydor. Virg.*

This yeere our King ſent out two faire ſhips to diſcover new Regions, then daily found out by the Portuguez and Spaniard; though, as no ſucceſſe followed thereupon, I doe not finde the deſigne purſued. May 20. *Hall.*

This while, *Monſieur de Lautrech* made ready an Army of twenty ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, for the affaires of *Italy*; and, about *July*, paſſed the *Alpes*. Wherewith the Clementine League (whoſe Forces were eleven thouſand Foot, and about one thouſand ſix hundred Horſe) being much encouraged, an Anſwer was ſent to the Propoſitions made by the Emperor, to the Ambaſſadours of the League, at *Palentia*. For which purpoſe a Secretary of *Francis* came the twelfth of *December* 1527. to *Burges* (where *Charles* then was) publiſhing by the way that he brought a finall Reſolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order onely to defie *Charles*, as will appeare afterwards. Yet, to ſhew ſome deſire of Accommodation, the Ambaſſadours of *England* and *France* deſired, two points of the Treaty of *Palentia* ſhould be altered in this manner. The firſt was, that *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to July. Decemb. 12.

his

1527. his Eſtate; and, afterwards, juſtice done concerning the complaints made againſt him. The other was, that the Hoſtages ſhonld be remanded, before *Francis* ſhould deliver vp *Genoüa* or *Aſti*, or withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. And to induce *Charles* hereunto, it was offered by the French, to put ſecurity into the hands of our King, for the payment of three hundred thouſand Duckats to *Charles*, in caſe of not rendring the ſaid Townes, and withdrawing his Army. *Charles* replied, that though all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of *Palentia*; yet, to ſhew his deſire of peace, he wonld put ſecurity for payment of ſo much money into the hands of our king, in caſe the French would agree to performe that which was concluded on their part; But the French Ambaſſadour ſaying, he had no Order to make any other end, then what was propoſed, this great affaire remained ſuſpended.

Our Ambaſſadour perceiving this, proceeds upon his Inſtructions, and makes foure demands.

1. The firſt was, That without any delay, *Charles* ſhould pay to the King his Maſter all that was lent him heretofore.

2. The next was, That he ſhould pay him a penalty of five hundred thouſand Ducats, becauſe he did not marry the Princeſſe *Mary*, as was agreed.

3. The third was, that he ſhould ſatisfie for the indemnity he undertooke to diſcharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of war againſt *Francis*, (whereof mention is made formerly) which from the time it was due, was foure yeeres and foure moneths.

4. Fourthly, that he ſhould deliver the Pope; and make him ſatisfaction for the loſſe and dammage he had ſuſtained.

To which *Charles* anſwered, That hee marvelled why the King ſhould preſſe him ſo much, ſince hee never denyed the Debt; and that, if they required from him the Money, they ſhould give him the ſecurity he entered into for the payment thereof. But our Ambaſſador ſaying, that they were kept among the Archives and Records of *England*; and that, for the reſt, they were ſufficiently Authorized to give him an Acquittance; *Charles* knew not well how to argue the matter further. As for the penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he ſaid hee would ſend an expreſſe Meſſenger into *England*, to acquaint our King with the Reaſons why he did not hold himſelfe bound to give any ſuch ſatisfaction. And for the delivering of the Pope, he ſaid Order was, and ſhould be given. And indeed, I finde that about this very time, the Pope recovered his liberty. Which becauſe it was occaſioned by the proceeding of the French in *Italy*, let us looke backe awhile on thoſe affaires.

The

The Army of the League formerly-mentioned, being commanded by *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech* (an able Generall) great hope was conceived; Both as he was supported by our King, and *Francis*, and the Venetians, at a common charge; (whereof our Kings part, according to the French Hiſtory, was 60000 Angelots the moneth) as that the Imperiall Army, which ſackt *Rome*, was much conſumed with the Plague. By Sea alſo, *Andrea Doria* of *Genoua*, who had the command of the French Kings Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed with a ſtrong Fleet to ſecond him; who, accordingly, ſo ſcour'd all the coaſt of *Genoua*, that no ſhipping on thoſe quarters durſt appeare. This cauſed great ſcarcity of victuals there; which being advertis'd to *Doria*, and afterwards to *Lautrech*, hee ſends *Cæſar Fregoſo* with 2000 men thither; who, together with *Doria*, ſo preſt that City on both ſides, that, at laſt, it yeilded; Whereupon *Theodoro de Trivulci* was made Governour of it, on the behalfe of the French King. After this, *Lautrech* took (in the name of *Sforza*, and for his uſe) *Alexandria*, the Country of *Lomeline*, the Cities of *Vigueua*, *Biagras*, and *Novarra*, and beſieged *Pavia*, to the great diſpleaſure of *Antonio de Leyva* (then Governour of *Milan*) who wanting ſouldiers for himſelfe, would yet ſpare ſome for defence of that Town. This did not hinder *Lautrech* yet to make a breach and enter it, at the ſecond aſſault, where, in revenge of the King his Maſters misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exerciſe all manner of licentious cruelty; And now *Milan* it ſelfe (which remained only to make an intire conqueſt of thoſe parts) began to ſhake; neither could it have reſiſted long, but that a Myſtery of State preſerv'd it. For, as *Lautrech*'s chiefe deſigne was on *Naples* (to which hee knew yet *Sforza* and the Venetians would not eaſily concur) ſo he thought fit to leave this ſtrong place intire, as well to keep them in exerciſe, as to draw from them a greater dependence on the King his Maſter. For he underſtood well, that when he had put a Garriſon in it in the name of *Sforza*, that hee and the Venetians would ſooner have excluded him from his further paſſage to *Naples*, then given him any aſſiſtance; which would have fruſtrated both his chiefe Deſignes, ſince *Francis* pretended alike Title to *Milan* and *Naples*. Beſides, the more moderate ſort approved this courſe; for when the event of War had been improſperous or doubtfull, it left a way open for Peace; while each party having ſomewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a generall Accommodation. Laſtly, theſe intentions of *Lautrech* were much facilitated by the intreaty of the Pope; who ſollicited him to expell the Remnant of the Imperiall Army from the Patrimony of the Church. *Lautrech*, hereupon, marcheth forwards; whereof *Antonio de Leyva* being informed, ſallies forth of *Milan*, and with his ſmall Forces, takes *Biagras*, and holds it, untill *Lautrech*, ſending *Pietro de Navarra* back with 6000 men, wan it again, and ſettled *Sforza* in the poſſeſſion thereof. *Lautrech* continuing thus his March, findes the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua* ready to joyn with him.

1527.

Bell.

Octob. 18.

Octob. 28.

Bel.

1527. The manner of weaker and inferiour ſort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puiſſant and victorious Army. The ſincerity yet of the Duke of *Ferrara* ſeemed queſtionable; both as hee had juſt cauſe to be offended with the Pope, and that hee had, a good while ſince, rang'd himſelfe with the Imperialiſts; Nevertheleſſe, upon the Treaty, of a Match betwixt his eldeſt Son, and *Renee* Daughter of *Lowis* the twelfth, all was compos'd, and hee receiv'd into the Confederacy. But among all, none was ſo much perplext as the Pope; who being not yet delivered from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him, to truſt to the faire words of *Charles* (whoſe Agents now treated with him,) or to the aſſiſtance of the League. Neither could he (when this latter part were reſolv'd) determine concerning the Seate of Warre. For as, to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at a diſtance, had been to leave himſelfe in Reſtraint ſtill; So, to invite him to his Territories, had been to expoſe his ſubjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore, he varyed ſtrangely in his private adviſes, anſwers, and Negotiations; inſomuch that *Lautrech*, at laſt, was neither ſcandalized with his denyalls, nor confirm'd with his promiſes. Howſoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to purſue his point; whereof *Charles* being advertis'd, reſolv'd by a timely and voluntary diſcharge of the Pope out of priſon, to prevent compulſion. Therefore hee ſends a particular diſpatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to ſet him free upon theſe conditions;

Oct.31. *Guicc.l.18.* That the Pope ſhall not oppoſe *Charles* in the affaires of *Milan* and *Naples*. That he ſhould grant him a *Croiſade* in *Spaine*, and a Tenth of all Eccleſiaſticall livings in all his Kingdomes. That *Oſtia* and *Civitavecchia* ſhould remain in the hands of *Charles*, for ſecurity hereof. That he ſhould conſigne to him *la Civita Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*, giving Hoſtages till it were done. That hee ſhould pay preſently to the Almaines 77000 Duckats, and to the Spaniard 35000; and that, 15 dayes after his departure out of *Rome*, he ſhould pay as much again to the Almains, and within three months after give the reſt, being in all about 300000 Duckats; and to deliver Hoſtages for performance hereof. *Oct.31.* Upon which Conditions he was to be ſet at liberty *December* 10. But the Pope prevented this, by eſcaping, in the habit of a Merchant, to *Monte Fiaſcone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the night before they promis'd to deliver him. *Dec 9.* His Hoſtages yet, the Cardinalls of *Ceſis* and *Orſino*, remain'd till the money were payd; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourſe to undecent wayes, making (as *Guiccardine* hath it) divers Cardinalls for money, which, otherwiſe, deſerv'd not that honour. *Guicc.l.18.* He alſo gave the Spaniards licence for the alienating of Eccleſiaſticall goods and poſſeſſions (and particularly in the Kingdome of *Naples*, to the value of 600000 Crownes, as our Records ſay) giving therein a beginning (as ſome obſerve) to that liberty which was afterwards taken in divers places. But neceſſity is a violent Counſellour. Howſoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to finde his perſon free from Guards,

but

but safe from attempts. The Cardinall *Colonna* (as a latter Author affirms) having labour'd much with *Hernando de Marçon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter, by night, and without other company but that of *Louis de Gonzaga* (the complice of his escape) to a Town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his money, hee found meanes, within a few moneths, to return to his former greatnesse and Authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word thereof to Cardinall *Wolsey*, acknowledging him a great instrument thereof; And, withall, certifies our King of his Estate, desiring him to continue his protection of the See of *Rome*. Our Cardinall also (who the last year had caused the Litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria Ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre*, &c. as *Charles* who kept him in prison, had caused to be done in *Spain*, though Ironically, as most men conceived it) now came, in great triumph, to St. *Pauls* in *London*, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be publikely made. The French Ambassadour in *Spaine* this while understanding well how matters were likely to passe, hastned the delivery of the Cartelles, of which the chiefe cause was ill usage of the Pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more solemnity and ostentation, all the Ambassadours of *England, France, Venice, Florence*, and the rest, desired leave of the Emperour to depart, saying their Commission was expir'd. To which *Charles* briefly answered, that hee would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their Masters Court. Hereupon, it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defie; which though the Spaniards relate with much particularity and circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their Historie.

1527. *Tarcagnota.* *Decemb.* 14. *Decemb.* 18. 1528. *Jan.* 10. *Hall.* *Sandov.*

¶ Upon the 22. of January *Anno Domini* 1528. *Charles* being at *Burgos*, *Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court, and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them; Hereupon the said Heraulds, holding their Coats of Armes in their left hand, after three low obeysances presented themselves before *Charles*, who sate in an high Throne, being attended by his chiefe Nobles and Counsellours. *Clarenceaux* (whom Sir *Francis Pointz*, being now returned to *England*, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying; *Jan.* 22.

Sire, According to the Lawes and Edicts inviolably guarded by the Roman Emperours your Predecessors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, Wee two in the name of our Kings, do present our selves before your Sacred Majesty, to declare some things, on their part, beseeching your Majestie, that, having respect to the above-mention'd Lawes and Edicts, you would, out of your benignity and Clemency, vouchsafe to give us security and good usage in your Dominions, while we attend your Answer, and that you would grant us a safe Conduct, till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Masters. The Emperour promising to accord this, *Guienne* reads a Cartell, sent from the King his Master, the substance whereof was, That because *Charles* would not condescend to an honest and fitting

1528. conclusion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of *England* that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at liberty, nor leave Italy in quietnesse; The King, my Master, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great griefe and displeasure, as also of his good Brother the King of *England*, that he shall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notifying to you, that, from this day forwards, he intends not to keep any contract or agreement that may be for your profit and advantage, but that he will doe you, and your Subjects, all the harme he can, by Warre or otherwise, untill, upon honest and fitting conditions, you restore his Sons, put the Pope in liberty, pay the King of *England* that you owe him, and leave in peace and Repose all his Allyes and Confederates. Nevertheless, he offers XL. dayes respite for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Dated *November* 11. 1527. and Signed,

Guienne King of Armes.

Charles hereunto replyed presently, That he had understood all he had sayd on the part of the King his Master, and that he did marvell much, that he should defy him, since, being his prisoner of Warre, and having his Faith plighted to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seemed strange to him, that he should defy him now; since he had made Warre with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himselfe. As for that yee say of the Pope, none is more sorry than my selfe, for what is pass'd, as being done without my knowledge, or Consent; But, for that, I must advertize you, that I received assured Newes yesterday, that the Pope is at liberty. As for the Sonnes of the King your Master he knows well I hold them as Hostages, and his Ambassadours know as well, that it is not my fault, if they be not delivered. As for that you say on the part of the King of *England* my good Vncle and Brother, I beleeve that he is not well inform'd of all the passages in these affairs; otherwise, that he would not have sent me this message. But I shall advertize him of the whole truth, and doe believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never denyed the Money he lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by right I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he will needs make Warre against me, I can doe no lesse than defend my selfe, and pray to God, he give me not more occasion to make Warre against him, than I have given him against me. As for the rest, I desire to have your Cartell under your hand, that I may answer more particularly. Hereupon *Guienne* tooke his Coate of Armes and put it on.

Sand. Then *Clarenceaux*, not by writing but by word of mouth, spake to this effect. *Sire*, The King my Supreme Lord and Master, considering the necessity of Peace in the Christian World, as well for resisting the Turke, (who having taken the Isle of *Rhodes* and Fortresse

treſſe of *Belgrado*, intends yet further conqueſts) as for repreſſing the Hereſies and Sects that are newly riſen; and finding that your Commanders and Army have lately Sack'd the City of *Rome*, and taken our holy Father priſoner, together with divers Cardinalls, who have been alſo put to Ranſome, and that the Churches have been ſacrilegiouſly profan'd, and all manner of Religious Orders put to the ſword; inſomuch that by theſe Cruelties, and Miſchiefes, the ayre and earth have been infected, and the anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure not Reparation for them; And, becauſe the Roote and beginning of theſe Warres proceeds from the contention and debates between you and the moſt Chriſtian King; The King my Maſter, for giving an end to theſe differences, hath, by his Ambaſſadours, propos'd to you, ſeverall times, ſuch honeſt Conditions, that you ought not to refuſe, if you deſired peace; And the rather, that your unreaſonable demands, would be an ill precedent for other Kings, and Princes, that may be ſubject to the like fortune; And whereas he alſo, as a Prince, being bound many wayes to the protection of the holy See, hath deſir'd you to give the Pope intire liberty; And hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the time of your Neceſſity, which yet you have not paid him: 1528.

For theſe cauſes, the King my Maſter hath thought fit to take a finall reſolution, to deſire you, without further delay, to condeſcend to equity and reaſon; and to tell you, that, ſince you have refus'd it hitherto, he could doe no leſſe than conclude a League with the moſt Chriſtian King, and other Confederates, by force of Armes to conſtraine you to that, which by right you ought to doe. Wherefore, the ſaid King my Maſter, and the moſt Chriſtian King, require you this once for all, to accept the Conditions they have offered you for Peace; declaring, in caſe of refuſall, they muſt, (though not without great griefe and diſpleaſure) hold you for their Enemy, denouncing Warre unto you thereupon, both by Sea and Land, and Defying you with all their Forces. Yet, if you deſire to recall your Subjects out of all their Dominions, as they on their part, likewiſe, require, they offer you forty dayes reſpite for this purpoſe. This being ſaid, he put on his Coate of Armes, and afterwards gave his Speech under his hand, Signing it,

Clarenceaux King of Armes.

The anſwer, *Charles* made to this, little differing from what he made to *Guienne*, I ſhall not particularly relate.

Then *Charles*, calling *Guienne* aſide, deſired him, among other things, to tell the King his Maſter, that he thought he was not well advertis'd of ſomething that he told in *Granada* to his Ambaſſadors, which did concern him much: And that he did hold him to be ſo gentile a Prince, that, had he known it, he would have anſwer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he ſhould doe well, to take information thereof from his Ambaſſadours, ſince thereby he ſhould underſtand

1528. ſtand, that I *Charles* have better kept, what I promiſed at *Madrid*, than he hath done; And I pray you faile not to tell this to the King; which *Guienne* promiſed; and ſo, doing his obeyſance, departed. After which, the ſaid Kings of Armes were called upon by *Juan Aleman*, principall Secretary to the Emperour, to receive the anſwer he ſent to the Cartells. That, made to the French King, having little in it more than what is formerly ſet downe, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe, ſave only that a day was required for Treatie of repealing the Merchants on either ſide.

Sand. To *Clarenceaux* he anſwered, by the Pen of his Secretary; That the progreſſe of the Turk in Chriſtendome, and the captivity of the Pope, were not occaſion'd by him, and that the King of *England* ought not to complaine, that he ever refus'd to condiſcend to honeſt and reaſonable Tearms of Agreement, ſince for his ſake only, hee had releaſed much of that, which *Francis*, of himſelfe, had freely offered unto the Vice-roy of *Naples*. And all this before ever *Henry* did intermeddle with the ſaid Peace. Alſo, that, for the ſame reaſon, he had accorded divers other conditions, which no other perſons could have perſwaded him unto. Whereas, on the other ſide, *Francis* had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the ſecond point, which is concerning the liberty of the Pope, he was aſſur'd already from *Italy*, that he was free. So that no more needs to be ſaid thereof. And, for that which paſs'd in *Rome*, as ſoon as ever he was advertiſed thereof, he writ his Juſtification unto our King; Deſiring (withall) his Counſell and aſſiſtance in that which he thought might be moſt for the ſervice of God, and good of Chriſtendome, to which yet he never anſwered. Which argued, he did not ſo much deſire the liberty of the Pope (which by his loving adviſe he might have procur'd) as to pick a quarrell againſt him. And as for the Title which your King pretends of being *Protector of the Pope*, and *Defender of the Faith*, hee would not yeeld to him the honour of that duty, but that hee would ſay only, that if both had done what they ought, it would have been better for Chriſtendome; Neither ſhould thoſe have been born out and favour'd, who have ſo manifeſtly broken their promiſe, which yet, according both to divine and humane Right, ought to bee conſerv'd inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. As for the third point, which ſpeaks of the Debts demanded, it is anſwered, That the delay of payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt your Kings Ambaſſadours and me, according to which, the ſaid Debt ſhould bee aſſign'd on *Francis* to pay; and, ſince that time, the Non-payment was occaſioned by want of ſufficient power in your King's Ambaſſadours to diſcharge me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnitie, there being in arriere foure yeares and foure moneths at the rate of 133305 Crownes by the yeare; And for the 500000 Crownes to be payd as a Penalty for not having match'd with the Princeſſe *Mary*, it is anſwered, that the Ambaſſadours, having not with them the Originall Obligations and Contracts, by which theſe things ſhould appear, he

he thought himself excused, till convenient place were appointed, where, at the same instant that he paid the money, hee might receive the Securities he entred into for the said payments. As for the Indemnitie, there had so many things interven'd since, that hee thought he could produce five sufficient reasons to exempt himselfe, when indifferent Commissioners shall heare the businesse on both sides. And as for the penaltie, which the said Ambassadours demanded, there were three evident and peremptory reasons to cleere him from satisfying that demand. First because, by the Law Civill and Canon, all penall stipulation, by which the free power of marrying in any fitting place is prohibited, is, *ipso facto*, voyd, and of no effect. Second, That, when the Obligation for the said penalty were valid, yet the said King your Master cannot prevaile himself of the Treaty of *Windsor* (where the said penalty was agreed) unlesse he prove First, that he had intirely accomplisht all that was to be done on his part; which he thought was more than could be made appeare. Thirdly, That, before hee marryed, he requir'd the King your Master to send his daughter to this Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of his Subjects, who desired much to see him have Children, who might succeed him: Whereas your King thought fit rather to give Commission to his Ambassadours to consent to any other Marriage, than to send his Daughter hither. Besides which, it appeared, by certaine Letters that were taken, the King your Master Treated of a Marriage betwixt his Daughter and the King of *Scotland* his Nephew; which Treaty was begun long before he married with the Empresse. So that, when the stipulation were valid, the King your Master should pay the penalty, as being reciprocally agreed: On which yet he would not insist, as being void in Law. Moreover, that, contrary to the said Treaty of *Windsor*, he had secretly kept in his Court *John Joakim*, and afterwards publiquely receiv'd the President of *Rouen*, as Ambassadour, who Treated on the part of *Francis*; And, because the Ambassadour, he had in *England*, had writ the truth of what he saw, and understood, he was ill-used, and threatned in the said Kingdome, and the dispatches, he wrote, taken, and opened by the Ministers of your King, contrary to all right both Divine and humane. And, which was worst of all, since the Imprisonment of the said *Francis*, the King, your Master, being required to set downe his claims and demands, whereby (according to the said Treaty) each of them might have recovered their right, and a good and durable peace be established in Christendome, yet the King your Master would never accept hereof, as thinking to make his advantage another way; which hath been the cause of all the breaches that have follow'd since. That yet he had forborn to take notice, or complaine of these offences, as being desirous to keep the friendship of the King your Master, which he esteemed so much, that he accorded, for his sake, almost all, that his Ambassadours demanded at *Palentia*, concerning the Peace with *Francis*. As for the defy you have made on the

1528.

1528. the part of the King your Maſter, there is ſufficient anſwer thereto given by word of mouth. It being poſſible (as was then ſaid) that there might be more juſt occaſion to make warre againſt the King your Maſter, than he hath againſt me; eſpecially, if it be true (which is ſaid in *England*, *France*, and other parts) that your King will be Divorced from the Queen his Wife, and marry with another, notwithſtanding the diſpenſations granted on that behalfe.) Since, beſides all other injuries done herein, it will be manifeſt, his intention was to make the Lady (he prerended to give me in marriage) a Baſtard; which yet as he could not eaſily believe, in a Prince he eſteem'd ſo much, ſo, if any ſuch purpoſe were, he muſt lay the fault thereof upon the ſiniſter and perverſe information of his Cardinall, whoſe unmeaſurable Ambition and Covetouſneſſe was ſuch, that, becauſe hee refus'd to employ his Army in *Italy* for the making him Pope by ſtrong hand, (which alſo he had procur'd the King his Maſter to write for, and himſelfe had intreated by ſome Letters written by his own hand) And becauſe alſo he would not ſatisfie him in other his inordinate and unreaſonable deſires, he had many times declared, that he would give that diſturbance and impediment to all his buſineſſes, that for this hundred yeares the like had not been ſeen; ſo that he would make him repent it, when the Kingdome of *England* ſhould be hazarded thereby. And certainly, if the King your Maſter will believe the evill counſell of the Cardinall, it will be the right way to bring that to paſſe, which he ſaid, and conſequently to be the ruine of your King and Maſters Dominions. All which being conſidered, hee proteſted he was not the Author of the evills might follow hereupon. Finally, for the buſineſſe of the Merchants, hee referr'd him to a further Treaty.

Theſe Anſwers were read unto the ſaid Kings of Armes by *Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans*, and then given unto them, to be carryed
Jan. 27. to their ſeverall Kings and Maſters, in *Burgos* 27 *Jan.* 1528. Wherewithall they had their ſafe Conducts to depart.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, in ſtead of ſatisfaction for the Money, and kindneſſes done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of offence and evaſion, unto his King and Maſter. Of which our King yet made no other account, than ſuch, as became one, who holding himſelfe free from all cauſes of ſuſpition and calumny, deſpiſed whatſoever in either kind was objected againſt him; ſince, having inviolably kept his intention and oath of falling on that Prince, which moſt interrupted the publike Peace, he thought it now his part, to joyn againſt *Charles*. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a Peace, betwixt him and *Francis*, (refuſing therefore to bee the chiefe and Protector of the Clementine League) yet finding now, that the Generalls and Army of *Charles* proceeded to ſuch an enormous outrage, as to take and hold the Pope priſoner, he thought he could do no leſſe, than uſe all means that might conduce to his delivery, and the repreſſing of the exorbitant ambition of *Charles*, who was thought

not

not obſcurely to aſpire to an univerſall Monarchy. As for the little cavills and punctiglios, concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joakim*, or the giving a civill eare to a propoſition of marriage in *Scotland*, and the like, as they were not, before ſome Contraventions of the part of *Charles*, ſo no effect did follow thereof, in thoſe times when *Charles* moſt ſuſpected them. Though, when our King was inform'd that *Charles* did, after his Treatie at *Windſor*, give and receive overtures of Marriage in more than in one place, it could not ſeeme ſtrange if he tooke the ſame liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinall by particular diſpatches to Doctor *Sampſon* Reſident in *Spaine*, had, a good while ſince, ſo cleered his King from any ſiniſter intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though, indeed, a ſtranger paſſing the Watch about *London* at an undue time of night, and in a ſuſpected manner, had ſome Letters taken from him, which afterwards were opened by Sir *Thomas Moore*, and delivered to the Cardinall; yet the ſaid Letters, which (as it appear'd afterwards) came from Mounſieur *de Praet*, (who departed ſecretly out of *England*, without taking leave either of our King or his Counſell, and were written in Ciphre, and contained many dangerous falſhoods) were, in due time, poſted to the Emperour, whereby alſo he might perceive what ill offices his ſaid Ambaſſadour did, and the fault laid on *de Praet*, who choſe rather to uſe his owne Authority than to demand a Paſſe, in a time when he knew they could not otherwiſe be Convey'd, which likewiſe was the excuſe for intercepting another Meſſenger, who carryed Letters to the Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, of the ſame Tenor; which yet ſhe received preſently after. And for the excuſes not to pay the Money requir'd of him, or the penalty above mentioned, they were but Arts, by which others might learne to deceive him in the ſame kind, and which therefore might inſtruct *Francis* to do the like.

1528.

1524. 1525.

1525.

Records.

1525. *April.* 9.

Our Cardinall being thus incens'd againſt *Charles*, thought fit, aſwell in deſpite of him, as for the aſſertion of his Kings proceedings, publiquely to give account in the Starchamber of the whole State of this buſineſſe; adding withall, that our King was reſolv'd to make Warre againſt *Charles*. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the actions of *Charles*, even to the making him criminall of whatſoever either by the Law of God, or man he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who, thereupon, ſhould neither vent their chief Commodities in the Low-Countries, and *Spaine*, nor againe receive from thence ſupplies of ſome Commodities they ſtood in need of, would no way approve this Warre; as that, from which they ſaw neither profit nor honour likely to enſue; eſpecially, when they heard, the Pope was delivered from his Impriſonment. Nevertheleſſe, the Cardinall, purſuing his intentions, (as the Emperour had done Firſt in *Spaine* to the Engliſh and French,) ſeizeth on the goods of the Subjects of *Charles*, and ſhortly after on the perſon of his Ambaſſador *Don Hugo de Mendoça*, upon notice given, that our Am-

Octob.

Hall.

 baſſadour

1528. baſſadour was ſtaid in *Spaine*. The Conſequence of this, was, that our Merchants preſently found the like meaſure in the Low-Countries, to the great prejudice of that Entercourſe and Commerce, which for many ages had paſs'd betwixt both Nations. Upon newes yet, that our Ambaſſadours were well uſed in *Spaine*, *Hugo de Mendoça* was not only ſet at liberty, but perſwaded, by ſome, that the Defiance which *Clarenceaux* had made unto *Charles*, was by him haſtened, at the motion only of the French Ambaſſadour. For which preſumptuous act, he ſhould therefore ſuffer death, aſſoon as he return'd to *Calais*. *Hugo de Mendoça*, glad hereof, ſends a diſpatch, by poſt, into *Spaine*, acquainting *Charles* with all theſe particularities. But as the *Courrier* paſt by *Bayone*, the Governour thereof opened and Coppyed theſe Letters, which afterwards he ſhew'd *Clarenceaux*, as he return'd homewards. *Clarenceaux*, at firſt, ſeem'd much aſtoniſh'd, but, at laſt, conſidering he had good warrant from the Cardinall, for all his proceedings, he recollects himſelfe, and continues his Journey. He did not thinke fit yet to come to *Calais*, but, taking Ship at *Beulogne*, and landing at *Rye*, he ſecretly poſted to *Hampton* Court, where the King was; uſing ſuch means there, that he obtained ſpeedy acceſſe to him, ſhewing, among other things, three Letters from the Cardinall, authorizing this Defy to *Charles*. He aſſured him alſo of the good uſage he had received there; inſomuch, that (notwithſtanding all theſe Rough paſſages,) he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Duckats. Laſtly, he ſhew'd the Copy of thoſe Letters the Governour of *Bayone* had intercepted: which ſo ſtartled the King, that he proteſted againſt the Cardinall, as one, that not only uſurped to much upon the Regall Authority, but repreſented things much otherwiſe than they were, unto him. The King, hereupon, ſent for the Cardinall, and layes theſe inſolencies and preſumptious to his charge in ſuch a manner, that, howſoever the Cardinall excus'd himſelf, the King was obſerv'd to miſtruſt him ever afterwards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the Counſell; where, notwithſtanding the Cardinall alleged that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the Kings intentions, as he conceiv'd them; yet, becauſe in a Matter of this high conſequence, he had proceeded too ſingly, without adviſing with the King and Counſell, he was reprov'd. In ſequence whereof alſo (notwithſtanding this deſigned Warre) ſome overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us, and the Low-Country-men ſtill open, if it could be fairely done. Therefore the Dutchmen were Licenſed to depart home, the Spanyards yet being not permitted to goe, till it appeard'd, how our Merchants were uſed there.

Hall. *Hall.* *Hall.*

The Lady *Margaret Regent* of the Low-Countryes, being inform'd hereof, doth, in Exchange of this curteſy, diſmiſſe our Engliſh likewiſe, yet reteineth their goods, untill ſhe might heare how the Spanyards were uſed in *England*. But together aſſures them, that, when ſhe is ſatisfied thereof, all things ſhould be ſafely reſtored.

And

And now our Merchants (who uſed not the Trade to the many Northerne and remote Countries they now frequent) foreſeeing the conſequence of theſe Warres, refus'd to buy the Cloathes that were brought to *Blackwell*-Hall in *London*, whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of *England* began to mutine. For appeaſing whereof, the Cardinall commands our Merchants to take off theſe Cloathes, at a reaſonable price, from the poor mens hands, threatning, otherwiſe, that the King himſelfe ſhould buy them, and ſell them to Strangers. But the ſullen Merchants, little mov'd herewith, ſaid, they had no reaſon to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter. Therefore, whatſoever was propos'd for *Staples* at *Calis*, or *Abbeville*, our Merchants did not, or at leaſt would not underſtand it. But this diſcontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and eſpecially to *Antwerp*, where the chiefe Mart was. The Lady *Margaret* conſidering this alſo, and fearing leſt any Inſurrection might follow, ſends over, by the advice of the Emperours Counſell, the Provoſt of *Caſſells*, and one other, to joyne with *Don Hugo de Mendoça*, for the obteining, if nothing elſe, yet of a Truce and abſtinence from War. Theſe Ambaſſadours having obteined audience of the King, Mart. 29. 1528. *Mendoça* ſaid unto him; 1528.

March 29. *Hall.*

Sire, The Emperour's Majeſty doth acknowledge himſelf ſo much bound to your Grace for the many favours receiv'd from you, ever ſince his Minority, that he wil by no means take the Defyance given by your Herauld, as a peremptory denuntiation of war, til he hath heard further of your pleaſure. Therefore, his Counſell hath appointed theſe two Noble perſons and my ſelf, to know your determinate Anſwer, and finall Reſolution herein. The King, pawſing awhile, as one that in his heart loved *Charles*, and yet was bound, by his late Treaty, to oppoſe him, Anſwered; *Of war I am nothing joyfull, And of war I am leſſe fearfull*, I thank God, as having both men and money in readineſſe, which I know other Princes lack; for all their high words; And therefore to war I could ſoon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate Anſwer herein, I ſhall declare ſome part of my mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your Maſter be a great Emperour, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not, ſuffer him to bear down and deſtroy the Realm of *France*, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the French King, payes us yearly a great Penſion and Tribute, wherefore we, of Juſtice and equity, muſt maintain that Land, out of which wee have ſo faire a Rent, and ſuch a profit. The Provoſt of *Caſſelles* replying hereunto, told the King; That the antient love and friendſhip which hath been betwixt your Realme and the houſe of *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and the *Low-Countries*, is now ſo confirm'd and rooted in their hearts, that I aſſure your Grace, that, next their Soveraign Lord, they would ſooneſt live and die with you. In which regard hee hoped, that no New Allyance could corrupt and change this ſo long ſetled and inveterate

1528. Amity. Which yet we ſay not out of Fear, as being well furniſhed for War, but out of that true affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperour intends no more herein, than to leave you the abitrement of both. And thus much I will confeſſe out of my Inſtructions, that if you chooſe War, we have yet Commiſſion in fitting Termes to ſue for Peace; And, if you chooſe Peace, we have likewiſe Commiſſion to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your command. *Hugo de Mendoça*, to ſecond this, ſaid, that, of very right, the Emperour and his Dominions ought to have your love and favour before the French King and his Nation. Since the French had never applyed themſelves to you, but in the time of their neceſſitie; whereas the love on our part hath been ever inviolable. This was an age, in which much Honour, and ſome Good-nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former affection to *Charles* (and the rather that he found ſo much was deferr'd to his mediation, in the affaires of *Francis*, as is above related) and, beſides, having an eye on the buſineſſes of *Scotland* (as will appear hereafter) and, howſoever, being deſirous to conſerve his Style and Dignitie of Arbiter, told them, that, as he well perceiv'd the intent of their comming, ſo he would be well advis'd, how to make them a fitting anſwer; ſaying, that, in the mean while he was content there ſhould be a Truce for a time; wherewith the Flemiſh Ambaſſadours returned home, well-ſatisfied that they had obteined this reſpite. The King, hereupon, adviſeth with his Counſailors; among whom, though thoſe, who adhered to *Woolſey*, did perſwade a Warre, yet the greater part (who did ſecretly diſaffect the Cardinall) told the King, That the Reſultance of Warre in the Low-Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his Subjects, a decay of Trade, a diminution of his Cuſtomes, and addition to the greatneſſe of *France*, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly conſidered, it was thought fit to make an abſtinence from Warre for eight moneths, and untill it appear'd (upon conſultation betwixt the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and his) how a Generall peace might be made. Hereupon Letters were ſent, not only to *Spaine*, and *Flanders*, but to *France*, manifeſting the reaſons, why the King had, for a while, ſuſpended this Warre. In which Eſtate alſo the buſineſſe continued, till anſwer was brought from forraigne parts.

Hall.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, reſident here on the part of the French King, was no ſooner advertiz'd hereof, but he demanded audience; which being obteined, he ſaieth, That, though he doubted not, but his Highnes did well remember the late League, concluded betwixt him and his Brother the French King, which alſo was ratified and confirm'd by the three Eſtates of the Realme of *France*, by vertue whereof you have an Annuall Penſion and Tribute to a great value paid to you, in conſideration whereof, you have promis'd to defend the ſaid Realme againſt all perſons; yet, becauſe it is well knowne to many,

Hall.

that

that the Emperours Ambaſſadours have laboured the contrary, diſ- 1528.
poſing your Highnes (all they could) to infringe the ſaid League, I *Hall.*
thought it my parr to put your Highneſſe in mind thereof, aſſuring your Highneſſe, for the reſt, that, whenſoever you ſhould begin to make a Warre upon the Emperour and his Subjects, it would be a perpetuall Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole French Nation. The King replied hereunto, that, though it were more eaſie to enter into Warres, than to end them with Honour and profit, yet that he would preſerve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of *France*, and himſelfe. So that the King, your Maſter, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the uttermoſt of my Power; Though, I muſt tell you, that, when I could procure him an Honourable, and advantagious Peace, I ſhould think I had deſerv'd aſwell of him this way, as any other. Wherwith the Ambaſſadour departed well-contented, yet ſo, as he was in ſome more uncertainty concerning the intended Warre. Therefore, he ſollicites the Cardinall, as his Maſters beſt friend, to haſten the Forces, which our King had now in readineſſe for a Warre with the Low-Countries; But, as the favour of the Cardinall began now ſomewhat to decline, ſo found he not that expedition which he was wont to receive in his addreſſes. Howſoever, the Warre betwixt the French and Flemmings continued. In which this memorable accident is recorded. That a French Ship lying at *Margate*, being ſet *Hall.*
on by a Flemming, and finding her ſelf too weake, the wind being fair for the River of Thames, packs on all her Sayles, and makes for *London*. The Flemming, as eagerly purſuing her, overtakes and boards her neer the Tower-Wharfe, which Sir *Edmund Walſingham*, Lieutenant of the Tower, perceiving, calls his Men together, and ſeized on them; where, though the Flemming boldly challenged his prize, yet the Kings Counſell, conſidering, that (in this place) both of them were under the Kings protection, it was thought fit to diſmiſſe them freely on either ſide.

It appeares before, how *Guyenne*, King of Armes, charg'd himſelfe with a Meſſage from *Charles* the Emperour unto the King his Maſter, conteining an affront and kind of challenge, which the ſaid *Charles* had formerly declared to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. *Guyenne* having now performed his part; *Francis* could no longer forbeare to take notice of it. Yet, becauſe it ſeems he did not ſufficiently apprehend the relation which the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* made thereof, he requires of him more ample and cleere information. The Archbiſhop hereupon writes to *Charles*, and craves, that, under his hand, he would ſet downe what he told him by word of mouth; for the reſt, making ſome excuſe, that he did not remember it better. *Charles* anſwers him, and repeats the words; Shortly after which, *Francis* diſpatches *Guyenne* with a Cartell; in the delivery whereof I ſhall ſet downe the formes were uſed, the example being ſo rare. *Sand.*

Guyenne having obteined a ſafe conduct from *Charles*, who alſo commanded

1528. commanded one *Montalvo*, a Gentleman, for his more ſecurity, by the way, to accompany him, comes to *Monçon* in *Aragon*, where *Charles* then was, 7. of *June* 1528. Having gotten audience the next day, *Charles* ſitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. *Guyenne* comming hereupon to the lower end of a great Hall, puts on his Coate of Armes, and after five low obeyſances made, caſts himſelf on his knees before *Charles*, and ſpeaks thus.

June 7. *June 8.*

Sire, I beſeech your Majeſtie, that, continuing the good uſage I have received hitherunto, you will give me leave to performe that, that belongs to my office, and that, this being done, I may have leave ſafely to returne. *Charles* anſwered; King of Armes, doe thy duty, and my will is, that thou be alwayes well Treated. Then *Guyenne*, riſing up, ſaid;

Sire, The King my Maſter, being advertiſed of the words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have ſpoken againſt his Honour, deſires ſo much to juſtifie it, before all the world, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for anſwer, to preſent you this Writing, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, which when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to peruſe, you will find, how intirely hee ſatisfies all. Moreover, your Majeſtie will bee pleaſed to give mee leave to returne to the King my Maſter, for I have no further Commiſſion. This being ſaid, he ſeem'd to offer a paper unto *Charles*. Before yet *Charles* would take it, he ſaid, King of Armes, ha'ſt thou Commiſſion from thy King to reade this writing thou bringeſt? *Guyenne* anſwered, that he had. Then *Charles* ſayd, King of Armes, I have heard that which you have ſaid, and will looke on the writing which you have brought, and will doe in ſuch ſort, that my honour ſhall be preſerved. And, for the King your Maſter, he will have enough to doe to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impoſſible. As for that which concerns my Juſtice, my Chancellor here ſhall deliver it. Then the Chancellor ſayd, His Majeſtie, holding himſelf to the Proteſtations made heretofore on his part, proteſteth here againe, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he ſhall ſay, or doe, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of *Madrid*; and that, notwithſtanding any breach on this particular occaſion, it ſhall remaine in full force and effect. And that this Proteſtation ſhall be underſtood, as diſtributed and reparted in all the proceedings, that ſhall hereafter paſſe in this matter.

When the Chancellor had ſpoken this, the Emperour ſaid; King of Armes, although, for many reaſons, the King your Maſter be not capable of doing any Act in this kind, either againſt me or any elſe, yet, for the good of Chriſtendome, and avoyding of more effuſion of blood, and for giving an end to theſe Warres, and for no other reaſon, I doe inable him for this purpoſe; wherewith he tooke the

paper

paper that *Guyenne* held in his hand. Then *Guyenne* said to him; *Sire*, If the Answer that your Majesty shall send to the King my Master be the security of the Field, or Fighting place, and that you please to give it me, I have Commission to bring it, and nothing else. Therefore, your Majesty will be pleased not to force me to any thing else, but the said security of the Field, in which the King my Master will assuredly present himself, with those Armes with which he intends to defend himselfe. And for me, your Majesty will be pleased to let me depart. *Charles* answered; Your Master ought not to prescribe me what I am to doe; I will doe what I have said; for which cause, aswell, as that something may be in this paper, to which I may reply by some particular Messenger, I charge you to procure him, a safe conduct, since you would not come without mine; which *Guyenne* promised; wherewith the Emperour calling *Juan Aleman*, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which *Guyenne* (who seem'd to have taken his leave) said; *Sire*, I have another paper to present your Majestie by the hands of Seigneur *Aleman* your Secretary, if your Majestie be pleased to command him to receive it; which *Charles* likewise permitted. Whereupon all the principall persons present, and lastly *Guyenne* also, subscribed their names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperour commanded his Secretary *Aleman* to read in an high voyce the Cartell delivered by *Guyenne*. 1528.

The Cartell of Francis *the French King to* Charles *the Emperour.*

VVEe *Francis* by the grace of God King of *France*, Lord of *Genoua*, &c. To you *Charles*, by the same grace, Chosen-Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Spaine*. We let you know that being advertis'd, how, in certeine Answers given to our Ambassadours and Kings of Armes, (which for negotiating a peace we sent unto you) you, desiring without reason to excuse your self, have accused us, saying, that you have our Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our promise we are departed out of your hands and power. For defending of our honour, which herein is, much against truth, impeached, we have thought fit to send you this Cartell; by which although we say, that no man under restraint can plight his Faith, and that, though this excuse is very sufficient, yet, as we desire to give sasisfaction to every one, and aswell to our own honour, which we have kept, and will keep (God willing) to the death; We let you know, that, if either you have already, or shall hereafter lay to our charge any thing which may touch our Faith, or Liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier that loves his honour ought not doe; We say unto you, that you have Lyed in your throate, and that as many times as you shall say it, you Lye. Being resolv'd to defend our honour to the last period of our life.

And

1528. And since, against Truth, you have layed this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but assure Us the Field, and wee will bring the Armes; Protesting that, if, after this Declaration, you write to any part, or speak any words against our honour, the shame of delaying the Combat shall bee yours, since, being come to these termes, all cause of writing ceaseth.

Martii 28. 1528. 27. *Dated in our good Town and City of* Paris *Mart.*28. 1527. *before Easter.*

Underneath which was plac'd the little Seale of *Francis* in Wax.

This being the substance of *Francis* his Cartell, was communicated beforehand to our King, who advised him only (as I find in our *Records.* Records) not to give the Emperour that harsh word of the Lye. In the Paper delivered to the Secretary *Aleman*, a Relation was made of some passages between *Francis*, and the *Seigneur de Granvele*, Ambassadour of *Charles* residing in the French Court, in which *Francis* *Sandov.* pretended to excuse his breach of promise, by the constraint and necessitie he was in, saying, among other things, that he yeelded not himselfe to the Emperour, and therefore that he could not accuse him of breach of Faith. It was also declared there, how *Francis* caused the * *Mart.* 28. Cartell above-mentioned to be * read publikely before the Emperour's Ambassadour. Moreover, *Francis* laboured to avoyd the imputation layd on him by *Charles* for defying him now, when yet he had made six or seven years war without sending any such Defy. To which therefore he answer'd, that the Ambassadours of *Charles* had defied him first, at *Dijon*, and therefore it would not seem strange if hee defended himself. The rest was little more than some protestations against the late Imprisonment of the Pope, the deteyning of his two Sonnes for Hostages, some Complement for *Henry* King of *England*, some excuses for not having answer'd this businesse sooner; among which, the following, being somewhat extravagant, seems worth the relating: For, whereas *Charles* objected against him, that he kept his promise in *Madrid* better to *Francis*, than *Francis* had done to him, he said he did not remember to have promised any thing there; for, concerning the Concord of *Madrid*, he said, it was set down in Writing; howsoever that he held himself sufficiently discharged from it, in regard he was not at liberty when he Signed it, nor afterwards set free upon his word: (which, in that case only, hee thought himself bound to observe,) for the rest, professing, he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he said he would in person assist *Charles* against the Turk, which hee was ready to do likewise with all his Forces; assuring further, that *Charles* should not so soon have his foot in the stirrop for this purpose, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the said Ambassadour replied, hee had no commission to heare, or Treat of these businesses, and therefore desired leave to depart, and safe-conduct, the Emperour his Master

ſter having repeal'd him. Whereunto *Francis* anſwered, that the Emperour his Maſter had forc'd him to theſe courſes, and that he did eſteeme him ſo gentile a Prince, that, when he ſhould underſtand this anſwer I make him, hee would anſwer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: becauſe, if he did otherwiſe, he would ſend a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a perſon of his quality, and an honeſter Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I ſhall cauſe you to be accompanied to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the intent that I may receive my Ambaſſadours at the time that I diſmiſſe you. This was Signed by *Robertet* Secretary to *Francis*. 1528.

Hereupon *Charles* reſolves, by *Burgundy* his King of Armes, to ſend his Reply unto *Francis* bearing date *June* 24. 1528. *June.* 24.

The Cartell and reply of Charles *the Emperour, to* Francis *the French King.*

Charles by the divine Clemency, Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Germany* and of *Spaine*, &c. I doe let know to you *Francis*, by the grace of God, King of *France*, that, upon the VIII. of this Moneth of *June*, I received by *Guyenne*, your King of Armes, your Cartell, dated *Mart.* 28. which from a remoter place than *Paris* might have come hither in a ſhorter time; and conformable to that, which on my part was ſaid to your King of Armes, I anſwer to that which you ſay, That in certain anſwers given by me to the Ambaſſadours and Kings of Armes, whom for negotiating a Peace you ſent unto me, in which you allege, that, for excuſing my ſelfe, without cauſe, I have accuſed you; I reply, that I have not ſeen any King of Armes on your part, but him that came to *Burgos*, to denounce War againſt me. And as for my ſelfe, having err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuſe my ſelfe. But for you, it is your owne Faults that accuſe you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you ſay true, when you underſtand thereby the Capitulation of *Madrid*; where it appeares, by certaine writings ſubſcribed with your owne hand, that you would returne to be my true priſoner, in caſe you did not accompliſh all, which by the ſaid Capitulation was promiſed. But, that I ſhould ſay as you mention in your Cartell, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did, contrary to your promiſe, goe away, and eſcape my hands, and power, they are words which I never ſaid, becauſe I never pretended to hold your Faith, ſo, as not to go away, but to return in the form that was agreed. And if you made this good, you ſhould neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your honour. And to that you ſay, that, for defence of your honor (which in this caſe ſhould, much againſt truth, be impeach'd,) you have thought fit to ſend your Cartell, by which you ſay, that although no Man under ward or reſtraint can plight

1528. his Faith, and that this excuſe is very ſufficient; Notwithſtanding, as you deſire to give ſatisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own honour, which you ſay, you have kept, and will keep (God-willing) unto the death, and thereupon doe let me know, that, if either I have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to your charge any thing which may touch your Faith or liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavallier that loves his honour ought not to doe, you ſay that I have Lyed in my throat, and, as many times as I ſhall ſay it, that I Lye. And that you are reſolv'd to defend your honour to the laſt period of your life:

To this I Anſwer, that, conſidering the forme of the Capitulation, your excuſe for being under reſtraint can have no place, but, ſince you make ſo ſmall account of your honour, I doe not wonder that you deny your ſelf to be obliged to accompliſh your promiſe; for your words cannot vindicate your honour. Therefore I have ſaid, and will ſay (without Lying,) That you have done *Laſchement* and *Meſchament*, in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of *Madrid*. And, in ſaying this, I doe not charge you with things ſecret, or impoſſible to prove, ſince they appeare by Writings, ſigned by your hand, which you can neither excuſe, nor deny: And if you will affirme the contrary, (ſince I have releaſed and enabled you only for this Combat) I ſay, that for the good of Chriſtendome, and for avoiding the effuſion of blood, and for putting an end to this Warre, and to defend my juſt demand, I ſhall, in my perſon maintaine againſt yours, that, that, which I ſay, is true. But I will not returne to you the Language you give me, ſince both your Actions (without that I or any elſe ſpake of them) make you a Lyar, and that it is more eaſy a far off to talk in this manner, than neer at hand. And, as for that which you ſay, that, ſince, againſt Truth, I have lay'd this imputation on you, that from henceforth I ſhould write no more, but that I ſhould aſſure you the Field, and that you will bring the Armes, I ſay, you muſt have patience a while, till I have layd your Actions open to you, and untill I have writ you this Anſwer, by which I ſay, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to aſſure it on my part, by all the reaſonable wayes that can be deviſed; And, for this effect, and for the better expedition thereof, I doe now name the place for the ſaid Combat, to be upon the River, which paſſeth between *Fuentarabie* and *Andaja*, in that part, and after that manner, which by agreement on both ſides, ſhall be thought moſt ſecure and convenient. And, it ſeems that in reaſon you ought not to refuſe this, or ſay it is not ſecure enough, ſince there you were ſet Free, upon giving your Sonnes for Hoſtages, with your Faith and promiſe to returne. And conſidering as well that in the ſame River you did entruſt your perſon, and your Children; You may be confident now to hazard your owne only, Since I will as well hazard mine. And means ſhall be found out that, Notwithſtanding the Situation of

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the place, neither of us ſhall have advantage of the other. And for this purpoſe, aſwell as for the election of Armes, (which I pretend of right to belong to me and not to you) And becauſe in the Concluſion of this buſines no trifling or delay may bee admitted, we may ſend Gentlemen, on both parts to view the ſaid place; with ſufficient power to Treat and agree, aſwell concerning the ſecurity of the Field, as the choice of Armes, the day of Combat, and the reſt that belongs hereunto. And, if within the ſpace of XL. dayes after the delivery hereof, you neither anſwer nor advertiſe me of your intention herein, it will ſufficiently appeare, that the delay is on your part, which therefore ſhall be imputed, and layd to your charge, together with the default of not having accompliſh'd that which you promiſed in *Madrid*. And whereas you proteſt, that if, after this Declaration, I ſay or write words Contrary to your honour, that the ſhame of delay of Combat ſhall be mine, ſince when matters are brought to theſe termes, all Cauſe of writing ceaſeth: your Proteſtations might have bin well ſpared; ſince you cannot forbid me to ſay Truth, though it grieve you. And that aſwell I am aſſur'd that the ſhame of delaying the Combat will not reſt on me, ſince all the World may Witneſſe the deſire I have to ſee an end thereof. 1528.

At Monçon in Aragon June 28. 1528.

This alſo was certified under the hand and Seale of *Burgundy* King of Armes, who, together carryed, in a paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publique writing, declar'd that his Imperiall Majeſtie commanded him, with all ſpeed, to require an Anſwer thereof. And that he ſhould offer his ſervice for bringing of it, if *Francis* ſo thought fit. Yet if the ſaid King would not ſend it but by another, then that he ſhould aſſure *Francis*, on the part of his Imperiall Majeſtie, that the ſaid Meſſenger might come ſecurely; And that a ſafe-Conduct ſhould be made him if he deſired it; Although his Imperiall Majeſtie did not thinke it neceſſary for a King of Armes, as being a privileg'd perſon. And, beſides this, that he the ſaid *Burgundy* ſhould give to *Robertet* Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the ſaid King ſhould appoint, an Anſwer, in writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in preſence of his Imperiall Majeſtie, and, by his conſent, to the Secretary *Aleman*. The Tenor of which writing being long, and conteyning little in it, but what is formerly ſet downe, I ſhall paſſe over. And the rather, that it took no more effect. Nevertheleſſe, I muſt not omit to ſay, that the excuſe of *Francis* was not generally approved, nor his Carrell thought juſt. For if a Priſoner of Warre may avoid his promiſe, becauſe he is under conſtraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kild upon the place; which would make the Warre not only more bloody and barbarous, but even deſtroy a principall part of that *Jus Gentium*, which in theſe caſes hath been inviolably obſerv'd in all times. So that if *Sandov.*

1528. *Francis* had excus'd his not returning by being a publique perſon, and had ſaid that his Obligation by Oath, when he was crown'd, unto his people and Kingdome was a greater tye than that of his particular honour; And, together, had alleged, that he could not obteine their conſent, either to performe his promiſe for reſtitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwiſe to goe ſingle out of his Kingdome; It was thought, by ſome, he might have Vindicated himſelf in great part, and, indeed, lay'd ſome imputation on *Charles*, for demanding things impoſſible to performe. But I come to that which enſued; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his hand and Seale, as Authentique, for the juſtifying of the Emperour his Maſters reputation. *Sandov.*

July 1. This *Burgundy*, comming to *Fuentarabie*, ſends a Trumpet 1. *July* 1528. to Monſieur *de* St. *Bonnet* Governour of *Bayonne*, for the ſafe-Conduct which *Guyenne* had promiſed. The Governour excuſed himſelf, as not having Commiſſion; yet as *Burgundy* perſiſted in his demand, the ſaid Governour, about VIII. dayes afterwards, ſent him word, that his ſafe-conduct was ready, if he brought ſecurity of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further to know if his Commiſſion extended to any thing elſe. To which *Burgundy* anſwer'd, about VII. dayes after, that the Emperour his Maſter had commanded him not to declare his Meſſage to any, but *Francis*: and that, therefore, he had diſpatch'd a *Courrier* to his Imperiall Majeſtie to know what Anſwer I ſhould make, who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I doe bring the ſecurity of the Field, and other things that concerne the Combat, and Anſwer to the Cartell of the King your Maſter. To which, the next day following, the Governour anſwered againe, that, if he brought the ſecurity of the Field, and nothing elſe, he ſhould advertize him, and he would preſently ſend a Gentleman to Conduct him to the King his Maſter. To which about IX. dayes after, *Burgundy* anſwer'd, that he did bring the ſecurity of the Field, and the reſt did concerne only the Combat, and the haſtning thereof; which being ſo, he ſaid he ought not to be denyed, or prohibited to do his office, ſince it was a thing never known, that any ſhould ſpeake to one, and yet not heare his Anſwer; as if it were enough, for defending of ones honour, to ſend a Cartell, without doing, or ſuffering any thing elſe. For which reaſon, and becauſe the Emperour is deſirous to ſhew that he is in earneſt, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his ſafe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like Caſe, and that, if he were delay'd, he proteſted that he had done all that was convenient for the diſcharge of the dignity of the Emperour his Maſter, which you know of what importance it is, and ſo expected his ſpeedy Anſwer. No anſwer being return'd hereunto in the ſpace of IX. dayes more, (notwithſtanding that the Governour had promiſed to ſend a Trumpet with an Anſwer) *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that promiſe, and therefore ſends a Trumpet againe;

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to which (as the Spaniſh Hiſtory hath it) St. *Bonet* made no other Anſwer, but bid him returne no more, and that *Fueſſe con el diablo*; Yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart ſo, at laſt the Governour of *Bayonne* ſent him a Letter Dated *Auguſt* XVII. 1528. which declar'd, that the King his Maſter was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him ſafe-conduct ſo long, which therefore hee promis'd to ſend him when he deſir'd it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of hand, the Governour ſent him. Whereupon *Burgundy* (who put on his Coat of Armes aſſoone as he was in the French *Territories*) came to *Bayonne*, where he proteſted to the Governour, that the demanding ſafe-conduct ſhould be no derogation to his privilege belonging to him as King of Armes; and ſo, continuing his Journey, he came to *Eſtampes*, 2. *September*, where *Guyenne* attended him; ſtaying yet there VII. dayes, before he was permitted to goe to *Paris*, (the King paſſing all that time in Hunting.) Being at length conducted to *Paris*, hee would have worne his Coate of Armes, but was not ſuffered, it being told him, it was *Coſa de un San Nicholis de Aldea*, which I interpret, A thing not to be ſhew'd but upon Holy-dayes or in a Countrey Church.

1528.

Auguſt 17.

September 2.

But *Burgundy* proteſting againſt this uſage, (as being contrary to the privileges of his place) thoſe who Conducted him went to the King, who, after ſome ſpace, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to Record what paſs'd; before whom they ſaid, that, if he deſir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Armes, he would be in great danger of the people; and therefore, if any inconvenience follow'd, he muſt not lay it to their charge. Notwithſtanding which, ſome perſons being ſent to ſecure him, he put on his Coat of Armes, and, the next day, obteined Audience of the King; Who in a great Sale (or Hall) ſate on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; Our Ambaſſadours alſo being preſent, to whom (as I find in our Records) He then ſhew'd the Order of the Garter upon his leg, ſaying to them, that, ſeeing he went about an Act, wherein conſiſted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not uſe a better Remembrance, than the ſaid Garter. *Burgundy* now beginning to make his obeyſance, the King, without giving him time to ſpeake, ſaid, King of Armes, haſt thou perform'd thy office as thou ought'ſt hetherunto? thou knoweſt what thou haſt written in thy Letters; doſt thou bring me the ſecurity of the Field, according to that which in my Cartell I writ to the Emperour thy Maſter? he relpied, *Señor ſi*, or yeas, will you be pleaſed that I performe my office, and ſay what the Emperour commandeth me? The King anſwered hereunto, No, unleſſe you give me firſt a Patent ſign'd with your hand, that may containe the ſecurity of the Field, and nothing elſe. For thou knoweſt well the Contents of thy ſafe-conduct. The Herauld there beginning to ſpeake, and ſaying, *Sire*, The Sacred Majeſtie of the Emperour —— The King interrupted him, and ſaid, I tell thee, that thou muſt not ſpeake to me of any thing, becauſe

1528. becauſe I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Maſter; yet when thou ſhalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well aſſur'd me, then will I give thee licence to ſay what thou wilt, and not otherwiſe. Then he ſaid, *Sire*, It was Commanded me, that I ſhould read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave ſo to doe; or that having given it you firſt, I ſhould afterwards doe what I am Commanded. Then the King roſe ſuddenly from his Throne, ſpeaking angerly; What? do's thy Maſter thinke to eſtabliſh new Cuſtomes in my Land? I will none of theſe Hypocriſies. He anſwer'd then, *Sire*, I am aſſur'd that the Emperour will doe all that a brave and vertuous Prince ought to doe. The King replied hereunto, that he thought ſo well of him, he did believe he would do ſo. Wherewith *Monſieur de Montmorency*, who was the *Grand Maiſtre*, began to ſay ſomewhat to the King, which the ſaid King of Armes underſtood not; but the King paſſionatly replyed, No, No, I will not give him leave, unleſſe I have the ſurety of the Field; without which (he ſaid) he ſhould returne as he came; and ſo bids the King of Armes ſpeake no more unto him. Yet he replyed, *Sire*, if you will not ſuffer me, I cannot doe my office, nor give you the Cartell of the Emperour, without your leave, which once again I aske; and if you will not give it me, becauſe I may not erre in my Relation, I pray you give me by writing, that you deny it, reſerving me yet your ſafe-Conduct to returne. Then *Francis* ſaid, I will that it be given you, wherewithall the Herauld departed. He then ſollited *Montmorency*, the *Grand Maiſtre*, to obtaine leave for him once more to deliver the Emperours Cartell. Notwithſtanding which, he receiv'd no other Anſwer, but that the King would grant him no audience, ſince his Commiſſion was expir'd. Therefore that he might depart when it pleaſed him. Then *Burgundy* proteſted that the fault was not in him, and much leſſe in the Emperour his Maſter, and that the Emperour his Maſter would publiſh this in all places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offer'd him a Relation of the buſineſſe, which yet he would not receive, in regard ſome paſſages were omitted, and particularly the harſh words, wich the King gave him. Wherewith *Burgundy* return'd, and, at his comming to Court, delivered this Relation to the Emperour under his hand and Seale: Which alſo I have follow'd, not that I would ſhew any partiality to either ſide, but that it is the moſt particular, that I could meet with, among the ſeverall Relations that are extant, and, for the moſt part, agreeing with them.

Charles now conſidering what remain'd to be done for diſcharge of his honour, brought the buſineſſe to his Counſaile of State and Warre; who all agreed, that the Refuſall of *Francis* to heare the Reply to his Cartell had given end to this buſineſſe; and, for the reſt, that it was ſufficient to certifie certain principall perſons, both at home, and abroad, of all theſe paſſages.

And this was the end of the Cartells and Pundonnores betwixt

theſe

these two great Princes; not for want of Courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree sufficiently between themselves concerning the Lawes of Duell, of which therefore men spake, in that age, diversly, according to their severall affections; yet so, as few disinteressed persons denyed, but that (notwithstanding the punctualities of *Francis*) *Charles* had behav'd himselfe like a Gentile Cavallier. 1528.

Whilst our King and the French, were in that good intelligence which is above mentioned, it might seeme probable that *Scotland* should be quiet: Their best support ever comming from that Country. Yet such was the power of the *Dowglasses* at that time, that they seem'd to sway all things. For as they held a strict guard about the King, they made use of his authority for their owne ends. And particularly the Earle of *Anguis* their chiefe. Nevertheless, as Queen *Margaret* had lately obtained at *Rome* a Divorce from the said Earle, and, thereupon, marryed *Henry Stuart*, (shortly after created Lord *Meffen*,) she drew many of the prime Nobility against him. Who yet attempting the Kings delivery by force, were defeated neer *Lithquo*, and the Earle of *Lenox* slaine. Howbeit the King by night slipping away from *Angus*, to the Castle of *Sterling*, resolves to summon a Parliament, and exauctorate the *Dowglasses*; Sending a Letter also to our King, to this purpose, (as our Records tell us.) That the Earle of *Anguis*, being made one of the chiefe about his Person, had wrought the exclusion of the rest, and got the whole guiding of his Person for two yeares; in which time many evill adventures happened. Moreover, that he conspired his Slaughter. This being done, he appoints the Parliament to be held *September* 4. Where the *Dowglasses* being now deprived of their publike offices and places, not only refused to come, but indeavoured by all meanes to dissolve this meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of *Edenbrough*, they sent some Troupes of Horse to seize on it; which likewise they had perform'd, but that *Robert Maxwell*, by the Kings Command, prevented them. Hereupon *Anguis* retired to his own Castle, being about XIIII. Miles distant. The King understanding hereof, comes to *Edenbrough*; where, by Vote of the Parliament, the Earl of *Anguis*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Dromond*, their dear friend, were Condemned, and their goods confiscate, and Proclamation sent forth, that whosoever receiv'd them in house, or otherwise reliev'd them, should bee subject to the same punishment. Shortly after which *William* (an other Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of *Holyrood*) languish'd and at last dyed of griefe. Into whose place succeeded a Man, who, to avoid the Cryme of being a *Simoniack*, used this Notable trick, as *Buchanan* hath it. For, hearing that the said *William* was at the point of death, he layes a great summe of Money, as a wager, with the King, that hee should not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King (though young,) understood his meaning; and, as he wanted Money at

1526. *July* 20.

1527. *September* 4.

1527. *September* 4. *Buch.*

Buch.

1528. at that time, was content to win the wager, and loſe the Abby. The *Douglaſſes* deſpairing now of mercy, ſpoile and forrage the Country even to the gates of *Edenbrough*; nor was all their prey by Land; for a ſhip, laden with pretious Merchandize, being driven by a tempeſt on that Coaſt, was rifled by them, and the chiefe Merchandize taken away; Among which, ſome quantitie of Cinnamon which *Buch.* was left in the bottome of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar ſort, not knowing the uſe thereof, burnt it for fewell in their houſes, as *Buchanan* hath it. The more diſcontented ſort of the Kingdome hearing that the *Douglaſſes* were thus in armes, joyn with them. The King underſtanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and power did daily increaſe, advis'd to raiſe Forces for taking a Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes* (For which purpoſe he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar*,) in which *John* Duke of *Albany* late Viceroy held Garriſon. Hee could not yet take the Caſtle.

Octob. Our King hearing of theſe ſtirs, ſends ſome Ambaſſadors in *October* 1528, to treat of an accommodation; Neither was *Francis* averſe, as deſiring to diſpoſe our King to a war againſt *Charles*. The difficulties yet, were ſuch, that all that could be obtain'd, was, a Truce for five years more, upon Condition, that the *Douglaſſes* ſhould delivet their Caſtles up, the King giving them ſome other Conditions; Which yet being not in all points obſerved, they were forced to forſake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Penſion, and, at all occaſions, mediated their Reſtitution; which at laſt (but not till the death of *James* the fift) he effected (as will appear:) Howbeit *Alexander Dromond* was received into favour; though, whether for his own merit, or to divide him from the *Douglaſſes* is uncertain, for *James Colüit*, one of their friends, and the late Abbot of *Holy-rood*, notwithſtanding (his bought Title) were baniſht from Court.

The buſineſſes of *Ireland* paſſed thus. The Earle of *Kildare* formerly-mention'd, being reſtored to his place of Deputy, was yet ſtill perſecuted by the Earle of *Oſſory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of *Deſmond*; who, upon the Treaty hee made firſt with the French King, and afterwards with the Emperour to attempt *Ireland*, was declared Traytor. This prevail'd ſo farre, that *Kildare* was ſent for to 1527. the Councell-Table 1527. where the Cardinall, his old Enemy, declaymed againſt him. But he wittily and boldly defended himſelfe, *E. Camp. Hiſt. Icel.* as our Hiſtory, and eſpecially *Campion* hath it at large. Howbeit hee was committed, and more Accuſations produced againſt him; and particularly, that the Invaſion his Brethren had made upon the Earle of *Oſſory*, now the Kings Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof alſo being convict, he was condemned, and reprived in the Tower. At which, the Cardinall offended, ſends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his Execution. But the Lieutenant, favouring *Kildare*, acquainted our King therewith; who, thereupon, not only reſpited his death, but ſome while after pardoned and ſent him home to his Country:

Checking

Checking the Cardinall in the mean time not a little, for his presumption. 1528.

I shall now return to speak of the affaires of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther* more than any of the other Reformers did govern, which credit also that he might dilate and conserve, he had, a good while since, written to our King, a kind of Apologie for the disrespectfull Answer made to his Book; offering, for satisfaction, in some publike writing to acknowledge (together with his own presumption) the Kings singular worth. In this Letter, among other things, he saies he Understood that the King was not the Author of the booke, which, under his name, came forth against him, but certain Sophisters, who, to insinuate themselves into his favour, had put forth the Work under his name; and then calls the Cardinall, *Angliæ pestem.* He added also, that he was informed, to his great contentment, *ipsum & fastidire genus illud perditorum hominum, & ad Veri cognitionem animum adjicere*; After which, he inserts a briefe Remonstrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Answer. Our King, having receiv'd this Letter, Answers it sharply, laying Inconstancy and levitie to the charge of *Luther*, and defending his own Book, and the Cardinall, whom, he saith, he should love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late *incestum Matrimonium* with a Nunne. This Answer being also sent the Pope, and printed, Luther, who took nothing so ill at this time, as that he should be thought to change any of his Tenents and opinions, layes the fault on *Christierne* King of *Denmarke*, who had given him hope, that our King, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the Reformed doctrine: But now that he repented himself of this easie Language, though it were not new to him to lose his labour in this kind; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinall *Cajetan*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, he had found no successe thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his Doctrines had made no little progresse in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his Followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his opinions, *Charles*, for repressing those Tumults, (which alteration of Religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, to bee held at *Spire*. For though the Decree made at *Wormbs* (where *Luther* was condemned) did yet stand in force, the Determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith.

1525. *Sleid.*

1525.

1521.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in *June* 1526. the Emperours Letters (dated from *Sevil* 23th of *March*) were read to them. Wherein he declared, that he would shortly goe to *Rome*, to be Crowned, and talk with the Pope concerning a Councill: In the mean time forbidding them to Innovate ought in Religion, but conform themselves to the Decree of *Wormbs*. But the Reformed Cities answered, that the Execution of the Decree of *Wormbs* would hazard a sedition among the

1526. *Jun.*

1528. people, and that, the Pope now gathering forces against the Emperour, there was little hope of obteyning from him a Generall Councill. Therefore, they desir'd the Emperour to permit a Nationall Councill of *Germany*, for the setling of Religion; or, if not, at least to suspend the Decree of *Wormbs*, till a generall Councill be call'd. Things thus tending to an open dissention, the Turk invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the French and Italians Confederating against *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand*, (the Emperours Deputy in this Diet) thought fit to condiscend to a Decree to this effect; That there was great need of a Councill, either Generall, or of the German Nation; and that it should begin within a yeare, which the Emperour was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Wormbs*, that, till one of those Councills bee call'd, every Prince and State so behave themselves, as they may give a probable account of their Actions, to God and the Emperour. After this, a violent war betwixt the Emperour and French, the sacking of *Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, the Lutherans (or as they stiled themselves the Evangeliques) increased in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to indeavour their suppression. Till at length, returning to good termes with the Pope, and an overture being made for an Accord with the French, he returns to the care of Religion, and, by Letters dated at *Valledolid* *August* 1. 1528. appoints a Diet at *Spire*, to Commence in *February* 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and some others to appeare for him. This Diet yet, did not begin till *March* following: to which the discreet and peaceable *Melanthon* was, with much honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. Many other Princes and great persons also came thither; among which not a few were unresolved enough in either beliefe, till controversies in Religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any Angle of the world there was either a new Opinion, to examine, or Antient errour, to reforme, they wanted not a just exercise for their Curiosity. At last the former Decree of *Spire* 1526. was examined; In which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of *Wormbs*, and matter of Religion (in the mean time) till one of these Councills were held, every Prince and State should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable reason of their Actions, to God and the Emperour; The Emperour now, alleging it was misunderstood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the setling thereof, in this manner.

Sleidan.

1527.

Aug. 1.

March 15. 1529.

That all, who have obeyed the Emperours Edict at *Wormbs* hitherunto, should continue to obey it, untill a Councill were called, which was promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so farre entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, should yet stay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing

New

New and Offenſive Bookes; (according to the Decree at *Noremberg* 1524.) That the Antient Tenent about the Euchariſt, and the Maſſe, ſhould be held. That they who would goe to the Maſſe ſhould not be hindered. That Preachers follow that interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath received and approved; abſtaining from Controverted points, which ſhould be determined by the Councill. In the mean while, that difference of Opinion in matters of Religion ſhould not be a breach of Peace, or occaſion of wrong on either ſide. That no Prince ſhould receive the ſubjects of the other into his protection. That they who did otherwiſe, ſhould be under the *Bann*, (or proſcrib'd.) But the Anabaptiſts were more ſhrewdly dealt withall, it being agreed, that they, who with pertinacie did maintain that Doctrine, ſhould be put to death. 1528.

Many things yet were diſlik'd herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunemburg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſen*, and divers others. Therefore they proteſted againſt it; and firſt they ſaid, That the formet Diet of *Spire* was more favourable, as permitting every one the exerciſe of his Religion, till a Councill in *Germany*, or, otherwiſe, a Generall Councill were call'd; and that there was no reaſon to vary from it, unleſſe another more Convenient were Accorded. That, in the Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, they had deliver'd many Grievances to the Popes Legat, for which yet no remedy was given, nor, indeed, could be expected, untill the ſaid Councill were call'd. As for the Maſſe, that it was ſufficiently convicted by the Miniſters of their Churches, and the Euchariſt after the true manner reſtored. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either they or their Subjects ſhould be preſent at the Maſſe; ſince, when the uſe thereof might be received in their Churches, yet if two divine ſervices, ſo diſcrepant, ſhould be Celebrated in the ſame place, much ill example and ſcandall muſt follow. And for the point of the Euchariſt, that though there were difference among the Reformed, yet that none ought to be condemned, unheard. As for the Article, which preſcribeth the Goſpell to be interpreted according to the ordinary and received Doctrine of the Church, that it was well-ſtated, when the true Church were firſt defin'd, untill which, they would labour to interpret one place of Scripture by the other. That the laſt Decree at *Spire* was made for the ſake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and, therefore, that they altogether proteſted againſt it. In the mean while (untill this Generall or Provinciall Councill for *Germany* were call'd) they promis'd to doe nothing, that might juſtly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, Anabaptiſts, and printing of Books, they ſaid, they knew very well what was to be done. *April* 19. 1529. 1526. 23. 1524.

This Proteſtation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Townes of *Germany*, (among which *Strasburg*, *Noremberg*, *Vlm*, *Conſtance*, *Roteling*, *Winſeim*, *Memingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempten*, *Hailbrun*, *Norlingen*, *Sangall*, and divers others are numbred) they all

1528. joynd so together, that, the name of Protestants tooke thence its originall; which name therefore (properly taken) seems to imply no more, than one resolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenents, till some Lawfull Councill, either Generall or Provinciall, determined the contrary. *Ferdinand*, finding matters thus not to sort to that effect he desir'd, departs, out of the Assembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of *Saxony*, and the rest, to stay, which he refusing, they appeald to the Emperour, and future Councill.

1528. *Jan.* Let us now see what was done in *Italie* this while; The Pope, though escaped, was not yet suddenly provided with Counsell or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his defence, aswell as desire of Revenge, made him Correspond with *Lautrech*, so feare of returning againe to imprisoment, caus'd him to proceed so warily, that one might doubt his intentions. Therefore he kept *Lautrech* still in much suspence; saying one while he desired an Universall peace, then excused himselfe for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Nevertheless, if the seat of Warre might be transferred out of the Patrimony of the Church, he said he would advise what was to be done. But here also, he knew not how to resolve. For as the Warre of *Milan* was, in a manner, ended, so himself had an eye upon the Kingdome of *Naples*, and for *Florence*, it was his Native Countrey. Besides, he was sufficiently informed, that *Francis*, when he might have hope to recover his Children by faire meanes, would not assist him. All which reasons made him so temporise, even to the giving suspition of deserting the League, whereof himself was Author. Hereupon *Lautrech* staid at *Bononia*, attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further instructions. But as *Charles* and *Francis* came to no agreement, so he was commanded to proceed with his Army; In which Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry*, and *Francis*, had the command of 200. Horse, paid by our King.

Bell. Whereupon the Imperialists, knowing how much it concern'd them to defend the Kingdome of *Naples*, retir'd thither, with a small remnant of their Army. Where they had enough to doe, both as they were to resist the French, and as the people, desirous of Novelty (after their giddy manner, when either they thinke themselves oppresst, or that, otherwise, they hope for a milder Government) were ready to revolt, which also appear'd so much, that, long before *Lautrech* came to divers Townes, they yielded themselves, sending their keyes a dayes Journey before them. The first that made head against them, was the Prince of *Aurange*. But as his forces were much inferiour to the French, he, at last, retir'd to *Naples*; where yet he was so hated by *Hugo de Moncada*, and the Spanyards, that he was in danger of having the Gates shut against him. *Lautrech* now, pursuing his good fortune, besieges *Melfi*. But as a number of Labourers and Husbandmen, unapt for war, were shut in it, so their fears and noyses, while the Souldiers defended the Walls, made them retire to

Bell. Febr.

the

the Caſtle, as thinking they had other enemies within. Whereof the French taking advantage, entred, and ſack'd the Town, making the Prince of *Melfi*, his Lady, and children Priſoners. After which, divers other places yeelded to the French, till they came to *Naples*, which was *April* 17. or as others ſay *May* 1. 1528. And now their Army ſeem'd terrible; both as it was reinforc'd by ſome Regiments of Suiſſe, and as the Inhabitants of *Naples* favour'd them. While that of the Spaniards was no greater, than what the walls of *Naples*, and ſome little places in the Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* conſidered that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialiſts were of this number, he did not think fit to inveſt the Town by Land, till he had block'd it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Galleys, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the beſieged, for all the hope they had either of Victuals or Reliefe was on that part. *Hugo de Moncada*, conſidering this, puts forth with a few Galleys in that Port againſt *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the ſucceſſe whereof was, that he loſt, at once, both victory and life, and about 700 more with him; *Alfonſo de Avalos Marquis del Vaſto*, *Aſcanio de Colonna*, and ſome others of Note, being taken priſoners. This as it added great Courage to the French, ſo it occaſioned ſome benefits to the Imperialiſts, both as it tooke away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Aurange*, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it opened a way (as ſhall appeare afterwards) for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperours ſervice. 1528. April 17.

The ſiege continued yet foure Moneths; *Lautrech*, as being Maſter of the Field, deſiring rather to take the City by famine, than by the ſword. And now the victuals were almoſt all conſum'd; When the Prince of *Aurange* thought fit to ſend *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about 5000 Foot, and 700 Horſe, with divers Carts, to forrage and get proviſion, but they alſo were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out ſtill.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Novarra*, and *Biagras*, and divers other places, taken by *Lautrech*; and ſo joyn'd with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who came with 15000 Germans, and 500 Horſe, to ſerve the Emperour. Theſe two agreeing together to beſiege *Lodi*, found ſuch gallant reſiſtance, that they were at laſt conſtrained to deſiſt, and the rather, that they heard, the *Count de St. Paul*, with a ſtrong Army of Suiſſe and French, was on his way to relieve it. Beſides, the Germans, who came with *Brunſwick*, having not their pay at the time appointed, did for the moſt part return, ſo that the French, by joyning with the Duke of *Urbin*, made themſelves quickly maſters of the Field, recovering again all the places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the Fatall *Pavia*. But ſee upon what Engines Fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, Victorious and Triumphant, being come to *Surrento*, to cure his hurt Souldiers, and repaire his Galleys, *Lautrech* ſends *Giovanni Joakim* to require

1528. require the Prisoners, as being taken in the name, and for the service of the King his Master. *Philippino*, though receiving this Message with great indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whose Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time. For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, *Lautrech* should have given, before hee demanded them. This error therefore cost deare. For *Philippino*, who took pay chiefly to give proofe of his Vertue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expired) was not to bee treated in this fashion. As the French found soon after. For, employing his thoughts at this present more how to gain his own liberty, than to leave his Prisoners, He found means to retire himself to a place of more surety; Where, upon private Conference with his Prisoners, he found, that he could make more profit of them from the Spanish, than the French side. In conclusion, *Andrea Doria* also being solicited by the Prince of *Aurange* to change Master (assoon as his terme was out) he begins to listen; and the rather that so good conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and, particularly, an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*. Hee would not yet leave the French abruptly, nor before hee had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the French Court, to demand satisfaction for the Ransome of the Prince of *Aurange*, taken before *Marseilles*, and others during the siege of *Pavia*. Hee also requir'd that *Genoua* might be restor'd to its superiority over *Savona*. Which demands being brought to the Chancellor *du Prat* and dislik'd, it was thought fit to send *Antoine de la Roche-Fouchault*, with Commission to seize on the Person and Galleys of *Doria*. Notice whereof being secretly given him, *Doria*, leaving the French Galleys to their new Commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the Emperour's service; who, for obliging him the more, promised to restore *Genoua* his native Country to its former liberty, and to make him Generall of the Imperiall Navy. Thus did the French lose *Doria*, only because they knew not how to use him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as Mercenary, more cautiously; especially, when he might make so much benefit by revolting to the other side.

Jun. 10. While this Treaty was on foot, *Pietro Lando*, with thirty Venetian Galleys, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: so that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out; yet the hand of God is above all. For a kind of *Sandov.* Pestilence, (which *Sandoval* calls *Negra* or black) so universally seized on the French, that they diminished daily in great numbers, and * *April* 25. among them * Sir *Robert Jerningham*: whose company, therefore, was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet dyed there *Aug.* 15. of the same disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, (A brave Commander, but withall noted to be so opinionate, that he would, alone, have the glory, or shame of all his actions) dyed of the disease, and huge numbers of others; which so disheartned the French, that the weak

remain-

remainders, wanting (beſides their health) Money, victuall, *&c.* raiſed the Siege, and retir'd homewards. And thus, ſucceſſively, were two great Armies conſum'd with the Plague, without other force; as it uſually happens, when people, not acquainted with the Temper, Wines, and Fruits of a Country, live licentiouſly. They could not yet retire ſo quietly, but that the Imperialiſts follow'd them, and took divers Priſoners, and, among others, the old and weak *Pietro Navarra*. The Marquis of *Saluçes*, who undertook (after *Lautrech*) the government, yet held *Averſa* for ſome while; though, at laſt, hee was conſtrained to yeeld it together with himſelfe. In ſequence whereof all other places the French held in thoſe parts were ſurrender'd, ſave a few the Venetians fortified. *Genoua* alſo was conſtrained to yeeld it ſelf, and ſhake off the French yoke, by the means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the plague had chaſed almoſt all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trevulci* to a Compoſition, by which he was to forſake the Town. The *Genoueſi*, hereupon, were reſtor'd to their former liberty, and *Savona*, not long after, taken by them. The Count St. *Paul*, finding affaires thus to goe ill on the French ſide, thought to repaire them by ſurpriſing *Milan*, upon intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing proviſion of Victuals only for twenty four hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his enterpriſe, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with intention to paſſe there the reſt of the Winter, 1528. 1528.

As the Plague deſtroyed the French in *Italie*, the ſweating ſickneſſe conſum'd very many in *England*; it ſeeming to be but the ſame Contagion of the aire, varied according to the Clime. It was firſt known in *England*, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it ſo raged, as it kil'd ordinarily in five or ſix houres ſpace, invading even the Kings Court, where not only Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton*, and Mr. *William Cary* (two of the Kings Bed-Chamber,) dyed of it; but the King himſelf was not without danger.

In *Germany* alſo it did much harme, killing many, and, particularly, interrupting a Conference at *Marpurg*, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Euchariſt. *Sleid. l. 6.*

I ſhall now come to the buſineſſe of the Divorce; ſo much vexed by our Writers, that, for ſatisfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of thoſe Originalls, and Authentique Records, that I ſhall preſume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary piece of Hiſtory.

Our King had now, for many years, enjoyed the Vertuous Queen *Katherine*, without that either ſcruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward note of unkindneſſe had paſt betwixt them. Nevertheleſſe, as, preſently after the Birth of the Princeſſe (who alone of all their Children ſurvived) *Luther* and others, controverted the Authority, and extent of the Papall Juriſdiction, ſo in this Kingdome, the Diſpenſation of *Julius* the ſecond for the aforeſaid Marriage, being, privately, queſtion'd, many of our learned Men concluded it void, 1516. 15.

as

1528. as being granted in a Case prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indispensable. This again, whispered in the Eares of many, begot such a muttering, as, being brought to the King, made Him think what Hee was to doe. For though Hee knew that a keeping of the Succession doubtfull was one of the ill Arts by which Princes Conserve themselves; yet, as a desire to have Posterity, which might succeed Him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Considerations, Hee resolv'd to clear this point by all fitting degrees, and the rather, that hee knew the same objections had been made (though wrongfully) to *Edward* the Fourth, and his Children. And certainly (as it appears to me by many Circumstances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as He could, in favour of the Princesse his Daughter. So that, although the Bishop of *Tarbe* (being sent by *Francis* 1527. to Conclude the Alternative formerly set down,) did object openly against her Legitimation, as being got by the King upon his Brothers Wife, it did not much move Him. But, seeing it now grown a publique doubt, he thought it more notorious, than could be suppress. Neither did Hee believe that *Charles* would be greatly scandalized at it; since, to avoyd the Treaty
1525. of *Windsore*, Himselfe had alleg'd some things to this purpose. All
Hall. which again (as *Polydore* relates) was secretly fomented by *Longland* Bishop of *Lincolne* (his Majesties Confessor,) at the instigation of the Cardinall; who both hated the Emperour, and was averse from the Queen, by reason of her reproving his loose, and inordinate life. Though (what ever *Polydore* saith,) it will appear hereafter, that *Wolsey* indeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howsoever, on some, or all of these causes, the King was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this affaire concern'd himself, his Posterity, and Kingdome. And
1527. because, it was easie to collect of what Consequence any Rumour this kind might be, He not only sent to our Ambassadours in *Spaine*, as is said before, to silence the noise thereof, but used all means possible both to appease those violent Jealousies the Queen had conceiv'd, and to satisfie his people, at least untill himself had looked further into the Businesse. In which certainly his Intentions privately were to proceed; For besides his dispatching his Secretary *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, (whom yet he commanded to advise with our Cardinall by the way, being then in *France*,) Hee took information sometimes about his present Condition, and sometimes (it is probable also) about such Ladyes as might furnish him a choise for a Geniall, and second bed. In which number the Dutchesse of *Alançon*, Sister to *Francis*, is the first I find mentioned, whose Picture (as *Hall* saith) was sent over, about this time. Neither did the Cardinall, being certified of these passages, omit to comply at least
July 29. in apparance with him, and therefore write to the King, that the best
1527. way to obtain his desire, was, to tell the Emperour plainly, that unlesse he set the Pope free (at this time in prison, as is formerly mentioned) hee would proceed in the Divorce upon his own, and his Clergies Authority. After which, he sent for *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*,
Aug. 30. (then

(then reſident Ambaſſadour in *France*) and commended him to the King, as a Perſon to whom hee might diſcover himſelf; and, together, deliver'd his opinion: Firſt, That, becauſe the Party would appeale, the buſineſſe could not be determined in *England*, unleſſe the Pope would give him abſolute Authority, *in omnibus Caſibus*, (a Minute whereof, to be ſent to *Rome*, I have ſeen.) Secondly, That ſhee ſhould be perſwaded, *ad ingreſſum Religionis*. And, laſtly, if neither of thoſe could be effected, it ſhould be thought of, *Quid poſſet clam fieri quoad forum Conſcientiæ*? Concerning which points, the Biſhop of *Bath* at his return ſpeaking, (as I find in an Originall from the ſaid Biſhop to *Wolſey*) the King replyed, My Lord of *Bath*, the Bull is good, or it is naught; If it be naught, let it be ſo declar'd, and if it be good, it ſhall never be broken by no by-wayes for me. Whereupon, the Biſhop repreſented, that the Popes Captivity hindered all ſuits in that Court, and, howſoever, that the Proceſſe would be ſo ſlow, as it could not be determined in ſix or ſeven years. Beſides, that there muſt be Three diſtinct Sentences given in it, by three divers Judges, the two laſt to be choſen for the adverſe party. Laſtly, that after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd; *Quia ſententia contra Matrimonium, nunquam tranſit in rem Judicatam*; Adding, in Concluſion, as the knot of the buſineſſe, that the party would Appeale. To which the King anſwer'd, he thought She would not appeale from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *London*; as for the tediouſneſſe of the ſuit, ſince he had patience eighteen years, that He would ſtay yet foure or five more; ſince the opinion of all the Clerkes of his Kingdome, beſides Two, were lately declared for him; adding, that he had ſtudied the Matter himſelf, and Written of it, and that he found it was unlawfull, *de Jure divino*, and undiſpenſable. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, and no probability of the Queens fruitfulneſſe, ſince the Princeſſe *Mary*'s Birth, appearing; and the rather, that Spaniſh women are obſerved to be ſeldome Mothers of many children; He reſolves to have recourſe to the Pope; Comforting himſelf, for the reſt, that no other difficulty appeared in removing all theſe inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which a Diſpenſation only had at firſt made. He knew the ſame key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to ſend to *Rome*, both to repreſent the dangerous Condition of himſelf, his iſſue and Kingdome, and to ſolicite the Pope for a Licence to marry another. And the rather, that ſo many Circumſtances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the firſt Marriage was grounded, to be ſuſpected. The proſecuting whereof therefore (in a Diſpatch Dated 25th of *December* 1527) was recommended, by the Cardinall, to Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, an Italian; Which alſo he was requir'd to urge ſo farre, as to ſay, that our King could impute the puniſhment God had layd on him in taking away his Iſſue Male, upon nothing ſo much, as the unlawfulneſſe of this Marriage; which learned Men did alſo generally ſo deteſt, as they held it to be more than

1528.

Records.

Records.

Decem. 25. 1527.

1528. the Pope could dispence with (as I find they declar'd afterwards, in a Book, was sent thither.) Wherefore, that he should procure a Commission for hearing and determining this Cause, to be directed to the Cardinall; or, if that were refused, to Bishop *Staphylæus*, Deane of the *Ruoota*, who had been lately in *England*. And that he should furthermore say, that he doubted not, but the Pope would easily grant it, though against the will of *Charles*; since hee had granted *Charles* a Dispensation and absolution from the Oath which hee had taken to Marry the Princesse *Mary*, without so much as demanding the consent of our King. For facilitating of which businesse, Letters of Exchange to the value of ten thousand Duckats were sent him; As also certain Instruments for the Popes signing, which were, First, a Commission, in ample forme, to heare, and determine the cause in *England*. Secondly, a Decretall, wherein the Pope, upon probation of Carnall knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katherine*, should pronounce the Marriage voyd. Thirdly, a Dispensation for the King to Marry another. Fourthly, a Pollicitation, that the Pope will not recall any of these Acts. But it was an ill time for Sir *Gregory* to Negotiate with the Pope; he being (as I find by an Originall dispatch of Doctor *Knight*, Dated from *Rome September* the 13. 1527.) so aw'd by *Hernando de Alarçon*, that hee durst neither give the said *Knight* a publike Audience, nor (so much as admit a private Message from him, but by the Intervention of the Cardinall *Pisani*. So that, what wisdome or piety soever our King might pretend herein, the *Coiuntura* certainly was no way auspicious. And the rather, that the Pope, during his Imprisonment in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, had been requir'd in the Emperour's name (as I find by a dispatch of Doctor *Knights* from *Orvieto*) not to grant any Act concerning the Divorce, nor so much as suffer the cause to be heard before any Judge in our Kings Dominions. I find also in the same Letter that *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinall *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being chosen by the Pope for dispatching our Kings businesses, had told Doctor *Knight*, that the Commission penned here in *England*, for the Popes signing, might not passe, but that he had minuted another, which the Pope (though with some reluctation) had granted; earnestly intreating our King nevertheless, not to put it in Execution, till the Spaniards, and Almaines were gone out of *Italie*, and himself left in his full libertie. To confirme which grant also, the same Doctor *Knight*, by a Letter (dated *Jan.* 9th, 1528.) did certifie, that the King's Dispensation was obtained under lead, as amply as the Minute sent from *England* did conteine; and the Commission for the Lord Legate likewise was granted, sufficiently, though not according to the forme propos'd; and that it was drawne by the Cardinall *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Moreover, he tells (as in the Popes name) that if *Monsieur de Lautrech* were come, the Pope thinketh he might, by good Colour, say to the Emperour, that he was required by the English Ambassadours, and *Monsieur de Lautrech* to proceed in the businesse. All which particu-

Sept. 13. 1527.

Jan. 1. 1528.

Jan. 9.

larities

larities, I have the rather set down, that it might appeare, how the difficulties, that the Pope made in this businesse, seemed to proceed chiefly from humane considerations. Which also is much confirmed by a dispatch from *Gregory Casalis* 13 *Jan.* 1528. where (on the Popes part, and in his name) he saith, that if the Kings Conscience be satisfied (which he alone can best tell) his Course were *Ut statim Committat causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro Legato, &c.* and, that this was the onely way for the King to attain his desires: though yet he intreated, this advise might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Simonetta*, and not from himself. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politique advise, so would it have prov'd safer and easier for both, than a Commission for two Legates; which as it took up more time on the Kings part, so it caused a like danger and inconvenience to the Pope. Howsoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the King, either out of tendernesse of Conscience, or consideration of the hazard he should run, if the Pope would not confirme this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but chose rather to demand a larger Commission than that which Doctor *Knight* obtained, the procuring whereof also hee committed to *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to *Wolsey*, and *Edward Fox*, Provost of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*; Not neglecting, in the mean time, both to instruct the Pope in his cause, and do him all the good offices he could with Christian Princes, and States, and particularly the Venetians, concerning the restitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it tooke not such effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinall *Wolsey*'s to the Protonotary *John Casalis*, to desire him to acquaint the Pope with some domestique and private passages; which (though out of the respect I bear to that vertuous Queens memory) I cannot but mention somewhat unwillingly, yet must not omit, both for the sake of that truth that ought to be in History, and as it seems to contain some Motive of the Kings intentions. I shall set down the words in Latin as they are extant in our Record. *Sunt nonnulla secreto Sancto Domino Nostro exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob Causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus, absque remedio, Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult, ullo unquam posthac tempore, eauti, vel ut uxorem admittere, quodcunq; evenerit.*

1528.

Jan. 13.

Jan.

Febru.

Feb. 18.

Gardiner and *Fox*, receiving their instructions in *Febr.* 1528. repair'd first to *Francis*; from whom they readily obtain'd a promise to cooperate puissantly with the Pope, for effectuating the Kings desire, as also a perswasory and menacing Letter in case of refusall to the Pope; For complying wherewith also the Bishop *Staphylæus* was sent by him to *Rome* not long after. Our Ambassadours having given the King account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to *Italie*, and comming at last to *Orvieto*, where the Pope then was, they found him lodged in an old and ruinous Monastery, his outward chamber altogether unfurnish'd, and his Bedchamber-hangings, together with his

1528. Bed, valued by them (as the Originall Letter hath it) at no more then twenty Nobles. The Pope yet receiv'd them lovingly; though not without the anxiety of one who could neither safely grant, nor deny the request of a King, to whom he so much owed, whatsoever liberty he enjoyed. Their instructions for the present, were only yet, to thank him for the Commission and Dispensation granted in this businesse to Doctor *Knight*, and after intrusted to *Gambara* his Agent here (successor unto *Melerior Langus*, who was first Authorized by the Pope, to give Queen *Katherine* notice of this affaire, together with the Popes secret intention therein.) They added further, that by *Gambara*, as also by Sir *Gregory Casalis*, our King had gladly understood, how all defects, upon due remonstrance, should be supplied and amended. They were charged also, from the Cardinall, privately, to protest in his name, that he was no Author of this Counsell. After which they were desired, by him, to proceed to the merit of the Cause, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Mistris *Bolen*.) The perplexed Pope, who knew well how much the Spaniard was interessed herein, heard them at this time with more feare, then at another time hee would have granted their request. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Answer, which he gave them by word of mouth, he sent, in Cifer, a Letter to our King, of so much irresolution, that it needed no other cover. Howsoever, as the Commission of our Ambassadours was to stay till further order was given, they seemed to take all in good part. At last our able Negotiators, urging the aforesaid and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the French and Confederate Army puisant and victorious in the Kingdome of *Naples* at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full Commission to two Legats, to Heare and Determine the Cause in *England*, being (according to the Kings desire) *Wolsey* and *Campegius* (not long since made Bishop of *Salisbury*). Besides, it seems he granted this following Pollicitation, or promise, Dated at *Viterbo*, *July* 23. 1528. which yet, being no Originall-peece, but an antient Copy, extant among Sir *Robert Cottons* Records, I shall mention but according to the credit it may deserve from the equall Reader, only I must not omit to say, that, as divers Originall dispatches, both before and after, give some touches of it, and that the Date for the rest is added, so it may challenge better credit then to be thought a Minute, and much lesse a Counterfeit and supposed peece, which also is the more probable, that the Pope granted ampler Testimonies than this, in favour of the Divorce; However they were either controll'd again, or detain'd in the hands of his Ministers, after that sort, that our King might well take notice, but neither Copy nor advantage of them.

July 23.

The

1528.

The Pollicitation.

Promessio Pontificis in Negotio Regis.

Cum nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa septimus modernus, justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris. Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ de ejus Matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, & famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Catholici filia, nulliter & de facto contraxisse, & consummasse affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, pro-ut revera sic transgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios, Thomam, & Laurentiam miseratione divina Sanctæ Ceciliæ, & Sanctæ Mariæ in transtyberim respective titulorum, nostri & Apostolicæ sedis in Regno Angliæ prædicto Legatos de Latere, Commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, (quam pro hic inserta, & expressa haberi volumus, & habemus) emiserimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimis, pro ut sic etiam tenore præsentium effectualiter & plenissime conjunctim & divisim committimus & deputamus, quo animi nostri, eidem Henrico Regi in justitia illa quam-celerrime administranda propensionem certius & clarius attestimur securioremque reddamus de judiciorum Labyrintho longo varioq; ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis, non una fere ætate explicabili; deniq; ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus & factus fiendus ut aut habendus, validus & firmus ac inconcussus maneat; Promittimus, *&, in verbo Romani pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requisitionem, seu instantiam, merove motu, aut aliter ullas unquam literas, brevia Bullas aut rescripta aliave quæcunq; per modum vel justitiæ, vel gratiæ, aut aliter quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa prædicta commissionum commissionisve predictæ processusve per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habiti & facti habendive aut fiendi inhibitorium, revocatorium, aut quovismodo præjudicialem quacunq; ratione contineant, quæve dictarum commissionum commissionisve seu processus hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem & effectualem exæcutionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illave aut eorem aliqua revocent, aut eisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus; Sed datis a nobis eisdem deputatis nostris commissiones & commissionem hujusmodi, processumq; per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habitum & factum, habendumq; & fiendum sua plenissima authoritate, robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu conservabimus, rati habebimus, tuibimur, & defendemus. Deniq; omnes tales literas, brevia, bullas, aut rescripta, quæ dictarum commissionum commissionisve*

1528. *ſioniſve proceſſuſve antedicti executionem, aut ejuſdem virtute decreta, definita, & pronunciata per eoſdem deputatos noſtros confirmare poſſint aut valeant, abſq; mora, recuſatione, aut difficultate quacunq; de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia dabimus & concedemus. Et, inſuper, promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæſito colore vel ingenio, Niſi Vi vel Metu coacti, vel Dolo aut Fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus; Sed ea omnia & ſingula firma, valida, inconcuſſa & inviolabilia patiemur, & permittemus. Ac inſuper, ſi (quod abſit) aliquid contra præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua quoviſmodo faciamus aut attemptemus, illud pro caſſo, irrito, inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus, ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout nunc, caſſamus, annullamus, & reprobamus, nulliuſq; roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel eſſe debere pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus. Datum Viterbio, die xxiii Julii Milleſſimo Quingenteſſimo Vigeſſimo Octavo: Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Ita eſt Clemens Papa ſeptimus antedictus.

This while, the Queen who underſtood well what was intended againſt her, laboured with all thoſe paſſions which Jealouſie of the Kings affection, ſence of her own honour, and the legitimation of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Concluſion, the whole fault on the Cardinall; who yet was leſſe guilty than the Queen thought, or *Polydore* would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his Maſters Intereſts (ſo neerly concern'd in this great affaire) he might comply with the Kings deſires, but to be the ſingle Author of a Counſell, which might turn ſo much to his prejudice, when the King ſhould dye, is more than may eaſily be believ'd, of ſo cautious a perſon as *Wolſey*. And this Innocence, perchance, was the reaſon that he neither ſuſpected himſelf to be ſo much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to ſtand in that danger of her practiſes; which yet procurd at laſt his ruine. The firſt who gave the Cardinall notice of the Queens diſpleaſure (as I find by a Letter of his dated at *Feverſham* 5 *July* 1527. then in his Journey towards *France*) was the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; the conſequence whereof he ſo much apprehended, that hee thought fit to uſe all means for ſatisfying her. Therefore he preſently labour'd with the Arch-Biſhop to perſwade the Queen, that, whatſoever ſhe heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the ſurmiſes of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, formerly mentioned. Hee writ alſo to our Ambaſſadours in *Spain*, to quench all rumours there, upon the ſame pretext. But the Queen had ſent thoſe Agents abroad, (and, amonſt them, one *Abel*, her Chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that paſſed, and ingaged the Emperour to aſſiſt her to the uttermoſt of his power. Therefore the Pope ſtood more and more ſuſpended;

July 5. 1527.

ded. The pace of *Campegius* (the promiſed Legat) alſo appear'd ſtaggering and ſlow, and all that might fruſtrate the King's intentions, was ſecretly practis'd. This while the Cardinall, (who out of the King's deſign's would ever produce and ſubrogate ſome particular end of his own, whereof, either in point of glory or profit, he might make advantage) had ſo diſpoſed this of the Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Popes entire delivery, not only from the Guards, but even feare of the Emperour. Again, as, during the Popes reſtraint, he had (under pretence that it was the beſt expedient for the Kings purpos'd Divorce) projected a meeting of Cardinalls at *Avignon*, for ſetling the government of the Church, where hee himſelf intended to be preſent; So, now, ſince the King liked not that courſe, and that the Pope was free, he perſwaded him to erect ſome Cathedrall Churches in *England*, at the price of throwing down more Monaſteries. Whereby it appears, both how buſie this Cardinall was, and how much he ſtudied his own ends. For as hee knew this would pleaſe the King (who began to thinke that Religious perſons might ſerve God aſwell in defending the Kingdome, as praying for it,) ſo he aſſured himſelf the Authority thereof would be derived on him chiefly, and the Pope, in the mean time, obnoxious; while hee could not but feare how far thoſe Innovations might extend. When this project therefore was mov'd to the Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Caſalis*, *Oct.* 30. 1528. that he anſwered, gravely, he liked the deſigne well; but that hee would proceed deliberatly; becauſe it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Therefore he deſired the two Legats (for *Campegius* was by this time come) might be joyn'd in determining this buſineſſe, and that All the Revenues of the Monaſteries, might be conferred on the new Biſhops; and that the two Legats, having adviſed with the Pope hereof, ſhould afterwards nominate them. So that it ſeem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this time, ſince *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Inſtructions theſe words to tell him, *Neceſſe eſt ſupprimi pro ſereniſſimi Regis Collegio Monaſteria cujuſcunq; ordinis*; In concluſion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of ſome ſmall Monaſteries for maintenance of the Kings Colledges in *Cambridge* and *Windſor* Caſtle; the Copy whereof is extant in Sir *Robert Cottons* Library. It may be doubted yet, whether theſe Apprehenſions, that were now, in more then in one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the abſolute Authority of the Church of *Rome*, did diſpoſe the Pope more to oblige or diſoblige him. For, though the Pope had reaſon to feare, leſt hee ſhould loſe his antient Juriſdiction in this Kingdome, if he denyed; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that ſide, hee might offend the Emperour ſo farre, as to hazard the loſſe of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the Emperour of a perfect peace and amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other deſignes which he had in *Florence*; and grants (as is above ſaid) in apparence

1528.

Octob. 30.

Novemb. 2.

1528. a large Cõmiſſion to *Wolſey* and *Campegius*; Yet, in effect, ſo reſtrain'd, as the Emperour might ſee it was not out of his power to check, or revoke it. And this was all that Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much importunity, could obtein. They moved the Pope

1494. *Ant. Brit.* alſo to Canonize *Henry* VI. (which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander* VI. by *Henry* VII.) to which the Pope anſwer'd, that if the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (who had examined the matter in *partibus*) did ſend the Proceſſe thither, as their Commiſſion required, the Canonization ſhould follow ſhortly

Novemb. after. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, our King thought fit to ſend Sir *Francis Bryan*, Knight, and *Peter Vannes* (an Italian, and his Secretary for the Latin Tongue) to *Rome*. Their Inſtructions in generall (being ſigned with the Kings own hand) were to diſſwade the Pope from entring into any League with the Emperour, whoſe deſigne was (hee ſaid) to deveſt the Pope of his Means, and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo* a Cordelier to be Pope, who ſhould not intermeddle with Secular Juriſdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperour would take to himſelf and uſurpe. For preventing whereof, the King wiſhed him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis* name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded alſo, to ſearch privately for a certain pretended Breve, in *Rome* (ſaid to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius* the ſecond, and authorizing the Marriage with Queen *Katherine*) ſince it was not to be found in the Kings Records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to diſcover (in the name of a third perſon) whether, if the Queen enter'd a Religious life, the King might have the Popes Diſpenſation to marry again, and the Children be legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promiſe to enter himſelfe into a Religious life, the Pope might not diſpenſe with his Vow, and leave her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can diſpenſe with the King to have Two Wives, and the Children of both legitimate? Since great Reaſons, and Precedents, eſpecially in the old Teſtament, appear for it. All which they were to doe with that ſecreſie, and circumſpection, that the cauſe might not bee publiſhed, proponing the King's caſe alwaies therefore as another mans. Laſtly (as in all other Inſtructions) ſome kind of Menaces were to be added. But perſwaſions and terrors wanted not on the other ſide; which did ſo much more prevaile with the Pope, as the danger was more immediate and preſſing on the Emperours part, than on our Kings. Therefore our Ambaſſadours were ſo farre from obteining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commiſſion to Cardinall *Wolſey*, and *Campegius*, that they found the Pope now more than ever diſpos'd to favour the Emperour. Inſomuch that they obſerved daily new delayes, and reſtrictions in him.

Sander. Schiſm. Angl. Some whereof (beſides the evidence in our Records) *Sanders* doth confeſſe, while he ſaith, that the Pope, by foure ſeverall Meſſengers

to

to *Campegius* (now on his way) gave him in charge; First, that hee should make easie Journeys. Secondly, that, when he came to *England*, he should labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen: Thirdly, that, if this could not be effected, he should perswade her to enter a Monastery, and take on her a Religious life. Lastly, that, when this could be obtain'd, he should give no Definitive sentence for the Divorce, without expresse commandement from him, *& hoc* (saith he) *summum & maximum sit tibi Mandatum*. *Campegius* thus instructed, protracts all things, whereat though our King seem'd scandaliz'd, as suspecting it came from unwillingnesse; yet, being an active Prince, he made use of that time, to negotiate in *Spaine* for recovering the *Breve*, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Edward Lee*, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of *October* 1528.) *Campegius* coming through *France*, and being conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, our Kings Ambassadour there, came to *London*. Where, being, by our Cardinall presented to the King, hee publikely acknowledged in the name of the Pope, Cardinall, Clergy, and people of *Rome*, that our King was *Liberator urbis*. Shortly after, obtaining audience of the Queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her danger, and to perswade her thereupon to renounce the world, and enter into some Religious life. For which many pretexts wanted not (as I find in our Records) she having been observed, since the Commission obtained, to allow Dancing and pastimes more then before. And that her countenance not only in Court, but to the people, was more cheerfull then ordinary; whereas (it was alleaged) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the Kings Conscience was unsatisfied, and that he had refrained her bed, and was not willing the Lady Princes, her Daughter, should come in her company. But the offended Queen, replying peremptorily, that she was resolved both to stand to that Marriage the Roman Church had once allowed; and, howsoever, not to admit such partiall Judges as they were, to give sentence in her cause. *Campegius* writes to *Rome*, both to informe the Pope hereof, and to desire farther Instructions. The answer whereunto, the Pope yet so long defer'd, that very neere six Moneths pass'd before the two Cardinalls sate in their Commission.

1528.

October.

This while, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Lee*, having given the Emperour an Overture of the Divorce, did, (by a Letter Dated at *Saragosa*, *April* 5. 1529.) return our King this Answer, on the Emperours part. That hee was sorry to understand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King (for the rest) by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the businesse, yet, might be refer'd to *Rome*, or a Generall Councill, and not be decided in *England*. Adding further, that he would defend the Queens just cause. Wherewith, the pretended-Originall Breve was produc'd, and a transsumpt,

April 5. 1529.

1529. or Copy thereof (ſigned by three Biſhops) offer'd them, to ſend to *England*; but the Breve it ſelf was denyed, for feare (as he ſaid) of miſcarrying. To which our Ambaſſadours anſwered, That our King was a Prince of that piety, that he ought not to be Adjur'd; and for the Breve, that it was a Jewell belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be deteined by any other from them. And, for Appealing to *Rome*, it needed not; ſince Authority of determining that buſineſſe, was already given from thence to Cardinall *Wolſey* and *Campegius*. Beſides, that, in cauſes Matrimoniall, the preſence of the parties to be examined, being required for the moſt part, the Emperour might eaſily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen perſonally to goe to *Rome*, eſpecially at that time. After this, the Emperour commanding the Breve to be read, the Ambaſſadours required a Notary to be allowed them, for ſetting down the whole paſſage of this buſineſſe, together with their Proteſtations. But no Notary but the Emperour's being permitted, the Ambaſſadours were forc'd to accept him, deſiring notwithſtanding their allegations might be ſet down apart. Hereupon the Emperour told the Ambaſſadours, that he would ſend an expreſſe Meſſenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and, in caſe of refuſall, to proteſt againſt the Divorce. Our Ambaſſadours yet perſiſted ſtill in urging the Emperour, for his own ſake, to ſend the Breve for *England*; leſt the Judges, wanting ſight thereof, ſhould proceed againſt the Queen, or otherwiſe, that he would ſend the ſaid Breve to the Pope. The Emperour replied, that therefore he would not ſend it. For if it miſcarried, the Judges might then proceed as they would, but for ſending it to the Pope he would adviſe. And that, if matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to ſend it to *England*. By *April* 20. a Letter alſo, the twentieth of *April* 1529, they certifie the King, that the Emperour intended to ſend both to *England* and *Rome*, to make his Proteſtations againſt this Divorce; and that hee would not ſend the Originall Breve. Furthermore, that he requir'd our King, *Octob.* 2. 1518. according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon *Francis*, as a perturber of the Publike Peace. Laſtly, becauſe the ſaid Ambaſſadours had heard, and conſider'd, at large, the Breve, they ſent their objections againſt it. Which, being one of the grounds of the Kings proceeding in this great Affaire, I have thought fit punctually to ſet down, as they are extant in the Originall Letter, written in Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it diſcipher'd in our Records.

That, where it is pretended, the Bull and the Breve to be impetrate in one day, either they were impetrate in one ſute, and by one man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this ſute, being of ſo great importance, was committed to ſuch a one, as could perceive, that the Bull, not conteining ſo large Diſpenſation as the Breve, is ſuperfluous, (ſuppoſing the Breve to be neceſſary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the ſutes made by one man, it is hard to think that one man, being inſtruct in the ſute for both, would put the

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Diſpenſation of leſſe moment in a Bull, and of greater moment in a Breve, ſeeing the one might be as facilly impetrate as the other, and that the Diſpenſation in Lead is more durable to remain, and, That the two Kings were bound to impetrate Bulls, and not Breves, whereof he or they that had ſuch Commiſſion, (as it ſeemeth) could not be ignorant. And if theſe ſutes were made by divers perſons, and by ſeverall Commiſſions, there is no reaſon can be alleged (the impetration being in one day,) why to two ſeverall perſons ſeverall Commiſſions ſhould be given herein, the thing requiring no haſte, the Marriage following five or ſix years after, but more likely is, if the Breve were then obteined indeed, that it was procured by ſecret practiſes, not known to all parties *quorum intererat ſcire & conſentire*; for, both the parties conſenting, I think there can be no ſufficient cauſe alleged, why, the thing being done by common conſent, the Breve rather then the Bull ſhould have larger diſpenſation; for what needed two divers ſutes, with divers Commiſſions, if both the parties were agreed upon the ſutes? eſpecially the impetration of both being in one day. 1529.

Secondly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter *Abel* ſaith, the Queen to have ſworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita a Principe Arthuro*; the cauſe of the impetration for ſo much, is vain, (*viz.*) *quod Regina cum Arthuro principe matrimonium carnali copula conſummaverit.* If this be true, it appeareth that he that ſued the Breve had no Commiſſion of the parties, for they would not give him Commiſſion to impetrate diſpenſation for cauſe not true.

Thirdly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter *Abel* ſaith to me, that the Queen never heard of ſuch Breve, before the Emperours Orators there preſented it to her; how can it ſtand, that is reported in the Breve, *quod impetratum eſt Breve ad Reginæ inſtantiam?*

Fourthly, if your Highneſſe had made inſtance and ſupplication for the ſame Breve, it is not to be thought that it ſhould be ſo far out of your Remembrance, the cauſes of impetration being ſuch, as your Highneſſe might and could, anon, reduce it to the ſame.

Fiftly, if it were impetrate at the inſtance of your Highneſſe, and of the Queens Grace, no cauſe is, why it ſhould be ſent into *Spaine* to King *Fernando*, (as the Emperou's folkes firſt ſaid, but now ſwarve) and not to your Highneſſe, and the Queens grace. If any will ſuppoſe, that it was done by your conſent, no reaſon agreeth, why you ſhould conſent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own hands, than ſend it to the cuſtody of another. And yet, if you did conſent, it cannot be thought, but that it ſhould remain in your remembrance, as the firmity of your Marriage, and diſcharge of your Conſcience, with other things, touching highly your ſucceſſion, ſtanding therein; And it may be ſuppoſed moreover, that ſome writing of the Depoſite thereof ſhould remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, conſidering that, the King of moſt noble memory, your Father, then alive, your Highneſſe not being at the date of the Breve

1529. paſt xv. or xvi. years of age, [*for ſo the Cifre is; though as King* Henry *was then but xii, and ſomething more, I conceive thoſe figures were Ciphers only, ſignifying his true age: unleſſe perchance the Cipherer or Deſcipher did otherwiſe miſtake it;*] It may be well ſuppoſed that your Highneſſe was not then much to ſollicite the impetration of ſuch things. And that, if any ſuch Breve ſhould have been impetrate, that time, that rather it ſhould have been done at the inſtance of the King, your Father, than of your Highneſſe. And although then it might have been impetrate in your Highneſſe name, yet it could not have been done there without knowledge and conſent of the King yout Father, and alſo at his ſetting forth. And, if any his intervention and conſent had been in this matter, he would not have bound King *Fernando*, and likewiſe have been bound himſelf, to get Bulls of Diſpenſation. And ſurely it may be thought that, if the King your Father conſented, *Don Fernando* of *Spain* did the ſame, ſo that it cannot bee doubted, but that as they ſay here they have two Bulls reſerved in their Archives, ſo ſhould alſo this Breve have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, nor any ſuch is found in your Highneſſe Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckoned, that there was no ſuch obteined by the conſent of the King your Father.

And ſo, Seventhly, maketh the Breve ſuſpect, that the Emperour's folks firſt ſaid, that it was found in *Archivis Regum Hiſpaniarum*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinalls Graces Letters, and now, forgetting themſelves, the Emperours Chancellor, and *Perenot* have confeſſed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor *de Puebla*, which was Orator of *Spain*, in *England*, in the Kings dayes of moſt noble memory your Father. Which contrariety maketh to appeare that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Doctor *Puebla*'s being there, I have written in our Common Letters the fifth of *April*, and now do again: by whom peradventure ſome light might be had.

Eighthly, who ſo conſidereth the high renowned wiſdome of the King your ſaid Father, and his great ſage Counſell, men of ſingular wiſdome and learning for all purpoſes, may well conceive, that, or ever any Diſpenſation for Marriage to be had between your Highneſſe and the Queen were ſent for, that her Grace was examined *an eſſet cognita a Principe Arthuro an non?* And that *ſi faſſa eſt*, that the two Kings would have provided therefore *Diſpenſationem in Bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other ſide, *ſi negavit ſe fuiſſe cognitam, nihil erat opus Brevi quoad, &c.* And for the ſecond part of the Breve, I cannot ſuppoſe that your Highneſſe, in that time, which the date of the Breve pretendeth (your Highneſſe being then not much more then xii. or xv. years of age, and the King your Father living) needed no diſpenſation in that party. And if none needed then, why ſhould your Highneſſe then make inſtance for any, which is ſuppoſed in the Breve?

Ninthly, if this Breve were impetrate in the dayes of Doctor *de Puebla*,

Puebla; the being thereof so long in his hands, and the manner of keeping of the same, giveth new conjecture that is a thing cassat; for the thing being of so much importance, touching so nigh your Highnesse and the Queen, why should hee keep it? specially so long? for he lived in *England* after the date of the Breve, five or six years, and dyed there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that such a King, and such a Councell, would have suffered the Breve to be out of their hands, in his hands, all that time, if the Breve had been known to them necessary for this Matrimony, and of any value? And, as I said, the manner of keeping thereof seemeth to confirme the same; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things; One, that it was not kept in a case of Tinn, after the manner of Breves; for only in a paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that, in the Superscription it appear'd slubbered, by reason of often handling, peradventure lying among so many his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it seemeth that hee tooke it as cassat, and voyd, peradventure as surreptitiously obteined of his own head, without any Commission or consent of the parties. 1529.

Tenthly, another suspition is, that, although the Emperours Chancellour and *Perenot* say, they have divers Letters and Writings of the said *Puebla*'s, concerning both the First marriage, and second of the Queenes; yet, because they uttered not that they have any thing specially concerning this Breve, (which they would not have forgotten to say, for so much as it maketh for their purpose, if there had been any such) moved upon that suspition, I demanded of them, and divers times to the same, whether they had any speciall Letters concern this Breve? they could not, ne did not say that they had; but the Emperour's Chancellor answered, that the Breve was enough. Whereupon may be gathered, that his answer implyed, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, if any such Breve were impetrate at that time, by the knowledge and consent of both the Kings; likely is, that either of them should have one. Let them then here bring forth the Breve *ex Archivis suis*. If they will say, this is it; what likelihood is it, that it should be sent into *England*, to come into *Spain*? for this Breve, if it were in Doctor *de Puebla*'s custody, came out of *England* after his death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there, (if he confesse that it was found amongst other his Uncles Writings) will also confesse. I say, why it was sent into *England*? it is not to be doubted, but *Don Fernando* had an Ambassadour in the Court of *Rome*, which might easilier and neerer way have sent it into *Spaine*. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any such Breve, their diligence in custody of such things supposed, and well deprehended in the Custody of two Bulls, (for some of the Secretaries said to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themselves) that there is no such, ne any other-where, of any effect and value.

The

1529. The twelfth ſuſpition againſt the Breve is in it ſelfe; that, whenſoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gathered of divers things in the ſame, and about the ſame; the hand of ſome learner, and not of one exercis'd in writing of ſuch things; and ſome defaults in the writing; ſuch, as my Lord of *Worceſter* ſaith, hee hath not ſeen committed in any Breve. And, as he truſteth to prove, the Date ſhall utterly condemne the Breve. And theſe exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the ſame Ambaſſadours to the *April* 20. Cardinall: Firſt, that there were Raſures in it. Secondly, divers hands. Thirdly, Names falſe-written, as *Artherus pro Arthurus*. Fourthly, the Date falſe; as being *Decem.* 26. 1503, which, according to the date of Breves, beginning 25. *Dec.* was almoſt a year before *Julius* II. was Pope. It was obſerved, likewiſe, that the Seale ſwell'd in the middle, and appear'd like ſome old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of theſe diſpatches of thoſe able negotiators the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee* the Kings Almoner; who, ſending the tranſumpt of the Breve to the King *April* 23, by a Letter 12 *April* 23. *June* 12. of *June* following, alſo certified our King of the ſending of *Gonçales Fernando* the Emperours Chaplain to the Earle of *Deſmond* in *Ireland* (which hath relation to that I have formerly ſaid of him) together with the return of a Chaplain of the ſaid Earls in his company; the Emperour ſeeming to take this intended Divorce ſo much to heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealouſie. Shortly after *Aug.* 19. which I find alſo the Biſhop of *Worceſter* repealed.

This while, the common people, who with much anxiety attended the ſucceſſe of this great affaire, ſeem'd, betwixt pitty to Queen *Katherine*, and envy to *Anne Bolen*, (now appearing to be in the Kings favour) to caſt out ſome murmuring and ſeditious words; which being brought to the King's eares, he thought fit to proteſt publikely in *Nov.* 8. 1528. an Aſſembly of Lords, Judges, *&c.* call'd to his Palace of Bridewell, That nothing but deſire of giving ſatisfaction to his Conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion to the Crown in a right and undoubted line, had firſt procur'd him to controvert this Marriage: being (for the reſt) as happy in the affection and vertues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirme which alſo, he cauſed *Anne Bolen* to depart the Court, in ſuch an abrupt and diſcontented faſhion, that ſhe determined to abſent her ſelfe altogether. Neither could ſhe bee induced (as *Sanders* hath it) to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither. Who by repreſenting the common danger to them both, obteined at length (though not without much difficulty) the conſent of his unwilling Daughter to return; Where yet ſhe kept that diſtance, that the King might eaſily perceive how ſenſible ſhe was of her late diſmiſſion.

May. It was now mid-*May* 1529, when our King, underſtanding how the Pope intended a ſtrict League with the Emperour, and judging wiſely alſo, that *Francis*, upon the reſtoring of his Children, might eaſily

be

be drawn from him, did reſolve, without relying any longer on either of their promiſes, to take the beſt courſe he could, for giving a Concluſion to this buſineſſe. And the rather, that matters ſeem'd daily more and more indiſpos'd for that concluſion he deſir'd. For though *Campegius*, according to the order he had from the Pope (as I find by a diſpatch of *John Caſalis*, *Dat. Dec.*17. 1528.) did both perſwade the Queen to a Divorce, and diſſwade the King from it, as having either way the end he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would hee (as I find in the ſame diſpatch) let goe out of his hand the Decretall Bull mentioned before, being the Abſolute deciſion of the Cauſe; (the Diſpenſation being relative to the Queens entring into Religion, or other diſſolution of the Marriage) in regard (as the Pope pretended) it was gotten by the importunity of Cardinall *Wolſey*, with intention, that it ſhould be ſhewed to the King, and Cardinall only, as an *arrha* or token of his good will, and afterwards burnt; proteſting neverthleſſe to the ſaid *Caſalis*, that hee deſired the Cardinalls ſhould proceed according to their Commiſſion, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* ſhould by no means be ſhewed to any of the Kings Counſellors, or other perſon whatſoever, though upon Oath of Secreſie; it being ſufficient that the King and Cardinall had ſeen it already, in *Campegius* hand. How our King yet was ſatisfied with this evaſion of the Popes, appears not to me by any Record, more, than that he ſtill ſollicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publikely. Howbeit the Pope, who had farre other thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* ſecretly, aſwell from all his Cardinalls; as fearing leſt the Emperour ſhould call him to a Councell for it. For the more caution, taking order that the Memory of it ſhould be razed out of all his Archives. And, not ſtaying here, (as I find by our Records) He commanded one *Franceſco Campana* (his ſervant) into *England*, on pretence to confeire with the King and Cardinall, but indeed to charge *Campegius* to burn the Decretall. For colouring of all which, Hee finally objected to our King, that he had not kept promiſe with him, about the Reſtitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all theſe difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the feare which he had of the Emperour, ſends to Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a Thouſand or two Thouſand Men, to be kept at the coſt of the French King and his, whereof the *Conte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis* ſhould be Captaines; and, in the mean while, that a Generall Peace ſhould be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperour put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince, or that he thought them too ſlender to defend him; or that it would argue partiality to doe any thing on theſe terms; or that otherwiſe he had made his private Peace with the Emperour; (which certainly was the truth) I do not find the Pope accepted this offer. Howſoever, hee ſeemed ſtill to feare the Emperour; Inſomuch that, by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, Dated

1529.

*Decem.*17. 1528.

*Decem.*15. 1528. *Concil. Trid.*

1529. Dated *January* the third, One Thousand, five Hundred Twenty nine,
Jan. 3. I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a Generall Peace, especially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, (which also followed at *Cambray* this year) declar'd to Cardinall *Wolsey*, he thought it necessary to goe himselfe in person into *Spain*, and that Cardinall *Wolsey* should go along with him; not yet as Pope and Cardinall, but as two Legats, or Ambassadours, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey (if at least it were really intended) was interrupted by the sickneſſe of the Pope, which was thought so desperate, that our Cardinall *Febr.* 7. wrote to *Stephen Gardiner* (then at *Rome*) that, by all means, hee should procure the Papacie for him, being (as affaires then stood) the most indifferent and equall that could bee found in Christendome. To which purpose also, besides our Kings Recommendations, the Cardinall had obteined the French Kings Letters, written with so much earnestneſſe for him, that, though the Convalescence of the Pope did frustrate this designe; *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wished to keep the Letter *in omnem eventum*. I find also, Order was given, that if *Wolsey* could not be chosen, the Cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole number) should put in a Protestation, and departing the Conclave, should in some secure place proceed to an Election, notwithstanding any to bee made at *Rome*. But, whether the Pope having notice of this untimely ambition of our Cardinall, were now offended with him, or that otherwise his ingagement to the Spaniard (whereof, in a Dispatch from the Pope to the Emperour *July* 21th, 1528, that came to our King's hands, there is mention) did hold himself; I find after this time the Pope more averse than ever. Therefore, notwithstanding a designe of his, that Cardinall *Wolsey* and *Campegius*, having finished the busineſſe of the Divorce, should afterwards goe to conclude an Universall Peace, yet all that past in this affaire afterwards (on his part) was little more then illusion. Which Sir *Francis Bryan* discovering, in a Dispatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to bee done; which our King also beleeving, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his follicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George* Duke of *Saxony* (the Lutherans in vain opposing it) to have perswaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, useth more then one menace; though so much in vain, that, for a Conclusion, he advised our King to proceed upon the Commission given to the Legats, the Pope being (as he alledged *April* 21, 1529.) so aw'd by the Cæsareans, as he had rather suffer much in anothers name; than do any thing in his own. To incourage him the more also, *Gardiner* calls the Breve false and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Registers at *Rome*. Moreover, for seconding this advise, *Gardiner*, by another Letter, *May* 4. which, sayes there was danger of recalling the Commission given to *Wolsey* and *Campegius*; Which was confirmed by divers other Letters from our Agents. Whereof *Gregory Casalis*, in a Dispatch of 13 *June* following, gives

Febr. 7.

Records, *Fox.* *Harpsfield.*

July 21. 1528.

May 5.

April 21.

April 21.

May 4.

June 13.

a reason, in these words of the Pope; who, being at that time more slackly relieved from the Confederates than he thought, and divers of his Subjects (for the rest) in Armes against him, said, *Malle sese in præceps dari, &, Cæsari a Stabulo, nedum a Sacris inservire, quam inferiorum hominum, subditorum, Vassalorumq; rebellium injurias sustinere.* The Remedy whereof he expected only from the Emperour. So that not only feare, but even hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one reason, encline to the Emperour. Our King also, being well inform'd hereof by certain excusatory Letters from *Rome*, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and Emperour (whereof there shall be mention) was already upon Terme of Conclusion, and an Interview appointed; gave order first to recall *Gardiner* and *Bryan*; yet so as he neglected not, at the same time, to send *William Bennet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, to hinder the Advocation of the cause; whereof he was so Jealous, that he intercepted not only those Dispatches which were sent to *Rome* from *Campegius*, or any else, but even those intelligences which Queen *Katherine* should give to her Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Governesse of the Low-Countries. So that now our King, finding his Conscience unsatisfied, his Nobilitie in suspence, and the people murmuring at these procrastinations in an affaire that so much concern'd the Succession, Charged the two Cardinalls to proceed; as being satisfied by a particular Discussion of this businesse before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, and divers the learnedst men of both Universities, at *Lambeth*, that his cause was faire. 1529. *May* 20.

And now, publike notice of a solemne hearing being given, the Court was appointed to sit; the Queen choosing Arch-Bishop *Warham*, and *Nicholas West* Bishop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Henry Standish* Bishop of St. *Asaph*, Doctors of Divinitie, her Counsell, *&c.* according to the permission the King gave her in that behalf. The passages whereof, out of an Antient and Authentique Record in Parchment, subscribed by the three Notaries (used in this businesse) and remaining in the Custody of that great Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Knight, I shall set down, with as much particularity, as the context of my History will suffer. *Jan. Febr. March.*

The place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was a great Hall in Black-Fryers in *London*, (commonly call'd the Parliament-Chamber.) The time, the thirty first of *May*, 1529. The Judges, the two Cardinalls above mention'd, whose Commissions I have thought fit to set down at large. *May* 31.

Clemens Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ Eboracen. & Laurentio sanctæ Mariæ in transtyberim de Campegio nuncupatis presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno Angliæ nostris & Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de latere Salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Sane ad aures nostras ex plurimorum fide-dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum est, de validitate illius matrimonii quod charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Anglia Rex illustris. fidei defensor &

1529. *Dominus Hiberniæ cum chariſſima in Chriſto filia noſtra Catharina Regina ſedis Apoſtolicæ diſpenſatione prehenſa contraxiſſe & conſummaſſe dinoſcitur, ſubortam nuper in partibus illis quæſtionem, quæ licèt in publicum Eccleſiæ judicium deducta hactenus non fuerit, cauſæ tamen tam magni graviſque momenti exitus, vizt. quem juſtitia & æquitas dederit, animos iſtic omnium ſic habet ſuſpenſos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non ſine maximo diſcrimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad juſtitiam in judicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo ſubminiſtrandum Servum Servorum Deus conſtituit, facti veritatem per nos ipſos inquirere ac Cauſam hanc examinare non valemus, Conſiderantes præterea quod factum, ex quo jus oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius expeditiuſq; cognoſci poterit, Cupienteſq; præſertim in Regno illo ſedi Apoſtolicæ ſemper devotiſſimo, omnem diſſentionum materiam extingui, & dulciſſimum illum pacis amoriſq; inteſtinum concentum feliciſimamq; charitatis Harmoniam multos jam annos conſtantem retineri, ac in poſterum conſervari, dictamq; proinde ſuper præfato matrimonio cauſam in judicio juſtitia & veritate decidi, certumq; firmum validum & maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem ſortiri; Circumſpectioni veſtræ ad audiendum ea omnia & ſingula quæ dicti matrimonii vires, diſpenſationiſve Apoſtolicæ cujuſcunq; coram vobis producendæ aut exhibendæ validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deq; & ſuper omnibus illis ac aliis quibuſcunq; materiis, allegationibus & cauſis dictum matrimonium aut diſpenſationem concernent. ſeu tangentibus cognoſcend. necnon in cauſa dicti matrimonii & validitatis diſpenſationis, vocatis partibus, ſummarie & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii procedendum, diſpenſationes quaſcunq; Apoſtolicas, prout illas validas efficaces & ſufficientes, invalidaſve inefficaces minus ſufficientes ſurreptitias aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunq; modo inervat. inveneritis, tales illas eſſe, & haberi debere pronunciandum & declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium ſimiliter, ſi ab alterutra parte petatur, pro ut animo conſcientiæque veſtræ juris ratio perſuaſerit, validum juſtum & legitimum, ac firmum eſſe, aut e contra invalidum injuſtum & illegitimum, nullumque fuiſſe & eſſe; pro valido juſto legitimo & firmo, aut e contra, invalido injuſto & illegitimo, nulloq; haberi debere, definiendum, ſententiand. & decernandum; ac in eventum improbatæ diſpenſationis & declarationis nullitatis matrimonii, ſummarie & de plano ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii, ut præfertur, ſententiam divortii judicialiter proferend. denique tam Henrico Regi, quam Catherinæ Reginæ præfatis, ad alia vota commigrand. Licentiam in domino & facultatem tribuendum. Vobis conjunctim, & altero veſtrum nolente aut impedito, diviſim, citra omnem perſonæ aut Juriſdictionis gradum, omni recuſatione & appellatione remotis, vices & omnem autoritatem noſtram committimus & demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero veſtrum nolente, aut impedito, diviſim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ in hac commiſſione continentur dumtaxat exequenda expedienda, ac plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vices gerentes noſtros etiam ex certa noſtra ſcientia creamus, & deputamus, ita, ut in præmiſſis, quod nos authoritate et poteſtate*

noſtra

noſtra facere poſſemus, id etiam vos facere poſſitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio ſuſceptam, ſi id ita expedire viſum fuerit, quam ex ſecundo matrimonio ſuſcipiendam, legitimam decernend. pronunciand. & promulgand. legitimitatem etiam utriuſq; prolis, cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, per modum decreti aut ſanctionis perpetuæ, muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterint, ex certa noſtra ſcientia, authoritate Apoſtolica, tenore præſentium, poteſtatem pariter & authoritatem concedimus, Non-obſtantibus Conciliis generalibus, Apoſtolicis conſtitutionibus, & ordinationibus editis, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunq;. Dat. Viterbii, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo Octavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto. 1529.

After the Commiſſion was read, our Chronicles with one conſent ſay, the King was Call'd, and appear'd perſonally in Court, at whoſe Feet the Queen proſtrated her ſelf, demanding Juſtice, right, and pitty, *&c.* But now to come to the Record. I find the King and Queen were by *Longland*, the Kings Confeſſor cited to appeare upon 18th *June* next enſuing. The King (for obſerving his time,) gave *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of his Chappell, and *John Bell*, Doctor of the Decrees, a Commiſſion ſealed in green Wax, and dated at *Greenwich*, xv. *June*; by which he conſtituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuſe or accept the Court and Judgement of the two Cardinalls, and, if need were, to Appeale; allowing them alſo to ſubſtitute other Proctors; binding himſelf finally *ſub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum*, to ratifie what they ſhould doe. But the Queen, uſing a ſhorter way, appear'd in perſon, proteſting yet againſt the Cardinalls, as incompetent Judges; requiring further, that this her Proteſtation might be Recorded, and ſo departed preſently out of the Court. This while the Cardinalls, who took into their Commiſſion *John Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Clerke*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Iſlip*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; and Doctor *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls; ſent unto the Queen Letters Monitory; declaring, if ſhe appear'd not, they would notwithſtanding proceed to execute their Commiſſion; for which purpoſe the above-mentioned Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was employed, but ſhe, refuſing, is pronounced Contumacious.

May 31. *Hall. Hollins. Godwin. Stow.*

June 15.

June 18.

June 25.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legats, againſt our King, and Queen *Katherine*, the principall ſubſtance wherof was, that Prince *Arthur* did Marry, and Carnally know Queen *Katherine*, confirming alſo this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his death. After which, King *Henry* being his brother, did Marry the ſaid Lady *Katherine*, *Anno Domini* 1509. *in facie Eccleſiæ*, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet, being as well *Divino* as *Eccleſiaſtico jure* prohibited, and (unleſſe it may be otherwayes made good) to be reputed in it ſelfe *nullum omnino et invalidum*, had cauſed huge ſcandall, both in the Clergie and people of *England*, and of many other places,

1529. insomuch that it hath come to the Popes eares, who taking notice hereof, gave Commission to those Cardinalls to heare and proceed in this businesse, according to the importance of it.

June 28. This being done, the Queen is cited a second time to appeare, which she refusing, is pronounc'd again Contumacious. This hindered not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor *Taylor*, Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, to examine the Witnesses; while themselves, calling for the Dispensations that were alleg'd in favour of this Marriage, a

July 5. certain Bull and Breve were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same Record.

The Bull being *sub plumbo*, *more Romanæ Curiæ*, was an originall, but the Breve was only a Copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the hand of *Juan Vergara*, a Canon of *Toledo*, and publike Notary, *authoritate Apostolica*; and with the Seales of *Balthazar de Castiglione*, the Popes Nuntio, and the reverend Father in God *Alfonsus de Fonseca*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*.

The Bull.

IUlius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico carissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris nato, & dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxissetis illudq; carnali copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta decessit, Cum autem sicut eadem

dem petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinculum pacis & amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, ſupplicari nobis feciſtis, ut vobis in præmiſſis de opportune Diſpenſationis gratia providere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fidelis, præſertim Catholicos Reges & principes, pacis et concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, voſq; et quemlibet veſtrum a quibuſcunq; excõmunicationis ſuſpenſionis & interdict. aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis cenſuris & pœnis a jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa, latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie abſolventes, & abſolutos fore cenſentes, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente ac conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis cæteriſq; contrariis nequaquam obſtantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, etiamſi jam forſan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula conſummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium de ſpecialis dono gratiæ diſpenſamus, ac vos & quemlibet veſtrum, ſi contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab exceſſu hujuſmodi ac excommunicationis ſententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem authoritate abſolvimus, Prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſive contracto ſive contrahendo ſuſceptam forſan vel ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviſo quod tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod ſi hujuſmodi matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam Salutarem propterea vobis Injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ abſolutionis diſpenſationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, 1529.

1529. rit, Indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingentiſimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

The Breve, together with the aſſeverations of thoſe who ſubſcribed it.

NOs Balthazar de Caſtiglione Mantuan. Apoſtolicæ ſedis notarius, in Hiſpaniarum Regnis, terriſq; & locis temporali dominio Sereniſſimorum Principum Caroli in Imperatorem electi & Johannæ Regis & Reginæ Catholicorum Subjectis ejuſdem Sedis Nuncius, & Alfonſus de Fonſeca miſeratione dominica Archiepiſcopus Toletan. Hiſpaniarum Primas, ac Regnorum Caſtell. Archicancellarius, Univerſis & ſingulis ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, & quos noſſe fuerit oportunum, Salutem in domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris ſe. re. Julii Papæ ſecundi in forma Brevis ſub annulo Piſcatoris, ſanas & integras, non viciatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte ſui ſuſpectas, ſed omni prorſus vicio & ſuſpitione carentes, pro parte Sa. Cæſ. & Catholicæ Majeſtatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, & in ejus præſentia nobis præſentatis cum ea qua decuit reverentia recepimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori ſupraſcriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, chariſſimi in chriſto filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſt. nat. Illuſtriſ. & dilectæ in chriſto filiæ Catharinæ chariſſimi etiam in Chriſto filii noſtri Ferdinandi & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ noſtræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ Illuſt. Interius vero talis.

Julius Papa ſecundus. Dilecte fili et dilecta in Chriſto filia, Salutem et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens authoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout (perſonarum negotiorum et temporũ qualitate penſata) id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper

nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis ſeries continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Cariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtriſ. primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis et amicitiæ nexibus et fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ et Cariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Ferdinandum Regem et Cariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Elizabeth Reginam Catholicos Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxeritis, illudq; carnali copula conſummaveritis, quia tamen dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujuſmodi matrimonio non ſuſcepta, deceſſit, et hujuſmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter præfatos Reges et Reginam ita firmiter veriſimiliter non perduraret, niſi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo conſoveretur et confirmaretur: ex hiis, et certis aliis cauſis, deſideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere: Sed quia deſiderium veſtrum in præmiſſis adimplere non poteſtis, diſpenſatione Apoſtolica deſuper non obtenta, Nobis propterea humiliter ſupplicari feciſtis, ut vobis providere in præmiſſis de diſpenſationis gratia & benignitate, Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, hiis & aliis cauſis animum noſtrum moventibus, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente non obſtant, matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licite valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica per præſentes diſpenſamus: &, quatenus forſan jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula conſummaveritis vos et quemlibet veſtrum ab exceſſu hujuſmodi ac excommunicationis ſententia quam propterea Incurriſtis, eadem authoritate abſolvimus, ac etiam vobiſcum ut in hujuſmodi matrimonio ſic de facto contracto remanere, ſeu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere & licite valeatis, ſimili- 1529

1529. similiter dispensamus, Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. Millesimo Quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo. Sigilmundus.

Decem. 26. 1503.

Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Castiglione tanquam nuncium Apostolicum, & Alfonsum de Fonseca tanquam loci ordinarium, inspectis, & perlectis, Quia eas sanas & integras, ac omni prorsus vicio & suspitione (ut præmittitur) carentes Invenimus, Ideo, ad requisitionem expressam præfat. Cæsar. & Catholicæ Majestatis, tam suo quam conjunctorio nomine Sereniſſimæ Dominæ Catherinæ Reginæ Angliæ suæ cariſſimæ materteræ & consanguineæ, asserent. ipsius requirent. & prædict. Reginæ interesse, ob eternitatis memoriam, & ne vetustatæ prædictum originale depereat, utq; de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri possit, & in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumq; discrimina, non liceat tuto ipsum originale dispensationis transmittere aut committere, ejusdem Maiestatis requisitioni, tanquam justæ & rationabili, annuentes, easdem literas exemplari & transumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes & volentes ut huic præsenti transumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit oportunum, perinde ac si originales ipsæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterq; nostrum authoritatem nostram interposuimus, & decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam præmissorum, præsens instrumentum manu nostra uterq; signavimus. Idemq; Sigillorum nostrorum Jussimus appensione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo Quingentisimo xxviii. Præsentibus ibidem illustribus & generosis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Nassau, Marchione de Zenete camerario supremo, Don. Johanne Manuele

Manuele, Don Laurentio de Gorreuodo comite Pontisvallium Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino Dela chaulx, Lodovico a Flandria Domino de Prato, & Nicholao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus consiliariis prædictæ sacræ Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atq; rogatis. Baldezar de Castilione nuncius & Collector Apostolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego Johannes Vergara Canonicus Toletan. in sacra Theologia magister, publicus Apostolica authoritate notarius, Qui præmissis omnibus, una cum prænominatis testibus interfui, hoc publicum instrumentum signavi, & subscripsi, in testimonium veritatis, per eandem Cæs. Catholicam Majestatem rogatus & requisitus. 1529.

Against these Dispensations the following Objections were used. July 9.

I. THat the Peace and Unity betwixt *England* and *Spain* was firme before the granting of the Dispensation, which yet was alledged as a Cause.

II. That the said Dispensation, as being grounded on this pretext, must be held surreptitious, *Henry* VIII. being then not above thirteen, and consequently unable for Marriage, which also if the Pope had known before-hand, or that otherwise it had been represented to him, he would not have easily granted any such Dispensation.

III. Because it was pretended that *Henry* VIII. had desired the Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdomes; whereas (being then not above thirteen) he must be thought uncapable of such thoughts.

IV. That though this Dispensation might once bee thought to have his force and vertue, yet seeing the motive of granting it was grounded upon the above-mentioned Peace, and that one of the said Princes died before the solemnising of the said Marriage, the cause of the Dispensation must be held voyd.

V. That, supposing the objection of Affinity were taken away by vertue of the said Dispensation, yet the objection *de publica honestate* was not cleered.

VI. That the Breve above-mentioned appears by the Tenor of it to contain many falshoods and suspitions, and particularly that the style, inditing, as also many clauses and circumstances differ from the Bull, so that it may be thought forged since the time of the questions moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them together may be manifestly gathered.

1529. This alſo was urged by theſe reaſons;

1. That, in the Regiſter Book of the Breves at *Rome*, no ſuch Breve is found, or any Argument that ſuch a Breve was made.

2. That, likewiſe, neither in the Chartophylacio or Paper-Chamber of the King, no ſuch Breve is extant, nor otherwayes, in the private treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made thereof.

3. That, in the date of the ſaid Breve, as it is exemplified, the yeare of our Lord is diſcrepant from the vulgar account; for whereas the ſtyle of the Court of *Rome* begins alwayes from the Nativity of our Lord, this ſeems to be a year before *Julius* was made Pope.

Jul. 12. All which objections were deliver'd to the Kings Proctor, that hee might anſwer to them.

Whereupon Witneſſes being ſummon'd to appear *July* 12.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolke*,	*Robert* Viſcount *Fitz-water*,
Charles Duke of *Suffolke*,	*John* Biſhop of *Carlile*,
Thomas Marquis *Dorſet*,	Sir *David Owen*,
George Earle of *Shrewsbury*,	Sir *John Huſſey*,
Thomas Viſcount *Rochfort*,	Sir *Richard Weſton*, Knights,

With divers others, preſented themſelves to be examined by the Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, above-mentioned.

July 14. In the mean-while, theſe two Articles were added to the former, as ſerving to ſtrengthen the Objections above mentioned.

1. That the year for Popes Breves begins *December* 26. and the year for Bulls 25th of *March*.

2. That, in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdome of *England*, the forme hath been in words, *De præſenti, ego accipio te, &c.*

Buſineſſes being thus ripe for examination of Witneſſes, the Depoſitions of two ancient Ladies, who excus'd themſelves by their infirmity from appearing in perſon, were publikely read.

July 17. 1. The firſt, being *Mary* Counteſſe of Eſſex, ſaid little, but in generall terms.

2. But *Agnes* the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, who was preſent at the Marriage at St. *Pauls* in *London*, declared the age of Prince *Arthur* at the time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about fifteen; and moreover, did poſitively affirme, that ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine*, alone, in bed together, the next night after their Marriage. Which therefore, as alſo a following Depoſition of the Viſcounteſſe *Fitz-water*, may ſerve to anſwer *Sanders* his tale, where hee ſayth, a grave Matron was put into the ſame bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her Carnally.

Sand. de Schiſm. Ang.

3. *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury* depos'd, the Marriage was celebrated at St. *Pauls*, *Decimo ſeptimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter*, *ſecundo Henrici ſeptimi*: and that he beleev'd the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able ſo to do, as alſo becauſe himſelfe knew his Wife being not ſixteen.

4. *William*

4. *William Warham*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being examined, protests, not to reveale any Secrets of the Queen, as being her sworn Counsellor. For the rest, as he answered warily to the questions propounded him concerning the validity of the Match, insomuch that he refer'd himselfe therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; so yet he made no difficulty to confesse that he approv'd it not at first; which also he declar'd, not only in a Contestation which he had with *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who perswaded it, but in certain words to King *Henry* the Seventh himself, whom hee told plainly, that the Marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King *Henry* VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage, that he the said Deponent intreated him to perswade his Son Prince *Henry*, to protest that he would not take the Lady *Katherine* to Wife, and that he should renew this Protestation when he came to the Crown; which also he the said Deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding, that when the Bull of Dispensation was granted, that he the said Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the murmuring of the people on that occasion was quieted, till the Kings Conscience being troubled, revived it again. 1529.

5. Sir *William Thomas*, Knight, deposed, Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine* lived five moneths, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in houshold together as man and wife; and that hee heard Sir *William Wodall*, who was at the Princes Christning say, that hee was above fifteen, at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine* elder.

6. Sir *Anthony Poynes*, Knight, deposed, that Prince *Arthur* was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage.

7. *Thomas* Marquis *Dorset* deposed, he saw a Register of the Nativity of the Kings Children; by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20 *September* 1486. and, that at the time of his Marriage (which was upon a Sunday, in *November*, *Decimo Septimo Henrici Septimi*,) He was of a good and Sanguine complexion, and able, as he suppos'd, for that purpose. 1501.

8. *Robert* Viscount *Fitz-water* depos'd, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen *Katherine* elder, and that, the next day after being in bed together, (which he remembred after they entered to have been solemnly bless'd) he waited at breakfast on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice St. Johns* did carve, and he the Lord *Fitz-water* gave drinke; at which time the said *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how hee had done that night? the Prince answered, I have been in *Spain* this night.

9.10.11. *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, *William* Lord *Montejoy*, and *Henry Guldeford*, Knight of the Garter, said little, but by way of publike report.

12. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* deposed, that he was in the Bishop of *London*'s Pallace, the morrow next following the day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfast, confirming

1529. moreover in effect, the words of *Maurice St. John*, before ſet down. Futthermore, he added that the Shrovetide following the Marriage, (which was in *November* preceding) the ſaid Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the ſaid *St. John* related, by reaſon the ſaid Prince lay with the Lady *Katherine*.

13. *David Owen* depoſed, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter, ſecundo Henrici Septimi*; which he knew, becauſe he was at the Chriſtning.

14. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, depoſed, that he being the day of the Marriage in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and the morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfaſt, heard the Prince's words to *Maurice St. John*, when he ſaid hee had been that night in the midſt of *Spain*; by which words, as alſo becauſe Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion, and nature, and above fifteen, he beleeves that he carnally knew his Lady; becauſe himſelf alſo at the ſame age did carnally know and uſe; and he believes this the rather, that he heard from Credible perſons, that the ſaid Prince *Arthur* did lie with the ſaid Ladie *Katherine* five or ſix nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knight, depoſed, that being, the morrow after the Marriage, in the Princes Privy Chamber, the ſaid Prince ſpake afore divers Witneſſes theſe words, *Willoughby*, give me a cup of Ale; for I have been this night in the midſt of *Spain*; After which he ſaid, Maſters, it is a good paſtime to have a Wife, which words hee repeated alſo divers other times. Moreover, he heard ſay they lay at *Ludlow* together the Shrovetide next following.

16. *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely* ſaid, he could depoſe nothing concerning the *carnalis copula*, but that he doubted of it, becauſe the Queen often *ſub teſtimonio conſcientiæ ſuæ*, ſaid to this Deponent, that ſhee was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, though otherwiſe hee muſt confeſſe them both to be *legitimæ ætatis* at the time of their Marriage. Hee doubted further, whether the Cardinalls were competent Judges, an appeale being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverell*, Knight, depoſed, the people ſaid commonly, that it was unfit one brother ſhould marry the other brothers Wife.

18. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rocheſort*, depoſed, that hee heard divers of Prince *Arthur*'s followers confirme the words he uſed, of his having been in *Spain* the night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard ſay, that King *Henry* viii. was perſwaded by his Confeſſor, about two yeares ſince, to abſtain from the bed of the Lady *Katherine*, leſt hee ſhould offend his Conſcience.

19.20.21.22.23. Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *John Huſſy*, Knights, depos'd the age of King *Henry* the eighth was thirty eight upon the Eve of the Feaſt of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* laſt; which Viſcount *Rocheſort* alſo confirm'd, ſaying the place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the year was 1491. and day the twenty eighth of *June*; which

Robert

Robert Viſcount *Fitz-water* confirmed alſo, adding, that King *Henry* the Seventh died two dayes before the Feaſt of St. *George*, twenty yeares ſince; With whom *David Owen*, Servant and Counſellour to King *Henry* the Seventh agreed, ſave only, that he ſaid it was three dayes before the Feaſt. 1529

24. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* depoſed, that *Pedro de Ayala* or *Allea*, and Doctor *de Puebla*, Ambaſſadours from *Spain*, were much in favour heretofore with *Henry* the Seventh, and that *Henry* the Seventh died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Henry*, and the Princeſſe *Katherine*, and Queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* her Mother dyed alſo before that time.

25. *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Counſellour to *Henry* the Seventh, and *Henry* the Eighth, for 36 years laſt paſt, depoſed, that he conceived *Henry* the Eighth to be under thirteen at the time of the Diſpenſation granted; becauſe King *Henry* his Father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent replyed to the King, that any Proteſtation hee ſhould then make would be of no force, and therefore he ſhould make it again one or two dayes after his comming to *annos pubertatis*.

26.27. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Thomas* Marquis *Dorſet*, examined again, ſaid little but what was formerly ſet down.

28. *Pedro Mates, Utriuſq; Juris doctor*, Native of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, who had lived in the Court of *Rome* thirty years, *in exercitio cauſarum*, depoſed, that the date of years there is computed after three divers manners; So that Judgements, Contracts, and laſt Wills bear date from the Nativity 25 *December*; *Literæ Apoſtolicæ ſub plumbo* xxv. of March; *Literæ Apoſtolicæ per Breve ſub annulo piſcatoris cereæ rubeæ impreſſo ſcribuntur ſimpliciter & abſolute abſq; expreſſione ipſius domini aut Nativitatis, aut incarnationis, ſed ſolum Anno M.D. &c.* Yet ſo that he conceiv'd it began alwaies *a Nativitate ſcilicet xxv. Decembris*, neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Popes Secretary alter the ſtile.

29. *Nicolaus Ruſticus* of *Lucca* in *Italie*, ſayth, that *Annus Domini in Brevibus Apoſtolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30.31.32.33.34.35.36. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rochefort*, *Henry Guilford* Knight, *Thomas* Marquis *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William Falke Notarius publicus*, *John Taverner*, and *John Clamport*, being examined, depoſed, the formes of Marriages are alwaies *in verbis de præſenti*, in *England*.

37. The Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife to Viſcount *Fitz-water*, depos'd, that ſhe ſaw the Lady *Katherine* and Prince *Arthur* in bed together, which was bleſt, and that ſhe left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depoſitions were publiſhed, and the Kings Proctor ſummon'd to receive thoſe Acts and Writings he deliver'd into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounc'd Contumacious. *July* 17.

The Commiſſioners yet proceeded to require the ſight of the *Archiva* and Record concerning this buſineſſe, for which purpoſe

Thomas

1529. *Thomas VVriothesly*, and *Thomas Tong*, Kings of Armes, had been employed; These men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Castle of *Ludlow* the second of *April*, 1502. and that his Brother *Henry* was born the 28th of *June* 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine* was the 14th of *November*, 1501.

1527. *April* 5. & 6. This being done, a Deposition of *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *VVinchester*, taken by Doctor *VVoolman*, *April* 5. and 6. 1527. was read. The most substantiall part whereof was, that he conceiv'd, Doctor *Puebla* did first motion this Match, and that more than one Bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remain'd in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the same Tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of *Henry* the Eighth. Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry* the Eighth, when hee came to age, did expresly consent to, or dissent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Protestation was made in the name of *Henry* the Eighth to this effect; That notwithstanding any Contract or tokens mutually sent, or cohabitation in the house of King *Henry* VII, he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this Act done in his non-age; And that this Protestation is to be found *inter protocolla Magistri Ryden*, then Clerke of the Councill, before whom it was made. As for the person by whom this Protestation was made, *coram Magistro Ryden Notario publico; credit quod vel ipsemet, vel Magister Thomas Ruthall tunc Secretarius domini Regis, & postea Episcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem domini Regis & nunc Episcopus Eliens. fecit eandem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; præsentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Thesaurario Angliæ & postea Duce Norfolciæ ac domino doctore Pechebla, & coram sæpe-dicta clarissima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra Ædes Episcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat.* Duresme place. Adding further, that our King was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon conference had betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and himself, he found it was the intention of that King, that his sonne *Henry* should marry the said Lady *Katherine*, although he deferr'd the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, for the calling back of the Dowry. Hee added moreover, that King *Henry* intended not (that he knew) to marry the Mother of *Charles* the Fift, but his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutchesse of *Savoy*.

This Examination being compleat, and set down by *Andrew Smith* Notary, the said Doctor *Woolman* required him to subscribe his hand; which was refus'd by the said Bishop, both becaus he was blind of both eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counsell or advise about it. But Doctor *VVoolman* pressing him on the Kings part, that he should subscribe his name, hee at last consented, out of the Reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contraven'd him in any thing. Whereupon he subscrib'd his name *April* 8. the yeare

above

above mentioned, being 1527. After which also another Instrument of this Tenor was produced. 1529.

Augustinus Spinola tt' Sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter Cardinalis, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarius, Universis & singulis præsentes literas Inspecturis, Salutem in domino. Rationi convenit & congruit honestati, ut de his quæ a Romanis Pontificibus processerunt, & quæ in eorum archivis & registris scripta, & registrata sunt, cum ab aliquibus petitur, testimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc est, quod nos Universitati vestræ tenore præsentium fidem facimus & attestamur, in libris & Registris cameræ Apostolicæ, viz. in libro Registri Brevium Anni primi, secundi, & tertii felicis recordationis Julii Papæ secundi, vidimus & legimus quasdam literas Apostolicas, in forma Brevis ejusdem Julii Papæ secundi (ut moris est) Registratas, quarum tenor successive sequitur et est talis. Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus literas tuæ serenitatis, in quibus nobis gratias agis, quod oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum sit, quod nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali responso oportunisq; gratiis et favoribus prosecuti fuerimus: facis (fili Charissime) pro solita pietate, ut ea etiam tibi sint grata, quæ a nobis prateriri non solent. Declaravimus nostris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis & rebus quibus potuimus, Declarabimus & quotidie magis, ita exigente tua serenitatis in nos & sanctam Apostolicam sedem devotione et observantia singulari. De dispensatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimus, nec ullam suspitionem præbuimus, quo minus eam facere vellemus, ut aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed respondimus, nos expectare in illa concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut consultius et maturius fieret, cum hujus sanctæ sedis et utriusque partis honore. Eam itaq; cum expediverimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam serenitatem (magni enim momenti est) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnen. Decanum sancti Pauli Londonienſ. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima doctrina modestiam, fidem, diligentiamq; præ se tulit, mittere cogitamus; duplici ratione; Cum quod per eum secrete & tutissime perferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaq; virtute & probitate præditum Serenitati tuæ diutius præservemus, ut ejus fide & opera diutius frui possit. Romæ enim sine vitæ periculo diutius esse non potest, propter aeris intemperiem & æstus Intolerabiles. &c. Dat. Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, VI. Julii Millesimo Quingentesimo Quarto, Pontif. nostri primo. July 6. 1504.

The rest, having little materiall, save that mention is made how the Cardinall *Sancti Petri ad vincula*, the Popes Nephew, was made Protector of the English, I have purposely omitted, that I may insert another Letter of the Popes of 22 of *February*, 1505. the Tenor whereof is this;

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam benedict. Intelleximus a dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad vincula tui Regniq; tui protectore, nostro secundum carnem nepote, & a venerabili fratre nostro Silvestro

1529. *Silvestro Episcopo Wigorn. tuæ serenitatis apud nos oratore, literas dispensationis matrimonialis tantopere ab eis, nomine tuæ serenitatis, petitas, ex Hispaniis ad te missas fuisse. Fili Carissime, nos dispensationem illam Instantibus Cardinali & Episcopo prædictis, tua potissimum contemplatione, concessimus, ac super ea, sub Bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuam serenitatem per Cardinalem & Episcopum antedictos statuto tempore mitterentur. Sed cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regina Catholica finem hujus mortalis vitæ sibi instare cerneret, impensa & maxima cum instantia per oratorem suum nobis humiliter supplicasset, ut pro consolatione sua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur, quod hanc consolationem sibi Dare vellemus ut de hujusmodi dispensatione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipsa vita migraret: Nosque pietatis Christianæ & nostræ in illam charitatis paternæ esse putavimus non defraudare ipsam Reginam jam-jam morituram desiderio hujus rei, in qua etiam subditis et Regnicolis illis bonam spem conjunctionis tuæ serenitatis posset afferre præsertim quod idem orator rem hanc secretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non servatum molestissime ferimus) Bullam igitur Originalem apud nos servatam serenitati tuæ, una cum Ense, quo te pro tua singulari virtute, & in sanctam sedem Apostolicam pietate donand. merito duximus, per eundem Episcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum & charam decrevimus mittere, a quo serenitas ipsa tua uberius intelliget causas ejusdem Bullæ hactenus apud nos retentæ, & nonnulla alia sibi per nos commissa negotia. Nec miretur majestas tua, si de hac re nihil cum Ipsis Cardinali & oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ Reginæ deciperemur, & literæ dispensationis prædict. ad te ex Hispaniis mitterentur, quas ut solum Reginæ tam periculose ægrotanti pro solamine suo ostenderentur duplicari concesseramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ serenitati de nobis & sancta Romana Ecclesia benemeritæ gratificari cupimus, ipsis e Cardinali & Episcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei & diligentiæ laudem in tuis negotiis promovendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die vigesima secunda Februarii, Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo quinto, Pont. nostri Anno secundo.*

1505. Febr. 22.

And that these are true Copies, *Augustinus Spinola*, at the instance of King *Henry* the Eighth, and by the commandment of the Pope, did certifie under the hand and Seale of his office the twenty seventh of *January*, 1529.

In sequence whereof, the Commissioners took Oath of the Kings of Armes, that the Copies they delivered were true, appointing further the next wednesday, *ad concludendum*. Upon which day (being 21. *July*) the Commissioners being sate, *John Hughes*, Promoter, appear'd before them, and signified that there is found a certain Protestation made by our King, when he came to ripe years, in the presence of Notaries and Witnesses, and subscrib'd with the hand of the said King (at that time Prince of *Wales*) and some Counsellers of King *Henry* the Seventh, which he said were much to the purpose of

Jul. 21.

the

the buſineſſe then in queſtion. Whereupon the Commiſſioners re- 1529.
ceiv'd the ſaid Proteſtation *in præſentia dicti Magiſtri Ricardi Sampſon Procuratoris Regis, & in contumaciam Reginæ*; Commanding further, that it ſhould remain *penes acta ſua.*

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & domino domino Ricardo dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopo Wintonienſi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Ceſtriæ, dico allego & in his ſcriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie exiſtens, cum Sereniſſima domina Katharina Hiſpaniarum Regis filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus quamvis obſtante ipſa minore ætate mea de ſe jam Invalidus, Imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; Quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam ſupervenient. contractus ipſe per tacitum conſenſum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut interſignium dationem ſeu receptionem, vel alium quemcumq; modum Jure declaratum forſan exiſtimari ſeu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati exiſtens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Proteſtor, quod non intendo eundem prætenſum contractum per quæcumq; per me dicta ſeu dicenda, facta aut faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, ſeu ratum habere; ſed nunc in præſenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, ſed ſponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujuſmodi contractum reclamo, & eidem diſſentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimoniali prætenſo melioribus modo & forma quibus de jure melius validius aut efficacius potero vel poſſim penitus reſilire, & eidem expreſſe diſſentire, prout in præſenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem diſſentio. Proteſtorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut geſtum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcumq; quandocumq; aut qualemcumq; impoſterum faciendem, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, Volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimonialem, aut in dictam dominam Catherinam tanquam ſponſam, aut uxorem meam conſentire. Super quibus vos omnes teſtimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atq; obteſtor. Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Lecta fuit & facta ſupraſcripta proteſtatio, per præfatum Sereniſſimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Chriſto patre & domino domino Ricardo permiſſione divina Winton. Epiſcopo, judicialiter pro tribunali ſedent. & me Notarium infra ſcriptum ad tunc præſentem in ejus actorum ſcribam in hac parte aſſumente, & teſtium infraſcriptorum præſentiis. Anno Domini 1505. Indictione Octava, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini noſtri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ ſecundi Anno ſecundo, Menſis vero Junii die xxvii, quo die Dominus Sereniſſimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem aſſerebat, In quadam baſſa camera infra palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejuſdem palatii ſituat. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis præfatus ſereniſſimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Inſtrumentum conficere, & teſtes infra nominatos teſtimonium perhibere requiſivit Inſtanter

June 7. 1505.

1529. *ſtanter, & Rogavit. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium, præfatus ſereniſſimus Princeps ſupra, & teſtes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requiſiti, ſua nomina propriis manibus infra ſcripſerunt. Ita eſt ut ſupra, quod ego Johannes Raed manu & ſigno meo manuali atteſtor.*

Giles Daubney, C. Sommerſet.

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas Weſt.

Henry Marny.

Among whom *Nicholas VVeſt*, above-named, now Biſhop of *Ely*, in preſence of the Commiſſioners, acknowledged and confeſſed that this Proteſtation was ſubſcribed with his own hand. Whereupon the Commiſſioners, in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did, in the preſence of the above-mention'd Proctor, continue and Prorogue the Court, till Friday next following, warning the ſaid Proctor alſo to be there.

July 23. Upon which day, being the twenty third of *July*, the Court being ſet, the Promoter above-mentioned ſignified unto the Commiſſioners, that all that was requiſite for the inſtruction and information of their underſtanding and Conſciences, had been judicially propos'd and exhibited to them, and remain'd in their cuſtody. And that therefore this day was aſſign'd, and appointed for concluding the buſineſſe. Notwithſtanding becauſe Cardinall *Campegius* alledged and proteſted in *verbo veri Prælati*, that a certain general Vacation, which he termed *Ferias generales meſſium & vindemiarum*, was obſerved in the Court of *Rome* every yeare, before the ſaid Friday; and becauſe hee and his Colleague were bound to follow the ſtile of the ſaid Court in the Proceſſe of the above-mention'd cauſe; Therefore the ſaid Judges, in the preſence of the Kings Proctor, and in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did prorogue the concluſion of this buſineſſe, untill the Firſt of *October* next following, warning the Kings Proctor then to appeare, and receive a concluſion of this buſineſſe as ſhould be according to Juſtice. All which paſs'd in the preſence of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other perſons.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mentioned; which I have with more particularity ſet down, that it is ſo rare and unuſuall a caſe to find a Prince ſubmit himſelf, in his own Kingdome, to the Judgement of two perſons, whereof the one was a ſuſpected ſtranger, the other in birth, but of the meaneſt of his Subjects; and after all this, to receive no other Fruit hereof, but delay and inſatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Diſmiſſion, but by a ſudden Advocation of the Cauſe, to the Pope, inhibiting further proceedings here (as will appear) ſhortly after; the conſequences whereof extended further yet then our King then thought, or the Pope could eaſily have imagined.

Theſe proceedings were ſubſcribed by the Notaries *VVilliam Clayburgh*, Doctor of both Lawes *Protonotarius Apoſtolicus*, *Florianus Montinus*,

Montinus, and *Richard Watkins*, who acknowledged the raſures, interlineations, and lines in the Margent, together with the number of the leaves in the Parchment book (being 69.) To which alſo Letters teſtimoniall from *Nicholas Wootton*, Doctor of the Lawes, and the Biſhop of *Londons* Officiall, having the Seale of the office, were annexed. After all which, a Diſpenſation, written by a later hand, and in looſe paper, was found in the ſaid book. Though that alone ſhould not have induc'd mee to publiſh it, had I not ſeen it already printed in a Booke call'd *Anti-Sanderus*, and met, in our Archives, ſome diſpatches that make it probable. 1529.

The Tenor of the Bull is this.

CLemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illuſtri, Fidei defenſori, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper feciſti, quod alias tu & dilecta in Chriſto filia Catharina, relicta quondam *** fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præſenti, nulla ſaltem canonica ſeu valida diſpenſatione de ſuper obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxiſtis, illudq; carnali copula conſummaſtis, ac prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſuſcepiſtis, excommunicationis ſententiam incurrendo: Et cum Majeſtas tua in hujuſmodi matrimonio abſq; peccato remanere nequeat, & ne diutius in hujuſmodi peccato & excommunicationis ſententia remaneat, deſideret ab hujuſmodi excommunicationis ſententia a judice Eccleſiaſtico competente abſolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipſum nullum & invalidum fuiſſe, Tibiq; licere cum quacunq; alia muliere, alio non obſiſtente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, & in eventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujuſmodi tecum diſpenſari ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam ſi illa talis ſit, quæ alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non conſummaverit, etiam ſi tibi alias ſecundo vel remotiori conſanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunq; licito ſeu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam ſi cognatione

1529. ſpirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, & impedimentum publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ ſubſiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, & in eo libere remanere, & ex eo prolem legitimam ſuſcipere poſſis. Quare pro parte tui, aſſerentis ex antiquis Chronicis Regni conſtare, in ipſo Regno quamplura graviſſima bella ſæpe exorta, & Chriſtianam pacem & concordiam violatam fuiſſe, propter impios homines ſua deteſtanda regnandi & dominandi libidine excitatos, confingentes ex juſtis & legitimis quorundam progenitorum & anteceſſorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore propter aliquod conſanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, & propterea inhabiles eſſe ad Regni ſucceſſionem, inde miſerandam Principum ac Procerum & populorum ſubditorum ſtragem ſecutam fuiſſe; Nobis fuit humiliter ſupplicatum, ut Regni tui tuorumq; Subditorum tranquillitati & paci inprimis conſulere & tantis malis obviare, ac alias in præmiſſis, oportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium Regum præſertim majeſtatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immenſa in nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem, in qua permiſſione divina ſedemus, collata beneficia, dum ab iniquiſſimis peſtilentiſſimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam, partim viribus & ſcelerata audacia, partim perverſa doctrina labefactare moliebantur, ſtrenuiſſime cum viribus & gladio tum calamo & eruditione tua vindicare indies non ceſſat, petitiones, præſertim ſalutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum deo poſſumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumq; honeſtis votis favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmiſſis & nonnullis aliis cauſis nobis notis, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut ſi contingat matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum nullum fuiſſe & eſſe declarari, teq; ab illius vinculo legitime abſolvi, cum quacunq; muliere, ipſaq; mulier tecum, dummodo a te propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiam ſi mulier ipſa talis ſit, quæ prius cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit conſummatum, etiam ſi illa

tibi

tibi alias ſecundo aut remotiori Conſanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunq; licito vel illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiam ſi cognationis ſpiritualis aut legalis & publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ impedimentum ſubſiſtat & tibi conjuncta exiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, Et poſtquam contractum fuerit, in eo ſic contracto, etiam ſi illud inter te & ipſam mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandeſtine contractum & carnali copula conſummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica & ex certa noſtra ſcientia & de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, prolem inde forſan ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam legitimam fore decernent. Non obſtant. prohibitionibus Juris divini, ac conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus aliis quibuſcunq; in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum Apoſtolica authoritas ſe extendit, illis alias in ſuo robore permanſuris, quo ad hoc ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus. Diſtrictius inhibentes, &, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ expreſſe mandantes, ſub interminatione divini judicii, ac ſub pœna anathematis, aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis cenſuris et pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc & e converſo ferimus et promulgamus, in his ſcriptis, ne quiſquam impoſterum ullum impedimentum pro contractus Matrimonialis non conſummati, Conſanguinitatis in ſecundo aut ulteriori gradu, affinitatis primo ut præfertur, cognationis ſpiritualis aut legalis ſeu juſtitiæ publicæ honeſtatis impedimentis prædictis adverſum liberos tuos quos ex quocunq; Matrimonio vigore præſentium contrahendo Dei benignitate ſuſceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare proponere aut objicere, ſeu verbo vel facto diffamare præſumat, aut quocunq; modo atemptet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ diſpenſationis, decreti, derogationis, inhibitionis, & mandati infringere vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus

1539

1529. se noverit incursurum. Dat. In Civitate nostra Urbevetan. Anno Incarnationis dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo
1527. vicesimo septimo. Decimo Sexto Kal. Januarii. Pont. nostri Anno Quinto.

While these things pass'd thus in *England*, the Queen found means to inform the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the Low-Countries, of the whole processe; who thereupon sends word of it, to *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, intreating them to assist their Aunt; Which they accorded, dispatching their Orators to the Pope, whom also the Queen constituted her Proctors in the Court of Rome; giving them Commission to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that she was never carnally known by Prince *Arthur*. Shortly after
July. which the said Orators, in the Queens name, made a Protestation against the two Legats now in *England* (every page subscrib'd with Queen *Katherines* own hand) intreating the Pope to Advoke the Cause, to Annull the proceedings in *England*, to Warn the King to desist his sute, or at least to try it at *Rome*, *&c.* or, otherwise that they would seek their Remedies elsewhere. The Pope being thus pressed at *Rome*, and having now concluded a Treaty with the Emperour at
July 3. *Barcelona* July the 3. 1529, about three weekes before the Cause was prorogued by *Campegius*, could no longer, either with the Safety of his person, or Dignity, favour our King; so that what excuses soever (in the frequent dispatches hee made about this time) were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and evasion, till, finally, declaring himself more openly for the Em-
July 15. perour, he signed an Advocation of the cause to himself, inhibiting further proceedings, under great penalties. And herein (as our Agents did observe) the Popes principall Ministers did not a little concurre; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents (being Sir *Gregory Casalis*, and Doctor *Benet*) both by representing the defection of our King from the Roman See, and the ruine of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, labour to stay these proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into *England*, about the
Sept. beginning of *September*, the King then being in his Progresse; and because it was sent to the Queen to make her benefit of it, the King (by *Stephen Gardiner* now his Secretary) sends to *Woolsey*, to perswade the Queen to let this Inhibition (or as he calls it a Citatory Letter) sleep, it containing matter prejudiciall to his person, and not to be publish-
July 19. ed to his subjects: And that it will be sufficient for the Cessation of the processe that the Pope by Letter to *Woolsey* (*July 19.*) hath signified his Advocation of the cause. Nevertheless, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it should be privily executed, upon the two Legats: (rather than bee divulged in *Flanders*) which it seemes was done accordingly. Howbeit, shortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the censures and penalties

penalties mentioned in the Inhibition would not bee well taken by our King, dispatched a Breve to him of *Aug.* 29. which for the better satisfaction of the Reader, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Originall, and insert here. 1529 *Aug.* 29.

Angliæ Regi.

CHarissime in Christo fili noster salutem, &c. Dudum vertente causa inter Serenitatem Tuam & Carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrissimam, de & super fœdere matrimonii; Nos, instantibus apud nos oratoribus tuis, causam ipsam, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ, & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim tt' presbyteris Cardinalibus nostris & Apostolicæ sedis legatis de latere commisimus, in qua ad nonnullos forsan actus processum est; Postmodum, Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Hispaniarum Rege Catholico in Imperatorem Electo, & Regina ipsa ad nos reclamantibus, & aliis etiam legitimis causis animum nostrum moventibus, causam ipsam ad Nos Advocavimus, & eam audiendam, ac nobis & sacro venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium Collegio referendam atq; decidendam commisimus; In qua ad Inhibitionem fortasse processum est. Cum autem nuper acceperimus Inhibitionem ipsam sub Censuris & pœnis fuisse factum; Nos, quorum Intentionis nunquam fuit, neq; est, personam tuam de nobis ac de Apostolica sede semper optime meritam aliquibus censuris & pœnis quomodolibet innodari; Celsitudini Tuæ significamus, censuras ipsas præter mentem & intentionem nostram a Judice sive commissario emanasse: Et propterea Censuras & pœnas prædictas, quoad personam Tuam, nullas nulliusq; roboris vel momenti fuisse & esse decernentes. Causam vero ipsam usq; ad festum Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime futurum jam suspendimus, prout per præsentes suspensam esse volumus. Fecimusq; in illa, quantum pro nostra in te charitate, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum pro stimulo conscientiæ causam te movisse cognosci-

1529. cognoſcimus, illam, quæ tanti eſt, eadem quoq; ratione altius cogitando, poſthabitis moleſtiis atq; odiis quæ naſcuntur ex litibus, cum animi tui pace componere poſſis. In quo nos adjutores ſemper habiturus es, Majeſtatem T. hortantes in Domino ut interim Reginam ipſam pro ipſius Conſcientiæ tuæ Securitate maritali affectione tractare non deſinas, Quemadmodum Celſitudinem Tuam pro virtute ſua facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ die 29 Aug. 1529. Anno 6.

Before yet theſe Breves were ſent, the Pope, wiſely conſidering that by the diligence of our Agents, not only the firſt Minutes of them were ſent to *England*, but alſo that his Treaty with the Emperour *July* 18. was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit to advertiſe our Cardinall, That the League betwixt him and the Emperour was made, *pro temporum ratione, & rerum Chriſtianarum utilitate*; exhorting him therefore to do good offices with the King, which alſo *Sept.* 23. he explicated in another diſpatch, *September* 23. wiſhing that Ayd might be ſent againſt the Turke. All which being contrary to the Kings preſent deſignes, could not upon what termes ſoever be repreſented, without much offence, and ill conceit of Cardinall *Woolſey*. The King believing that underhand hee held intelligence with the *Polyd. Virg.* Pope, to the prejudice of his affaires. Which *Polydore* alſo affirmeth; ſaying, that he writ privatly to the Pope to ſuſpend the Cauſe, till they could bring the King to ſome better temper. This alſo I believe was confirm'd in the Kings mind, by ſome notice he might have, of a joynt Diſpatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our Records) from *Woolſey* and *Campegius*, during their Seſſion, whereby they deſired the Pope to avoke the Cauſe, in caſe it grew ſo doubtfull that they could not determine it; both as they would be free from the trouble and danger, and as they conceived he might better helpe the King *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*; who perchance (as they ſaid) would be content therewith, if the Pope would promiſe to end the matter, ſhortly afterwards to his ſatisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our Kings knowledge, and that, for the reſt, it left the buſineſſe in more perplexitie and irreſolution than ever; So the King *Cavendiſh.* Life of Card. *Woolſey.* who (I find by *Candiſh*) had recovered ſomething under the Cardinalls hand, which he urged againſt him, began to frown; whereof alſo the Courtiers took that notice, as now his fall was voyced every where. Though yet it was not in that precipice, but that the King admitted him ſtill to no ſmall degrees of his wonted Acceſſe and favour. Howbeit, as the Cardinall was now in his Decadence, all theſe ſteps did but lead unto his ruine. To which also the ſecret ill offices of the angry Queen, and deſpighted *Anne Bolen* did contribute; who, though hating one another, did conſpire to his deſtruction. The Cauſes on the Queens patt are touch't before, which alſo were not a little

tle set forwards by the industry of the Emperour. And for those of Mistris *Anne Bolen*, besides her unkind Dismission from the Court (which she conceiv'd to have been the Cardinalls advise) another inveterate grudge made her inreconcileable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuscript of one Master *George Cavendish*, Gentleman-Usher to the Cardinall, I have thought fit to insert. This Gentlewoman, being descended, on the Father's side, from one of the heirs of the Earles of *Ormond*, and on the Mothers from a Daughter of the house of *Norfolke*, was from her childhood, of that singular beauty and towardnesse, that her Parents took all care possible for her good education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of vertuous instructions, wherewith shee was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers, in playing on musicall Instruments, singing, and dancing; Insomuch, that when she composed her hands to play, and voice to Sing, it was joyned with that sweetnesse of countenance, that three Harmonies concurr'd; likewise, when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to Rest or Motion. Briefly, it seems the most attractive perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at first, nor before she had liv'd some time in *France*, whither, in the Train of the French Queen, and company of a Sister of the Marquis *Dorset*, shee went *Anno Domini* 1514. After the death of *Lewis* the Twelfth, shee did not yet return with the *Dowager*, but was received into a place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutchesse of *Alancon*, Sister to *Francis*, where she stayed, till some difference grew betwixt our King and *Francis*; therefore, as saith *Du Tillet*, and our Records, about the time when our Students at *Paris* were remanded, she likewise left *France* as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to suffer her to stay there any longer. All this while therefore no argument of extraordinary affection towards her was discovered in our King. So that though it be probable, that she were at the Inter-view betwixt the Kings and Queens (neere *Guisnes*) above-mentioned, yet she left not the French Court. But, at last, being come hither, and, about the twentieth year of her age, received into our Queens service, however the King might take notice of her, the Lord *Henry Percy* yet, (the Earle of *Northumberland's* eldest Sonne) appear'd first enamour'd of her; Insomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the train of our Cardinall, (whom he attended in ordinary) his addresses were continually to her; whereof hee made that use, as at length, hee obtained her good will to Marriage. So that in what kind soever the Kings affection might manifest it selfe, neither was she so satisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous offer, nor the Lord *Percy* aware that he was oppos'd by so puissant a Rivall. But this Treaty, (which proceeded to little lesse than a Contract,) comming at last to our Kings ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a beauty hee had contemplated so long, that it was become his deerest object, made him resolve to acquaint the

1529.

Cavend. Life of Card. *Wolsey.*

1514.

1521.

1526.

Camden, Eliz.

1529. Cardinall with his love to her; wiſhing him alſo to diſſwade the Lord *Percy* from it. The forward Cardinall, hereupon, both violently dehorts the Lord *Percy* from the Gentlewomen, and uſeth all Arts to inſinuate himſelf into her good opinion and favour. But Miſtris *Bolen*, whether ſhe were ignorant, as yet, how much the King loved her, or, howſoever, had rather be that Lords Wife, than a Kings Miſtris, took very ill of the Cardinall this his unſeaſonable interruption of her Marriage. The Cardinall alſo fearing the Revenges of that ſex, and, for the reſt, being unwilling to come to ſharper termes with the Lord *Percy* than he had already us'd, deſires the King to write to the Earle of *Northumberland*, to come up; Alleging there was no ſuch way to preſerve the Gentlewoman for himſelf, and together to conceal his love, as to uſe a cunning diſſwaſion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby alſo he might be induc'd to interpoſe his fatherly Authority for diſſolving of the Match. Hereupon the Earle repairing to Court, the Cardinall firſt, and afterwards the King diſcover'd the cauſe of his ſending for, in every kind, but withall in ſuch covert and ambiguous termes, that betwixt unwillingneſſe to diſparage the Gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers reaſons why the Lord *Percy* ſhould not Marry her, the Earle was not without ſome hazard of miſapplying the Kings affection to himſelfe. Howſoever, he ſo checkt his ſonne, that feare of diſpleaſing his Father, became at length the Predominant paſſion. So that it neither ſerv'd him to declare the merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his promiſe, before Witneſſes, had ingag'd him further, than that he knew well how to come off: The apprehenſion of the Kings diſpleaſure having wrought that impreſſion in the Earle, that hee would take no denyall or excuſe on his ſons part, till he had made him renounce all his pretences to her; which alſo he urged ſo farre, as at length his ſon conſented to marry the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughter. But the hatred which Miſtris *Anne Bolen* conceiv'd againſt the Cardinall concluded not ſo; nor indeed could ever end till ſhe had procur'd his finall Ruine. And this is the trueſt relation of Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, that I have been able to gather out of thoſe Records and Manuſcripts that have come to my hands. So that now I ſhould have proceeded with my Hiſtory, were I not conſtrained (in a ſort) to vindicate both her Honour, and her Progenitors from thoſe foule Calumnies which in a book of *Nicholas Sanders*, an Engliſhman, *De ſchiſmate Anglicano* are caſt upon them.

Sand. de Schiſm. Angl. This Author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a man of exact judgement, reports, out of one *William Raſtall*, a Judge (in his life of Sir *Thomas Moore*) that Miſtris *Anne Bolen* was the Kings Daughter, by the Wife of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, while, *ſub ſpecie honoris*, hee was employed by the King, Ambaſſadour in *France*; and that this Gentlewoman comming to the age of fifteen, was deflowred by ſome domeſtiques of her Fathers, and then ſent to *France*; where alſo ſhe behav'd her ſelf ſo licentiouſly, that ſhe was vulgarly call'd

call'd the Hackney of *England*, till being adopted to that Kings familiarity, she was termed his Mule. Many other passages of this kind are also inserted by *Sanders*, which I forbear, as being sorry to have occasion for publishing thus much. But how impossible these things are, the ingenious Reader may easily find out, when hee compares the times. For, if Mistris *Anne Bolen* went to *France* with *Mary* the French Queen 1514. (as is proved by divers principall Authors, both English and French, besides the Manuscripts I have seen) and was here vitiated at 15 years of age, it must follow that she was born about, or before, 1498. at which time our King was neither above seven or eight years old at most, and therefore unable to get a Child (especially nine moneths before,) nor had that Regall power in his hands for employment of Ambassadours till ten or eleven years afterwards. So that Master *Sanders* or *Rastal*'s affirmation herein is but fiction, as the rest certainly is, she having alwayes liv'd in good reputation. As for the beauty and handsomnesse of Mistris *Anne Bolen*, which the same Author doth traduce, besides, that it contradicts common sence, (she having been, by their allegation, a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant still with the Dutchesse of *Richmond*, doth sufficiently convince. And for her Religion, there is no probability that it should (at first) be other than what was commonly profest. Since it appears by originall Letters of hers, that she was a speciall favourer of the Clergie of that time, and a preferrer of the worthiest sort of them to Ecclesiasticall livings, during her chief times of favour with the King. Though I will not deny but, upon his defection from some Articles of the Roman Church, she might also complie. But I should be glad that Master *Sanders* had not divers other things which might require a serious review; though I must not deny but, as he hath in some things followed Cardinall *Poole*, (a person of great learning, and much reverenc'd in his time,) so he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinall was so neer in blood to divers, whom the King put to death, he may be thought perchance more partiall than to be believ'd every where: Neither will it satisfie all men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even so much as the Kings thoughts (by Revelation,) so that I shall leave these things to the liberty of the indifferent Reader, and return to my History. 1529.

Lib. pro Vni. Eccles.

Our King, who at the first prorogation of the Sentence, by reason of the *Feriæ Vindemiarum*, hoped yet that, at least, *October* 1. (when the Court was appointed to sit again) he might have the cause determined, seeing now all proceeding in *England* inhibited, the Cause Avocated to Rome, *Campegius* recalled, and finally finding, by many Dispatches, that the Pope and Emperour had appointed shortly to meet at *Bononia*, was much troubled, and the rather, that the two Cardinalls proceeding hitherunto had been little more than illusion. Whereupon also he became much incensed against them. Yet containing awhile his anger, he neither alter'd his fashion to *Woolsey*, nor

1529. declared any dislike of *Campegius*. Insomuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no argument of suspition or dislike appear'd hitherunto on either side. *Campegius* thus dismis'd and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the Sea-side, where he expected only a faire wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon pretence he carried either Money, or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ransack'd all his Coffers, Bags, and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that Decretall Bull our King so much longed for. I find also (by some relation) that divers Love-Letters betwixt our King and Mistris *Bolen*, being convey'd out of the Kings Cabinet, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to *Rome*. Which usage so offended *Campegius*, that he complained immediatly to our King; protesting he would not proceed in his Journey till he had Reparation for the wrongs done to his person and Dignity; And that the people were satisfied concerning certain scandalous Rumours, which he heard were scatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinall *Woolsey* and himself. But our King by his Letter, of *October* 22. answered, that it must not be expected from him, *Præstare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortasse scrupulosa & anxia sedulitas designare soleat.* As for the *Jus Legati* pretended to be violated, our King answered that he conceiv'd it was expired, not only as it was revok'd by the Pope's late Inhibition, but, particularly, by the interposition of his own Regall Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge. Adding moreover, that he wondred somewhat, that *Campegius* understood our Law so little, as not to feare how he usurped, after that time, the name of a Legat in this Kingdome; Since he, having been made Bishop here of *Salisbury*, was bound by Oath to the conservation of the Royall Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a mistake; the Commandement having been given long since, when there was just occasion for it, and not in Relation to his particular, who therefore he was sorry to have been so roughly us'd; desiring the Cardinall, for the rest, to excuse the said Searchers, since they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as cause of his stay. As for the other part, which was the Rumour, Our King said, it was uncertain from whence it came; Notwithstanding that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breast, yet) so generally receiv'd and believ'd in his Kingdome, that it would be hard to remove that opinion. In which regard also it was in vain for him to stay here so much as one houre. Howsoever, that hee might make this use of it, as to know how ill his Subjects tooke this frustration of the Businesse. But as his Royall care should be to prevent the inconveniences might follow hereof, so that it belong'd to *Campegius* his wisdome to continue those good intentions he had made shew of. For wee (saith the King) *tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipse factis palàm diversum ostenderis.*

October 22.

Campegius being, now, more than once licenc'd, thought it time to be gone; So that, comming at last to the Pope, he acquainted him with

with all the proceedings, not forgetting the dangers in which Cardinall *Woolsey* was, for his too much obsequiousnesse to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperour, or that otherwise he secretly hated the Cardinall, for his late unseasonable Ambition to succeed in the Papacie, seem'd to care for nothing so much as the conserving of his late League. Though yet hee was not so secure, of our King, but that he feared not a little his often threatned Defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might stand with his other interests) for the containing of him in his wonted devotion. Insomuch that he offered new projects daily for his satisfaction; Among which *Gregory Casalis* relates one, which shall be set down in his place. 1529

Cardinall *Woolsey* being now devested of his late power, (wherein he had the glory, in some sort, to have been Superiour to his King) and, for the rest, being left alone, and exposed not only to a generall hatred, but to the private Machinations of the present and future Queen, became sensible of his ill estate; though yet he did not believe himself so neer his overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what could he hope for, when such puissant enemies did procure his destruction? Therefore, though he received some Advises from *Rome*, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conservation, yet in effect what secret Intelligence soever pass'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperour first, and after to Queen *Katherine*, who cunningly caus'd it to be whisper'd into the Kings ears, by some more indirect wayes, than it could possibly bee imagined to proceed from her. Likewise, Mistris *Anne Bolen*, having learned from some of the Kings wisest and gravest Councellours, divers Malversations of the Cardinall, was so farre from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better actions. *Edmund Campion* adds to these reasons, that Sir *Francis Bryan*, being in *Rome*, did, by the means of a Familiar of one who kept the Popes Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinalls, which wrought his ruine, in this manner; Having first shewed her the Cardinalls hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan so dexterously perform'd the rest, as, upon pretence of visiting her servant in his Studie, she conveyed away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediatly to send it to our King. Which relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by Originall dispatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the Kings disfavour to the Cardinall appeared. Howsoever, the way the King tooke to overthrow him was meerly Legall, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after most mens opinion. In the carriage whereof yet, that secresie was used, that the Cardinall did not, or perchance, out of greatnesse of mind, would not take notice of what was intended against him. So that, though the Bill or Inditement was put in (at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme) yet did he ride, that day, to the Chancery, with his accustomed Pompe. Of which our King being

Camp. de Divortio.

Octob. 9.

1529. being advertized, thought fit to forbid him the place; as thinking it undecent, that a man, who was upon termes of conviction, ſhould adminiſter that high charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolke* and
Octob. 18. *Suffolke* were ſent, the eighteenth of *October*, to require the great Seale of him. But the Cardinall, in ſtead of rendring it, diſputed their Authority, alleadging, the place of Lord Chancellour was, by the King's Letters Pattents, given him during life. The two Dukes hereupon return'd to Court, bringing, the next day, the Kings Letters to the Cardinall, who, having read them, deliver'd immediatly the Great Seale; In ſequence thereof, alſo ſubmitting himſelf to the King; who commanded him to leave *Yorke* Place, and Simply to depart to *Aſher*, a Countrey houſe neer *Hampton* Court, belonging to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Hee charged his Officers alſo to Inventory and bring forth his goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into hangings, beſides whole pieces of rich ſtuffs, was ſet upon divers Tables in his houſe; the variety and number whereof may be imagined, when (as *Cavendiſh* hath it) of fine Holland cloth alone there were a Thouſand peeces. Beſides, the walls of his Gallery on the one ſide were hang'd with rich ſuits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, cloth of Tiſſue, and cloth of Bodekin; On the other ſide was placed the moſt glorious ſuit of Copes that had been ſeen in *England*. In a chamber neer to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of maſſie Gold, and in a Chamber adjoyning vaſt quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinall commanded Sir *William Gaſcogne* (his Treaſurer) to deliver the King, when he was requir'd. In the mean while the Bill againſt the Cardinall proceeded, the moſt ſubſtantiall parts whereof, being extracted out of the Originall Record, I have thought fit to preſent to the Reader. The ground upon which *Chriſtopher Hales*, the Kings Attorny, proſecuted the Cardinall was a Statute of
16. *Ric.* 2. xvi. *Rich.* II, in which is enacted, That, whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of right, and were wont of old time to ſue in the Kings Court to recover their preſentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to preſent, and when Judgement ſhall be given in the ſaid Court upon ſuch a Plea and Preſentment, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other ſpirituall perſons, which have Inſtitutions of ſuch benefices within their Juriſdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of ſuch Judgements by the Kings Commandements, of all the time aforeſaid, without interruption, and alſo be bound of Right to make Execution of many other the Kings commandements; Of which right the Crown of *England* hath been peaceably ſeiſed, as well now as in the time of all his Progenitors. And whereas of late the Biſhop of *Rome* (for ſo he is termed in the Act) had made divers Proceſſes and Cenſures of Excommunication, upon certain Biſhops, in *England*, becauſe they have made Execution of ſuch Commandements, and alſo becauſe he had ordain'd and purpos'd to tranſlate ſome Prelates of the Realme, ſome out of the Realme, and ſome from one Biſhoprick

to

to another within the ſaid Realm, without the Kings aſſent and knowledge, and without the aſſent of the Prelates, which ſo ſhall be tranſlated; which Prelates be much profitable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm: which tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffered, the Statutes of the Realme ſhould be defeated and made voyd, and his ſayd Liege ſages of his Counſel, without his aſſent, and againſt his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realme, and the ſubſtance and Treaſure of the Realm ſhall be carried away, and ſo the Realm deſtitute aſwell of Counſell as of ſubſtance, to the finall deſtruction of the ſame Realm; and ſo the Crown of *England*, which hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath bin in no Earthly ſubjection, but immediatly ſubject to God, in all things touching the Legalty of the ſame Crown, and to none other, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Pope; and the Lawes and Statutes of the ſaid Realm, by him defeated and avoyded at his will, in perpetuall deſtruction of the Soveraignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm, *&c.* Therefore the King, by the aſſent of his Lords, and at the requeſt of the Commons, hath ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd, that, if any purchaſe or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſued in the Court of *Rome*, or elſe-where, any Tranſlations, Proceſſes, and ſentences of Excommunications, Bulls, Inſtruments, or any other things whatſoever, which touch the King, againſt him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other execution whatſoever within the ſame Realm or without, that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors, and Counſellours, ſhall bee put out of the Kings protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attached by their bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Councell, there to anſwer to the caſes aforeſaid, or that Proceſſe to be made againſt them by a Writ of *Præmunire facies*, in manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Proviſors, and other, which doe ſue in any other Court, in derogation of the Regalty of our Lord the King. 1529

Upon which Statute it was alleged, that *Thomas, Legatus de Latere*, Cardinall, Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, and Primate of *England*, being not ignorant of the premiſes, had obtained certain Bulls from *Clement* the Seventh, by which he exerciſed Juriſdiction and authority Legatine, to the deprivation of the Kings power eſtabliſhed in his Courts of Juſtice; which ſaid Bulls he cauſed to be publikely read in *Weſtminſter*, *Aug.* 28. 15, of the King, aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of *Legatus de Latere*, which hee hath exercis'd from the ſaid 28th of *Aug.* to this day, to the prejudice of the right of both Secular and Eccleſiaſticall perſons. And that, by colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke-Guilford* in the County of *Surrey* (being of right in the Donation of the Prior of Saint *Pancrace*) to one *James Gorton*, who alſo injoyed it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the King, and his Crown, and

1523. 28. *Aug.* 15. *H.* 8.

1529. and contrary to the foresaid Statutes of xvi. *Rich.* the Third. Moreover that, by Colour of the said Authority, hee had caused the last Wills and Testaments of many (out of his Diocesse) to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their goods and chattells to bee administred by such as he appointed. Also that, under colour of the said Authority, hee had made divers Visitations out of his Diocesse, and drawn divers Pensions from Abbeys to the contempt of the King and his Lawes.

The proofe of which particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his conviction, till, through the Kings speciall
Octob. 28. permission (by Writ of *October* 28.) *John Scuse* and *Christopher Genney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; Where, for all other answers, they protested in the said Cardinalls name, that the said Cardinall did not know the impetration of the said Bulls to have been to the contempt and prejudice of the King, or that it was against any Statute of Provisors heretofore made. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged by Master Attorney, he confess'd them all true in the manner and forme alleged. And so submitted himself to the King. Whereupon the Court gave sentence that he was out of the Kings protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and that his person might be seized on.

Not contented herewith yet, another proofe of the same kind, was by the Kings Attorney produced against the Cardinall, namely, that, contrary to the right of the true Patrone (being the Master and Fellowes of the Hospitall of St. *Lazarus* in *Burton-Lazar*) he had, by the same Authority, given away the Parish-Church of *Galby* in *Leicester*-shire and Diocesse of *Lincolne*, (then vacant, by the death of one *Woodrofe*,) to one *John Allen*, Doctor of both Lawes, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinall, together with all his vast possessions, into the Kings hands. Concerning which, the Criticks of the time gave sundry opinions, the most part yet supposing him capable of the Kings mercy, had he been either lesse rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by law, but by the rigor of it. All which they considered the more, that the Cardinall had so long exercis'd his Legatine power, without that the King either seem'd to dislike it, or any other had que'tion'd him for it. Therefore, howsoever he was convicted by forme of Justice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the King. Insomuch, that the impression taken of his ancient services, was not defac'd wholly. So that, notwithstanding his best goods were seiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other possessions, and (with them) his intire liberty, yet he both sent him a Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *Yorke* and *Winchester*, which he had lately given him after the death of *Richard Fox*, only he confin'd him, for the present, to his house at *Asher*, till his further pleasure were signified. Being upon his way, the King (touched with some compassion) sent him by one Master

Maſter *Norreys*, not only a gracious Meſſage, but a Ring, which was a token betwixt them, when any ſpeciall buſineſſe was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoyed Cardinall alighted from his Mule, and, in the dirt, upon his bare knees, acknowledged the comfort he receiv'd. To ſhew his thankfulneſſe alſo to Maſter *Norreys*, he preſented him with a chain of Gold, at which a piece of the Croſſe did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to ſend to the King; till at laſt having eſpyed in his Traine a facetious Naturall, in whom he took much delight, he deſir'd Mr. *Norreys* to preſent him to the King. Which promotion yet this Fellow (for the approving himſelf no Counterfeit) did ſo ſleight, as the Cardinall was forced to ſend ſix of his talleſt Yeoman to bring him to Court. The Cardinall comming at laſt to *Aſher*, found himſelfe ſo deſtitute of all neceſſaries, as, till one Mr. *Arundel* firſt, and after the Biſhop of *Carlile* provided him, he wanted even the moſt ordinary parts of Houſhold-ſtuffe. And thus the ill accommodated Cardinall paſſed ſome weeks in expectation of the Kings further pleaſure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to uſe thoſe friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former favour; or, when that could not be done, for the making his fall more eaſie. For which purpoſe one Maſter *Thomas Cromwell*, his ſervant, (who came afterwards to great preferment) was employed. But Miſtris *Bolen* ſecretly oppoſed all. So that the Cardinall, being now, in a manner, hopeleſſe of regaining the Kings good opinion, diſmiſſed (not without tears on both ſides) the greateſt part of his numerous Family, without other reward than what Maſter *Cromwell* and ſome of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King, hearing the Cardinall to be ſomewhat humbled, ſent Sir *John Ruſſell* with a Turquoiſe Ring to him as a token of his care and affection. But it was not gifts that the Cardinall expected from the King, but liberty and reſtitution to his former greatneſſe; which yet was ſo much in vain, as his offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that hee had particularly advantag'd himſelf of the Cardinalls puniſhment, unleſſe he made ſome uſe thereof to the Generall, ſo he call'd a Councill of the Nobles, to ſit in the Star-chamber, who having ſufficiently condemned him, hee afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began *November* 3. 1529. Wherein the King alſo did wiſely, ſince by intereſſing the publike in his condemnation, he both declin'd the Cenſure of thoſe who thought the late proceedings to have been of the ſevereſt, and indeer'd his people by putting the power of puniſhing him into their hands. Therefore they took it as an intire ſatisfaction for all they had hitherto ſuffred; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this favour. And thus did the King return to that former good opinion hee had of his Subjects.

1529.

Novemb. 1.

Octob. 1.

Novemb. 3. *Reg.* 21.

Hereupon certain Articles againſt the Cardinall were preferr'd in Parliament. The Originall whereof found among our Records, I have

1529. thought fit to transcribe; and the rather, for that our vulgar Chronicles misreport them.

CONstrained by necessity of our fidelity and conscience, complain and shew to your Royall Majesty, We your Graces humble, true, faithfull, and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinall of *Yorke*, lately your Graces Chancellour, presuming to take upon him the Authoritie of the Popes Legat *de Latere*, hath by divers and many sundry wayes and fashions committed notable, high, and grievous offences, misusing, altering, and subverting the order of your Graces Lawes, and otherwise contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Estate, and dignity Royall, to the inestimable dammage of your Graces subjects of every degree, and consequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay of the universall wealth of this your Graces Realm, as it is touched summarily, and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in comparison of all his enormities, excesses, and transgressions committed against your Graces Lawes. That is to say;

I. FIrst, where your Grace, and your Noble Progenitors within this your Realm of *England*, being Kings of *England*, have been so free, that they have had in all the world no other Soveraign, but immediat subject to Almighty God in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, and the same Preheminence, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, lawfull, and peaceable possession, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed without interruption, or businesse therefore by the space of two Hundred years, and more, whereby your Grace may prescribe against the Popes Holinesse, that he should not, nor ought to send, or make any Legat to execute any authority Legantine, contrary to your Graces Prerogative within this your Realm:

Now the Lord Cardinall of *York* being your Subject, and naturall liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and insatiable mind, for his own singular advancement, and profit, in derogation, and to the great inblemishment, and hurt of your said Royall Jurisdiction, and prerogative, and the large continuance of the possession of the same, obtained Authoritie Legatine, by reason whereof he hath not only hurt your said prescription, but also by the said Authority Legantine, hath spoiled and taken away from many houses of Religion in this your Realm, much substance of their goods. And also hath usurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much part of their Jurisdiction, in derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said Ordinaries, Prelats, and Religious.

II. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, being your Ambassadour in *France*, made a Treaty with the French King for the Pope, your Majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the same; and binding the said French King to abide his order and award, if any controversie or doubt should arise upon the same betwixt the said Pope and the French King.

III. Upon

III. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall being your Ambaſſadour in *France*, ſent a Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſalis*, under your great Seale in your Graces name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Cõmand or Warrant of your Highnes, nor your ſaid Highnes advertiſed, or made privie to the ſame. 1529.

IIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, of his preſumptuous mind in divers and many of his Letters, and Inſtructions ſent out of this Realm to outward parties, had joyn'd himſelf with your Grace, as in ſaying, and writing in his ſaid Letters and Inſtructions, *The King and I.* And, *I would yee ſhould do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty thankes.* Whereby it is apparent that hee uſed himſelf more like a Fellow to your Highneſſe, than like a Subject.

V. Alſo, where it hath ever been accuſtomed within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do ſwear their Houſhold-ſervants, the Firſt part of their Oath hath been, that they ſhould be true Liegemen to the King and his Heirs Kings of *England*, The ſame Lord Cardinall cauſed his ſervants to be only ſworn to him, as if there had been no Soveraigne above him.

VI. And alſo, whereas your Grace is our Soveraigne Lord and Head, in whom ſtandeth all the ſurety and wealth of this Realm, the ſame Lord Cardinall knowing himſelf to have the foule, and contagious Diſeaſe of the Great Pox, broken out upon him in divers places of this body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your eare, and blowing upon your moſt noble Grace, with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your Highneſſe, if God of his infinit goodneſſe had not better provided for your Highneſſe. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his diſeaſe was an Impoſtume in his head, and of none other thing.

VII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath given, by prevention, the Benefices of divers perſons, aſwell Spirituall as Temporall, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Lawes and Eſtatutes therefore provided, By reaſon whereof hee is in danger to your Grace of forfeiture of his lands, and goods, and his body at your pleaſure.

VIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, taking upon him otherwiſe then a true Counſellour ought to do, hath uſed to have all Ambaſſadours to come firſt to him alone, and ſo hearing their charges, and intents, it is to be thought he hath inſtructed them after his pleaſure, and purpoſe, before that they came to your preſence; contrary to your high Commandement by your Graces mouth to him given, and alſo to other perſons, ſent to him by your Grace.

IX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath practiſed ſo, that all manner of Letters ſent from beyond the Sea to your Highneſſe have come Firſt to his Hands, contrary to your High commandement by your own mouth, and alſo by others ſent to him by your Grace; by reaſon whereof your Highneſſe, nor any of your Councell had knowledge of no matters, but ſuch as it pleaſed him to ſhew them; whereby

1529. your Highneſſe, and your Counſell have been compell'd of very force to follow his devices, which oftentimes were ſet forth by him under ſuch crafty, and covert means, that your Highneſſe, and your Counſell hath oftentimes been abuſed. Inſomuch, that when your Counſell have found, and put divers doubts, and things which hath afterwards enſued, Hee to abuſe them, uſed theſe words; *I will lay my head that no ſuch thing ſhall happen.*

X. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath practiſed that no manner of perſon, having charge to make eſpiall of things done beyond the Sea, ſhou'd at their return come firſt to your Grace, nor to any other of your Counſell, but only to himſelf, and in caſe they did the contrary, He puniſhed them for ſo doing.

XI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath granted Licence under your Great Seal for carrying out of Graine, and other Victuall, after the reſtraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre, and ſingular advantage of him, and his ſervants, for to ſend thither as he bare ſecret favour, without your Graces Warrant or knowledge thereof.

XII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall uſed, many years together, not only to write unto all your Ambaſſadours Reſident with other Princes in his own name all Advertiſements concerning your Graces affaires, being in their Charge, and in the ſame his Letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your Graces pleaſure being known, concealing divers things which had been neceſſary for them to know, But alſo cauſed them to write their Advertiſements unto him; And of the ſame Letters he uſed to conceale, for the compaſſing of his purpoſes, many things both from all your other Counſellours, and from your ſelf alſo.

XIII. Alſo, where good Hoſpitality hath been uſed to be kept in houſes and places of Religion of this Realm, and many poore people thereby relieved, the ſaid Hoſpitality and Reliefe is now decayed, and not uſed; and it is commonly reported that the occaſion thereof is, becauſe the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath taken ſuch Impoſitions of the Rulers of the ſaid houſes, aſwell for his favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Viſitation, by his Authority Legantine. And yet, nevertheleſſe, taketh yearly of ſuch Religious Houſes, ſuch yearly and continuall charges, as they be not able to keep Hoſpitality, as they uſed to do, which is a great cauſe that there be ſo many vagabonds, beggars, and theeves.

XIIII. Alſo, where the ſaid Lord Cardinall ſayd, before the ſuppreſſion of ſuch Houſes as he hath ſuppreſſed, that the poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſet to Farme among your lay-Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly rent, as they ſhould well thereupon live, and keepe good Hoſpitality; And now the demaine poſſeſſions of the ſaid Houſes, ſince the ſuppreſſion of them, hath been ſurveyed, mete, and meaſured by the Acre, and be now ſet above the value of the old Rent; And alſo ſuch as were Farmers by Covent-Seate, and Copie-Holders be put out, and amoved of their Farmes, or elſe compell'd to

pay

pay new Fines, contrary to all equitie and Conſcience. 1529

XV. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, ſitting among the Lords, and other of your moſt Honourable Counſell, uſed himſelf, that if any man would ſhew his mind according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the ſaid Cardinall, Hee would ſo take him up with his accuſtomable words, that they were better to hold their peace than to ſpeak, ſo that he would hear no man ſpeak but one, or two great Perſonages, ſo that he would have all the words himſelf, and conſumed much time with a faire tale.

XVI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall by his Ambition and pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poore ſubjects for want of diſpatchment of matters; for hee would no man ſhould meddle but himſelf. Inſomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wiſe men, that ten of the moſt wiſeſt, and moſt expert men in *England* were not ſufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to himſelf: And many times he deferred the ending of matters, becauſe that Sutors ſhould attend and wait upon him, whereof hee had no ſmall pleaſure that his houſe might be repleniſh'd with Sutors.

XVII. Alſo, the Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath uſed, if any Spirituall man having any riches or ſubſtance, deceaſed, he hath taken their goods, as his own; by reaſon whereof their Wills be not perform'd; And one mean he had, to put them in feare that were made Executors to refuſe to meddle.

XVIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall conſtrained all Ordinaries in *England*, yearly to compound with him, or elſe he will uſurp halfe or the whole of their Juriſdiction by prevention, not for good order of the Dioceſſe, but to extort treaſure; for there is never a poore Arch-Deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

XIX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath not only by his untrue ſuggeſtion to the Pope, ſhamefully ſlandered many good Religious Houſes, and good vertuous Men dwelling in them, but alſo ſuppreſſed by reaſon thereof above thirty houſes of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he ſhould not ſuppreſſe any houſe that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of ſix or ſeven, Hee hath ſuppreſſed divers houſes that had above the number; And thereupon hath cauſed divers Offices to be found by verdict, untruly, that the Religious perſons, ſo ſuppreſſed, had voluntarily forſaken their ſaid houſes, which was untrue, and ſo hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

XX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, hath examined divers and many matters in the Chancery, after Judgement thereof given at the Common Law, in ſubverſion of your Lawes; and made ſome perſons reſtore again to the other party condemned, that they had in Execution by vertue of the Judgement in the Common-Law.

XXI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath graunted many Injunctions

1529. ctions by Writ, and the parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them. And, by reaſon thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawfull poſſeſſion of their lands and tenements. And, by ſuch means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himſelf, whereby he and divers of his ſervants have gotten much riches, and your ſubjects ſuffered great wrongs.

XXII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, to augment his great Riches, hath cauſed divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be ſuſpended, which could not be revived till that the ſaid Lord Cardinall were rewarded, and alſo have a yearly Penſion of the ſaid Pardon.

XXIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, not regarding your Lawes nor Juſtice, of his extort power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and alſo Patents of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Yorke*, and Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, And of the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, which had good, and ſufficient grant thereof by your Lawes.

XXIIII. Alſo, the ſame Lord Cardinall at many times when any Houſes of Religion have been voyd, Hee hath ſent his officers thither, and with crafty perſwaſions hath induced them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before ere he named, or confirmed any of them, Hee, and his ſervants received ſo much great goods of them, that in manner it hath been to the undoing of the houſe.

XXV. Alſo, by his Authoritie Legantine, the ſame Lord Cardinall hath viſited the moſt part of the Religious Houſes and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty fifth part of their livelihood, to the great extortion of your Subjects, and derogation of your Lawes, and Prerogative, And no law to beare him ſo to doe.

XXVI. Alſo, when Matters have been neere at Judgement by Proceſſe at your Common-Law, the ſame Lord Cardinall hath not only given and ſent Injunctions to the parties, but alſo ſent for your Judges, and expreſly by threats Commanding them to deferre the Judgement, to the evident ſubverſion of your Lawes, if the Judges would ſo have ceaſed.

XXVII. Alſo, whereas neither the Biſhoprick of *Yorke*, nor *Wincheſter*, nor the Abbey of St. *Albans*, nor the profit of his Legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Penſion out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate taking could not ſuffice him, He hath made his ſonne *winter* to ſpend twenty ſeven hundred pounds by year, which he taketh to his own uſe, and giveth him not paſt two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Alſo, where the ſaid Lord Cardinall did firſt ſue unto your Grace to have your aſſent to bee *Legat. de Latere*, Hee promiſed, and ſolemnly proteſted before your Majeſtie, and before the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, that He would nothing doe or attempt by vertue of his Legacy, that ſhould be contrary to your gracious Prerogative, or Regality, or to the dammage or prejudice of the Juriſdi-

Jurisdiction of any Ordinarie, And that by his Legacy, no man should be hurt or offended; And upon that Condition, and no other, He was admitted by your Grace to be Legat within this your Realm; which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this promise, He was busie in his sute at *Rome*, to visit all the Clergie of *England*, both Exempt and not exempt. 1529

XXIX. Also, upon the sute of the said Lord Cardinall at *Rome* to have his Authoritie Legantine, Hee made untrue surmise to the Popes holinesse against the Clergie of your Realm, which was, that the Regular persons of the said Clergie had given themselves in *reprobam sensum*; which words Saint *Paul* writing to the Romans applied to abominable sinne: which slaunder to your Church of *England* shall for ever remain in the Register at *Rome* against the Clergie of this your Realm.

XXX. Also, the said Lord Cardinall had the more part of the goods of Doctor *Smith*, late Bishop of *Lincoln*, Bishop *Savage* of *York*, Mr. *Dalby*, Arch-Deacon of *Richmond*, Mr. *Tornyers*, Doctor *Rothall*, late Bishop of *Durham*, and of Doctor *Fox*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, contrary to their Wills, and your Lawes, and Justice.

XXXI. Also, at the Oyer, and Terminer at *Yorke*, Proclamation was made, that every man should put in their Bills for extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in against the Officers of the said Lord Cardinall, of extortion, for taking twelve pence of the pound for probation of Testaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Justice *Fitz-Herbert*, and other Commissioners, The same Lord Cardinall removed the same Indictments into the Chancery by *Certiorari*, and rebuked the same *Fitz-Herbert* for the same Cause.

XXXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath busied, and indeavoured himselfe by crafty and untrue tales to make dissention and debate amongst your Nobles of your Realme, which is ready to bee proved.

XXXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinalls officers have divers times compelled your Subjects to serve him with Carts for carriage. And also his servants have taken both Corn and Cattell, Fish, and all other Victualls at your Graces price, or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Lawes.

XXXIIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath misused himselfe in your most Honourable Court, in keeping of as great estate there in your absence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there present in your own Person.

XXXV. Also his servants, by vertue of your Commission under your Broad Seale by him to them given, have taken Cattell, and all other Victuall at as low price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your prerogative, against the Lawes of your Realm.

XXXVI. Also, where it hath been accustomed that your Purveyors for your Honourable Houshold have had yearly out of your Town

1529. Town and liberty of St. *Albons* three hundred or foure hundred Quarters of Wheat, Truth it is, that since the Lord Cardinall had the roome of Abbot there, your said Purveyors could not be suffered by him, and his officers, to take any Wheat within the said Towne or liberties.

XXXVII. Also he hath divers times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for causes before him in the Starre-Chamber, that they nor other for them should make labour, by any manner way directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obain your Gracious favour or pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Also the said Lord Cardinall did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farme by Covent-Seale of the Abbot and Covent of *Chester*, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to Right, committed the said Sir *John Stanley* to the Prison of Fleet by the space of an yeare, unto such time as hee compelled the said Sir *John* to release his Covent-Seale to one *Leghe* of *Adlington*, which married one *Larke*'s daughter, which woman the said Lord Cardinall kept, and had with her two children. Whereupon the said Sir *John Stanley*, upon displeasure taken in his Heart, made himselfe Monke in *Westminster*, and there died.

XXXIX. Also, on a time your Grace being at St. *Albons*, according to the antient custome used within your Verge, your Clarke of the Market doing his office, did present unto your officers of your most Honourable Houshold the prises of all manner of Victualls, within the precinct of the Verge, And it was commanded by your said officers to set up the said Prices both on the gates of your Honourable Houshold, and also in the Market-place within the Town of St. *Albons*, as of antient Custome it hath been used; And the Lord Cardinall, hearing the same, presumptuously, and not like a Subject, caused the foresaid Prices which were sealed with your Graces Seale, accustomably used for the same, to be taken off, and pulled down in the sayd Market-place where there were set up, And in the same place set up his own Prices, Sealed with his Seale, and would if it had not been letted, in semblable manner used your Seale standing upon your Graces Gates, And also would of his presumptuous mind have openly set in the Stocks within your said Town your Clarke of your Market. By which presumption and usurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himself to be equall with your Royall Majesty.

XL. Also the said Lord Cardinall, of his further Pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterprised to joyn and imprint the Cardinalls Hat under your Armes in your coyne of Groats, made at your City of *Yorke*, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any Subject within your Realme before this time.

XLI. Also, where one Sir *Edward Jones*, Clark, Parson of *Crowley* in the County of *Buckingham*, in the 18th yeare of your most Noble Raigne, let his said Parsonage with all Tythes, and other profits of the same

came to one *William Johnſon* by Indenture for certain years, within which years the Dean of the ſaid Lord Cardinalls Colledge in *Oxford* pretended title to a certain portion of Tythes within the ſaid Parſonage, ſuppoſing the ſaid portion to belong to the Parſonage of *Chichelley*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford*, lately ſuppreſſed, where, of truth, the Parſons of *Crowley* have been peaceably poſſeſſed of the ſaid Portion, time out of mind; Whereupon a *Sub-pœna* was directed to the ſaid *Johnſon* to appeare before the ſaid Lord Cardinall at *Hampton* Court; where without any Bill, the ſaid Lord Cardinall committed him to the Fleet, where he remained by the ſpace of twelve weekes, becauſe hee would not depart with the ſaid Portion; And at the laſt, upon a Recognizance made, that hee ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinall whereſoever hee was commanded, he was delivered out of the Fleet. Howbeit, as yet the ſaid Portion is ſo kept from him, that he dare not deale with it. 1529.

XLII. Alſo, where one *Martin Docowra* had a Leaſe of the Manor of *Ballſall* in the County of *Warwick* for tearm of certain years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by writ, upon pain of a Thouſand pounds, that hee ſhould avoid the poſſeſſion of the ſame Mannor, and ſuffer Sir *George Throgmorton* Knight, to take the profits of the ſame Mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of St. *Johns*, and the ſaid *Docowra*, were diſcuſſed; And yet the ſaid *Docowra* never made anſwer in the Chancery, ne ever was called into the Chancery for that matter. And now of late he hath received the like Injunction, upon pain of two Thouſand pounds, contrary to the courſe of the Common-Law.

XLIII. Alſo, whereas in the Parliament-Chamber, and in open Parliament, Communication and deviſes were had and moved, wherein mention was, by an Incident, made of matters touching Hereſies, and Erroneous Sects, It was ſpoken, and reported by one Biſhop there being preſent, and confirmed by a good number of the ſame Biſhops in preſence of all the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, then aſſembled, that two of the ſaid Biſhops were minded and deſire to repaire unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, for examination, reformation, and correction of ſuch Errours as then ſeemed, and were reported to Raigne amongſt the Students, and Schollers of the ſame, aſwell touching the Lutheran Sect, and opinions, as otherwiſe; The Lord Cardinall informed of the good mindes and intents of the ſaid two Biſhops in that behalf, expreſly inhibited and commanded them in no wiſe ſo to doe. By means whereof the ſame errours (as they affirmed) crept more abroad, and tooke greater place; Saying furthermore, that it was not in their defaults that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but in the ſaid Lord Cardinall; and that it was no reaſon any blame, or lack ſhould be arrected unto them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the ſaid Lord Cardinall, beſides all other his hainous offences, hath been the impeacher and diſturber of due and direct correction of Hereſies; being highly to the danger, and peril

1529. of the whole body, and good Christian people of this your Realm.

XLIIII. Finally, Forasmuch as by the foresaid Articles is evidently declared to your most Royall Majesty, that the Lord Cardinall by his outragious pride hath greatly shadowed a long season your Graces Honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and by his insatiable avarice and ravenous appetite to have riches and treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppressed your poore Subjects, with so manifold crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Common-wealth of this your Graces Realm is thereby greatly decayed, and impoverished: And also by his cruelty, iniquity, affection, and partiality hath subverted the due course, and order of your Graces Lawes, to the undoing of a great number of your loving People;

Please it your Most Royall Majesty therefore of your Excellent goodnesse towards the weale of this your Realm, and Subjects of the same, to set such order, and direction upon the said Lord Cardinall, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your Grace, and your Lawes hereafter. And that he bee so provided for, that he never have any Power, Jurisdiction or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the Common-wealth of this your Realm, as hee hath done heretofore, to the great hurt, and dammage of every man almost, high and low. Which for your Grace so doing, will daily pray, as their duty is, to Almighty God, for the prosperous Estate of your most Royall Majesty long to indure in Honour, and good Health, to the pleasure of God, and your Hearts most desire.

Subscribed the First day of *December* the twenty first yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the Eighth.

T. More.	*R. Fitzwater.*	*Will. Sandys.*
T. Norfolke.	*Jo. Oxynford.*	*William Fitz-William.*
Char. Suffolke.	*H. Northumberland.*	*Henry Guldeford.*
Tho. Dorset.	*T. Darcy.*	*Anthony Fitzherbert.*
H. Exeter.	*T. Rochford.*	*John Fitz-James.*
G. Shrouesbury.	*W. Mountjoy.*	

These Articles were presented to the King, by the Lords, and then sent down to the lower House: Where *Thomas Cromwell* (obtaining the place of a Burgesse) so wittily defended the Cardinall his Master, that no Treason could be layd to his charge. And upon this honest beginning *Cromwell* obtained his first reputation. Yet could not the resisting of this brunt, nor even the gracious Messages received frequently from the King cheare up our Cardinall. For as hee found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any satisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the Cardinalls Restitution) and that (for the rest) no evident signe of the Kings Relenting appear'd, so being not able to support any longer his many afflictions, He fell dangerously sick. The Newes whereof being brought to the Kings eares, moved so much compassion, as not only Hee, but, by his Intreaty, Mistris *Anne Bolen* (whom the Cardinall had

had in vain importuned to intercede for him) alſo ſent him ſeverall tokens ; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the Kings Image was curiouſly engraven, a gift heretofore of the Cardinalls, together with a gracious Meſſage delivered by Doctor *Butts* his Phyſician; That his Highneſſe was not angry with him in his Heart, which hee ſhould know ſhortly. Whereupon as the Cardinal recovered his health, ſo the King, for confirming his promiſes, Sealed his Pardon, *Febr.* 12. and, three dayes after, by Letters Patents, reſtored him to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. Moreover, Hee ſent him Money, Plate, Rich Hangings, and Furniture for his Houſe and Chappell, in that quantity, as the Cardinall was for the preſent much recovered : Hoping alſo, that ſince he had reſigned his Houſe called *York* Houſe (but afterward by the King ſtyled the Mannor of *Weſtminſter*, now *White Hall*) that his puniſhment ended there, and himſelf now upon termes of regaining the Kings favour. The confidence whereof alſo made him be an humble ſuppliant to the King, that, for his Healths ſake, hee might have leave to remove to *Richmond*-Houſe, the uſe of which hee had received in Exchange from the King, for that his ſumptuous Palace which he built, and called by the name of *Hampton-Court.*

1529

Feb. 12. 1529. 30.

Hollinſh.

Febr. 1530.

1525.

It is now time to look awhile on forraigne Hiſtory. Our laſt Narration left the *Comte de St. Pol* in *Italy*, where hee had quarter'd that part of the Souldiers which remain'd of that years Warres, in their Winter Garriſons ; But the Spring being come, he took divers places on this ſide the *Teſino*, and at laſt joyn'd his Forces with the Duke of *Urbino*, Generall of the Venetians, and *Franceſco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durſt not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* ſtrongly defended, or that the *Comte de St. Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoua*, their Army marched to *Landriano*, the 21. of *June* 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being advertis'd, uſed that diligence, that he ſurpriſed the *Comte de St. Pol*, when part of his Army was marched before, and wholly defeated the reſt, taking him priſoner.

1528.

1529. *June.*

This while the Emperour equipped a great Fleet for *Italy*, with intention to be Crowned there, having firſt (for the more ample furniſhing of himſelf with Money) pawn'd the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal* for 350000. Duckats.

The Pope hearing of theſe great preparatives at the ſame Seaſon that the Defeat of *St. Pol* (ſucceeding that of *Lautrech* in *Naples*) had wholly diſabled the Army of the Confederates, Reſolved to comply with the times. So that, before the Newes thereof could eaſily be convay'd to the Emperour, He indeavour'd his own peace, for this purpoſe employing one *Antonio Muſetolor* a Neopolitan ; who prevailed ſo farre, as he concluded a League at *Barcellona* the twenty ninth of *June* to this effect.

Iune 29.

1. That the Peace betwixt them ſhould be perpetuall.

2. That the Imperiall Army which was in *Naples* ſhould have ſecure paſſage through the Popes Territories.

1529. 3. That the Emperour ſhould give *Donna Margarita* (his Naturall daughter) in Marriage to *Aleſſandro de Medicis* ſonne of *Lorenzo*, and that he ſhould inveſt him in the State of *Florence*, with the title of Duke.

4. That *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Apoſtolike See by the Emperours power.

5. That the Pope ſhould give unto the Emperour a Bull, with the Title of the Kingdome of Naples, to be held in Fee from the Pope, upon payment every yeare of a Horſe or a Hackney white.

6. That the Pope ſhould, in all Eccleſiaſticall affairs, enjoy his accuſtomed right.

7. That the Pope and emperour ſhould ſee one another in *Italy*.

8. That the Emperour ſhould aſſiſt the Pope againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*.

9. That Juſtice ſhould be done to *Franceſco Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and that the Emperour commit his Cauſe to Indifferent Judges.

10. That the Emperour and his Brother *Don Fernando* and the Pope Joyne together to reduce the Lutherans, either by faire or foule means, to the Roman Catholike Faith.

All which Articles (and, perhaps, ſome private ones concerning the affairs of *England* now in agitation) were ſworn to on both ſides upon the Great Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *Barcelona*. *July 3.*

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Deſignes, and betake himſelfe intirely to the Emperour, at the ſame time when the two Cardinals ſate on their Commiſſion in *England*. So eaſie was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialiſts, and the good turnes from all his Confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himſelfe on the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Florentines, who, during his late Captivitie, had expulſed the Family of *Medicis* out of the City. *Bellay. Guicciard.*

Francis alſo underſtanding that, upon this ſecond overthrow of his Forces in *Italy*, his reputation was loſt, and his Confederates diſcouraged, and hearing, beſides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperour, thought it bettet to reſerve his Money for Ranſoming his Children, than to caſt it away in the Wars. So that, notwithſtanding his reiterated proteſtations of affection to our King, Hee, underhand, laboured a Peace with the Emperour. The Overtures whereof alſo were willingly accepted, both as *Charles* doubted change of Religion in *Germany*, and as the Turk had made no little progreſſe in *Hungary*. For which cauſes alſo he choſe rather to hearken to thoſe motions were made for delivering of the Children of *Francis* upon reaſonable tearms, than to detain them any longer unuſefully. Thus both their mindes ſecretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam *Louiſe* Mother of *Francis*, and Regent of *France*, and Madam *Anna-Margarita* Aunt to *Charles*, and Regent of the *Low-Countries*. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as affaires then ſtood, they were thought no ill Mediatreſſes.

treſſes. Both as the ſuppleneſſe of their Sex could better decline that rough Diſpute, which (conſidering the late Cartels) could ſcarce be eſchued betwixt the ſervants of either Princes, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to eſſay, if after ſo many broken or avoyded Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by women would hold; Howſoever for women to treat of Marriage or Childrens buſineſſe, was no ſtrange thing. But the event ſhewed they were able Negotiatreſſes. For though their firſt meeting (being at *Cambray*) was not without ſome of that emulation and puntille which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at laſt they fell to treat in good earneſt. The Propoſition which before all other Madam *Louiſe* made, was that a Meſſenger might be ſent to ſee the Eſtate of the Children of *Francis*, it being in vain (ſhe ſaid) to treat of their delivery, when (for any thing ſhe knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more ſubſtantiall Articles of a Treaty. 1529. July 3. Sandov.

Madam *Margarita* ſaid, indeed, ſhe had no other Inſtruction but to demand the execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*. But Madam *Louiſe*, repreſenting ſometimes the unreaſonableneſſe, and ſometimes the impoſſibility of performing thoſe Articles, reduced her to more moderate termes. Whereunto alſo our Kings Ambaſſadours *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did no little conduce. For as our King knew the weight hee could adde on either ſide would ſway the Ballance, ſo he interpoſed offices; Hoping to get either *Francis* to procure his Divorce, or *Charles* to ſuffer it. But as thoſe Princes affaires requir'd a more quick and ſerious Diſpatch, than to attend the deciſion of ſo great and doubtfull a buſineſſe, they cared little to ſatisfie our King, or to complie with Miſtris *Bolen*. Therefore, ſetting apart thoſe conſiderations, they attended only their own intereſts; and Madam *Louiſe*, very particularly, the News of her Grand-childrens ſafety. For which purpoſe having employed one *Vordin*, hee gave this account as it is extant in the Spaniſh Hiſtorie. Sandov.

That he found the *Dolphin*, and Duke of *Orleans* in the Caſtle of *Pedraça*, under the Guard of the Marquis *de Verlanga*, in a darke chamber, ill furniſh'd, having forgotten all their French, ſo that when *Vordin* ſpake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter. That their beſt Intertainment was playing with little doggs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he preſented them new Cloathes, the Marquis would not ſuffer them to be put on, whereof *Vordin* gives this ridiculous reaſon, That the Spaniards believ'd there were Witches in *France*, that could tranſport any one in the ayre when their charmes might but touch the body. But *Vordin* was deceiv'd; The true reaſon being, That out of a certain curioſity for preſervation of thoſe Princes, aſwell as diſcharge of his own truſt, *Verlanga* would neither ſuffer thoſe, nor any other clothes to be worne by the Princes, till others had put them on firſt. But Madam *Louiſe* was ſo ill ſatisfied with this Relation, that ſhe haſtned the Peace. To which purpoſe, as the

Cardinall

1529. Cardinall *de Salviati* (the Popes Legat) did contribute his indeavours, (but with favour certainly to the Emperour) so our Ambassadours likewise did cooperate, but so, as they had principall regard of *Francis*: our King believing that he might be the sooner induc'd openly to assist him, when his Children were Free. Thus these pompous Ladies (who met at *Cambray July* 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without some difficulty, Madam *Louise* once breaking off the Treaty, so that, had not the Emperour, by an expresse *Courrier*, inlarg'd the Instructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had followed. At last they concluded this Treaty, in which also our King was comprehended.

July 5.

The Treaty of Cambray, *Aug.* 5th 1529.

I. THat there shall be a good, sure, and perpetuall Peace betwixt the Emperour and King, and that they shall bee for ever friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other.

II. That the Treaty of *Madrid* shall remain in its full force and vigour, and shall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their Heirs and Successours, without Innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth Articles, where mention is made of the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, *Bar-sur-Seine*, the *Viconto* of *Auxone*, and the superiority or government of St. *Laurence*. And whereas it was agreed by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the aforesaid places should be restored to the Emperour, yet, in consideration of the Peace, he is content to remain only in the Action, and Right, in an amiable course, or by way of Justice to be executed; which hee intends also shall be reserved to him and his heirs, Notwithstanding any prescription of time that can be alleag'd to the contrary, it being permitted also to the said King, and his Successors to defend themselves. Notwithstanding all which, that a certain Rent, which the said King pretends to have for Salt out of certain Salines in those parts, shall be extinct for ever.

III. That the said King for the Ransome of his two Sonnes, shall pay two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; the Gold to be of twenty two Carats, and three quarters, whereof one Million and two Hundred thousand Crowns, shall be paid, in *Specie* as much as can bee gotten, and the rest in one intire Masse of Gold, if the Emperour shall so think good, or if otherwise, it shall be coyn'd, and Essay thereof taken. And at the same instant the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* shall bee delivered to the Deputies of the said King. All which is to bee done at or before the first day of *March* next ensuing, in the manner and forme as shall be agreed betwixt the said Emperour and King. And as for the other Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, the said King shall discharge the Emperour of a certain debt Hee oweth to the King of *England* for Moneys lent him upon Pawnes, as may

appeare

appeare by certain Schedules and Obligations of his Majeſtie, which debt is ſaid to amount to two Hundred and Ninety Thouſand Crowns *de Soleil* or thereabouts. And concerning the Remainder of the ſaid two Millions, amounting unto Five Hundred and Ten Thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, The ſaid King ſhall give unto the Emperour, the ſaid ſumme, in Rent, for a certain time, upon certain lands and Seigneuries in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Heynault*, *Artois*, or elſe where in the *Low-Countries* where the Emperour or his Commiſſioners ſhall chooſe or appoint, of the yearly value of Twenty five thouſand and five hundred Crowns, till the ſaid ſumme of 510000. Crownes be made up. All this to commence as ſoon as the Children be delivered. At which time alſo the ſaid King ſhall procure that King *Henry* deliver unto the Emperour the Writings, Schedules, and Obligations, together with the Acquittances for the payments of the ſaid Debts. As alſo the ſaid Pawnes, and Obligation of Indemnity promiſed by the ſaid Emperour to the King of *England*; And that the ſaid two Millions being thus paid, the Emperour ſhall not demand any thing for cauſe of his Impriſonment. 1529

IIII. That *Francis*, in the ſpace of ſix weekes after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall revoke and call back all the Forces Hee hath in *Italy*, whether French or Mercenaries, ſo that the Emperour may be aſſured thereof Fifteen dayes before the Reſtitution of the ſaid Hoſtages.

V. That the ſaid King within fifteen dayes after the Receipt of the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall reſtore unto the Emperour the Caſtle and Bayliage of *Heſdin*, as a Member of his County of *Artois*, together with the Cannon and Munition, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except thoſe Moveables that have been reſtored to the Lady *Reux*.

VI. That, becauſe in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the ſaid King hath agreed to leave and quit unto the Emperour all his Rights of Juriſdiction and Superioritie, that he and his Predeceſſors Kings of *France* have held, or may claim in the Counties of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, as alſo in the City of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Tournayſis*, *St. Amand*, and *Mortaigne*, and as alſo in *Liſle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*; And, becauſe upon theſe generall termes, ſome difficulties might ariſe; therefore it is declar'd, by this preſent Article, that the ſaid King in confirmation of the Treaty of *Madrid*, hath left, given and tranſported, as alſo the ſaid Lady his Mother, in his name, and by vertue of the Authority given her, doth leave, give, and tranſport unto the ſaid Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, being Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, the Fee, Homage, Oath of fidelity, and all other markes of ſubjection which either Hee or his Anceſtors have had, or pretended to have, over the ſaid Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, or any others Inhabiting in the ſaid Counties.

VII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that by the authority given her, the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all

1529. all right and claim to *Liſle*, *Douay* and *Orchies*, conſenting further they ſhall be united unto the County of *Flanders*, in manner as they were before they were rranſported to the King of *France*, by a Treaty at *Paris*, the 2. *Auguſt* 1498.

VIII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that, by the authority given Her, the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all right and claime which Hee or his Anceſtors Kings of *France* have had, or may pretend to have in the City of *Tournay*, the Bayliage of *Tournayſis*, the townes of *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*, with all the Rights. Furthermore, conſenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the ſaid County of *Flanders*.

IX. That the ſaid King hath renounced, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right or claime they pretend to have in the City of *Arras*, or upon the Biſhoprick and Cathedral Church therof, except ſo much of the Revenues of the ſaid Biſhoprick, and Church, as is in the Kingdome of *France*.

X. That the ſaid King hath conſented, granted, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth conſent and grant to the Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, that they ſhall remain for ever henceforth quit and diſcharged from the Fee and Homage, Oath of Fidelity, or any other marke of ſubjection which hee or his Anceſtors, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, have been bound to do, or acknowledge to the Kings of *France*, excepting only *Therouene*, and the poſſeſſion belonging to the Churches of *Artois*, being in *France*, and ſome ſmall Townes in the *Bolognois*.

XI. That the ſaid King hath given and tranſported, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth give and tranſport a ſervice or Tenure of *Artois*, commonly called the antient Compoſition of *Artois*, amounting yearly to Fourteen Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, unto the Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*.

XII. That the Inhabitanrs of *Artois* be free from all manner of Impoſition, or Tribute, heretofore claimed by the Kings of *France*.

XIII. That the Emperour reciprocally ſhall renounce and tranſport, as alſo, by the authority given Her, the ſayd Lady, the Arch-Dutcheſſe, doth renounce and tranſport, for ever, unto the ſaid King, his Heirs and Succeſſours, all the Right, and Title, that the ſaid Emperour or his Predeceſſors hold or claim in any of the States Lands and Seignories of the moſt Chriſtian King. And eſpecially all hee may pretend to in *Peronne*, *Mondedier*, and *Roye*, and in the Counties of *Bolognois*, *Guiſnes*, and *Ponthieu*, and in the Towns and Seigneuries, ſituated upon the *Some*, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the Juriſdictions belonging unto them; Notwithſtanding any Treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIIII. That, Notwithſtanding the ttanſportation, the Emperour hath

hath made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the County of *Humen Artois* unto the French King, it is declar'd by these presents, that the places thereof which are, at this present, in the Emperours possession, shall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the French, as those above mentioned. 1529.

XV. That all the aforesaid renouncings and transportations made by the King unto the Emperour shal be understood as valid; Notwithstanding any derogation which may rise from any Union or Incorporation of them unto the Crown of *France*, or any bar of the Law Salique. And that the said King and His Successours shall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by right.

XVI. That all Sutes and Processes undecided in the Parliament of *Paris*, or any other Court of Justice of the said King, which may have Relation to the Inhabitants of *Flanders* or *Artois* by reason of Fees, Lands, or possessions situate in the aforesaid Counties, shall be remitted to the Great Counsell of the said Emperour, or to other his Courts of Justice in the said Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive sentence have been given, before this last War, against the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, that the power of executing them shall be committed to the Officers of the Emperour.

XVIII. That the Parliament of *Paris* shall remit unto the President, and others of the Emperours Great Counsell in *Malines*, the Processe or Sute concerning the right which the *Comte de Neuers* or his Wife, or Children pretend to the Inheritance of *John* of *Burgundy*, *&c.*

XIX. That, Notwithstanding the *Droit d'Aubene*, the Subjects of either Prince may enjoy their right in as ample forme as the Naturall Inhabitants of the Country use to do. And as for the *Comte* of *Charolois*, that the Lady Arch-Dutchesse may enjoy it during her life, and, after her decease, the Emperour, and then that it shall return to the Crown of *France*. And it is further agreed, that shee may enjoy certain Rights in *Noyers*, and other places, in the same manner as shee enjoyed them in the life of King *Philip* of *Castile* Her brother.

XX. That, if the King or any in his name do hold any Towne, Castle or Fort in the State and Dutchy of *Milan*; it shall be restor'd to the Emperour and his Commissaries, within six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty.

XXI. That the said King shall deliver unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, within the space of six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, the *Contado de Asti*, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoyed by the said Emperour, His Heirs and Successours for ever.

XXII. That the said King likewise shall restore unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, *Barleta*, and all other places that he or any for him holdeth in the Kingdome of *Naples*, assoone as is possible,

1529. and before the reſtitution of *Francis* his Children. And it is further agreed, that the ſaid King, within fifteen dayes after the publication of this Treaty, ſhall require the Venetians and all other his Confederates to reſtore all the Towns, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes that they hold in the Kingdome of *Naples*, within the ſpace of ſix weeks. And that, in caſe of Contravention, (when the terme is expired) the ſaid King ſhall declare himſelfe expreſly their enemy, and from that day forwards, ſhall give the Emperour thirty thouſand Crowns *de Soleil* Monethly, untill the ſaid places be recover'd, and brought to obedience to the Emperour. And, in caſe they be not ſo recover'd before the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* be delivered, the ſaid King ſhall give good Security to the Emperour for continuing the ſaid pay monethly, untill they be reduced to the Emperours obedience. Upon Condition yet, that, if the Emperour employ not the Money to the purpoſe aforeſaid, it ſhall be paid back again, and that therefore the King may appoint ſome perſon who may informe him of the time, when the ſaid places ſhall be taken in. And that the ſaid King neither directly nor indirectly ſhall favour any in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that have rebelled againſt the Emperour ſince the Treaty of *Madrid*.

XXIII. That the King ſhall reſtore alſo unto the Emperour or his Commiſſaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the Galleys in *Portoſino*.

XXIIII. That, for the particular in the Treaty of *Madrid*, concerning the reſidence that *Monſieur de Angouleſme* ſhould make with the Emperour, it is remitted to the Kings diſcretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the League defenſive agreed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, it ſhall be underſtood only in Relation to the patrimoniall poſſeſſions on either ſide, and that the charges incident thereunto ſhall be at the coſts of the demander, and, for the reſt, that the ſaid King ſhall not meddle in any practiſes either in *Italy* or *Germany* to the prejudice of the Emperour.

XXVI. That the Marriage concluded by the Treaty of *Madrid* between the ſaid King, and the Lady *Leonora* Queen Dowager of *Portugall*, and eldeſt Siſter of the Emperour, ſhall be accompliſh'd. And that the ſaid King as ſoon as can be, after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall ſend Ambaſſadours, with ſufficient, and eſpeciall power, and Authority, to Ratifie and approve all that ſhall be needfull concerning the ſaid Marriage. For the accompliſhment and Conſummation whereof, the ſaid Queen ſhall be conducted into *France*, at the ſame inſtant that the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* ſhall be delivered. And that the ſaid Matrimony ſhall hold in all things according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſaving in that only which concernes the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Maſconnois*, and the Seigniorie of *Bar-ſur ſeine*; with reſervation yet of thoſe Rights which ſhould (as is ſaid before) appertain to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. And becauſe the terme of payment of the Two hundred thouſand Crowns in Lieu of Dowry of the

ſaid

said Queen, and specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*, is expir'd; It is agreed again, that the said Dowry should be paid, the half within six Moneths next ensuing, and the other half within six weeks following, and that, upon receipt of the whole summe or part thereof, the said King shall be bound to give assurance in the manner as is specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*. 1529.

XXVII. That, forasmuch as concerns the help and assistance by Land and by Sea promised by the said King for the passage of the Emperour into *Italy*, the said Emperour releaseth it, upon Condition only, that, within two Moneths after he be required thereunto (whether it be for his passage into *Italy*, or for his return, or for his service while he is there) Hee give twelve Galleys, foure Ships, and foure Galleons, sufficiently provided with Artillery, and Sea-men, without any Souldiers yet to be put in them, but such as the Emperour shall appoint; And at the cost of the said King, (except the *Souldatesque*) for the space of five moneths, after the time that they shall come into the Haven, which his Majesty shall nominate. The said Emperour delivering unto the Captain or Generall (that should bring the said Armado) Letters Pattents signed with his hand, and sealed with his Seale, by which he shall promise and sweare, after the said five Moneths to restore immediatly to the said King, or his Deputies, the said Armada, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the said King shall pay really to the said Emperour the two Hundred thousand Crowns, that, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, hee promised to pay his Majesty, for the aforesaid Voyage; that is to say, One Hundred thousand Crowns within six Moneths next ensuing, and the other Hundred thousand Crowns within six Moneths after. And, as for the pay of six thousand Foot for six Moneths, which the said King promis'd to Furnish, giving therefore the Caution and Security of sufficient Merchants, the Emperour by this Treaty acquits him of it, upon condition, that hee pay one Hundred thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, the which summe shall remain and be for the increasing of the Dowry of the Queen Dowager *Leonora*.

XXVIII. That, because in the said Treaty of *Madrid* there is no mention of the profits and Rents of the Inheritances given by the said Emperour and King during the warre, whereupon many questions and differences may arise: It is determined and concluded by this Treaty, that all such Profits and Rents Ecclesiasticall or Secular, as also all debts, moveables, which have, or might have been given expresly by Letters Patents of the said Emperour and King, or their Lieutenants in any manner, with title of confiscation, and which have been delivered, taken, or paid during the warre betwixt the two Princes before the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall remain for ever given and acquitted to the profit of the said Lords, Vassalls, Lands, Towns, and persons subject to the said Emperour and King, and of their allyes which in the said warres shall have taken the part of the one or the other.

1529. XXIX. That all the privileges of the Townes, Neighbours, and Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and other places of the *Low-Countries*, which appertain to the Emperour, shall, by this present Capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the Privileges also that the French were wont to enjoy in the said Emperours Dominions shall remain in their full force, according as hath been accustomed on both sides.

XXX. That all Prisoners of war taken by Sea or Land, as well before as after the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the one part, or of the other, Subjects of the said Emperour, and most Christian King, (excepting the Neapolitan subjects of the Emperour that have served against Him in the same Kingdom) And any other that have served, followed, and held the contrary part, of what Nation or Condition soever, shall be set free, and put at liberty, without paying Ransome, within two Moneths after the Ratification of the Treaty, reserving only those Prisoners, which before the said Treaty should have been put to Ransome, who shall pay their Ransome notwithstanding this Article.

XXXI. That if *Robert de la March* or his Children shall presume to make any enterprise upon the Castle and Dutchy of *Bouillon*, (conquered by the Emperour, and left by his Majesty to the Church of *Liege* to which it antiently appertain'd) in such case the King may give no hope, favour or assistance, neither directly or indirectly against the said Church.

XXXII. That the Heirs of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall enjoy all those goods and possessions that pertain to the said Duke, so that, notwithstanding all Judgements and Sentences given and pronounced against the said Duke, during his life, or after his death, the Heirs of the said Duke shall enjoy their antient right.

XXXIII. That *Jean Comte* of *Pontieure* shall be restor'd unto all the goods which his Father enjoyed at that time that Hee went out of *France* to serve the Emperour, and that also the other Friends, allyes, and servants of the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as also their Heirs and Successours, shall enjoy the benefit of the Treaty of *Madrid* in all that may concern them; Notwithstanding any Judgements or Sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIIII. That *Don Lorenzo de Gorreuod Comte de Pondevaux Mayordomo* of the Emperour shall be put in the Reall possession of the Townes, Castles, Lands, and Seignories of *Chalamont*, and *Montmarles* bought heretofore of the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon condition yet that, if the summe of twenty Thousand Crownes (being the price for which they were sold) be paid back again, that they return to the first owners.

XXXV. That the said King, by this present Treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove, the Sequestration and all other impediments on his part concerning the Principality of *Aurange*, and the superiority of it, to the intent that *Don Philibert de Chalon*,

Chalon, Prince of *Aurange*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, may enjoy it, together with his preheminence and superiority, as he enjoy'd it before the said Sequestration. 1529

XXXVI. That the Dutchesse of *Vendosme*, Widow, shall be restor'd into all the Possessions that she had in the Emperours Dominions, before, or during the wars; and *Louis Seigneur de Hanis* shall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the *Comte* of *Gaure* shall be restor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the businesse of *Philip de Croy*, Marquis of *Arescbot*, and the difference betwixt him and the Seigneurs of *Chasteau-Bryon*, and others, Tutors of the Children of *Mons' de Lautrech*, that it should be referr'd to a particular Treaty, and Agreement before the Governours of the City, and Dutchy of *Cambray*, which said agreement shall stand.

XXXIX. That, the Sute depending, in the Parliament of *Paris*, between *Adolphus* of *Burgundy Seigneur de Beures* on the one part, for the Seigneuries of *Creue-cœur* in *Cambresis*, *&c.* and the Kings Attorny on the other part, shall be referred, in the state it now is, to foure Judges, whereof two be named by the Emperour, and two by the King: And that the said Judges shall be bound to return and determine the cause in the City of *Cambray*, twenty daies after the Ratification of this Treaty. And that, if two of the foure Judges absent themselves, the other two, that is to say, one of either part, may proceed to give sentence.

XL. That, in this Peace and Treaty is comprehended, as a principall Contractor, the Pope and the Apostolike See, which the said Emperour and King shall maintain in his authority and preheminence. And that they shall procure that the Townes and places, being of the Patrimony of the Church, shall be restored, also there are comprehended herein as principall Contractors, the Kings of *Hungary*, *England*, and *Poland*, *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, the Kings of *Portugall* and *Scotland*, and the Lady Arch-Dutchesse Aunt to the Emperour. Also there are comprehended herein as Confederates, the Electors, the Cardinall of *Liege*, *&c.* Also it is agreed, that all the said principall Contractors and Confederates shall be advertised hereof by the said King and Emperour.

XLI. That the said King shall procure the community or Republike of *Florence*, within foure Moneths after the Ratification of this Treaty, to agree with the Emperour, which being done, they also shall be comprehended herein, and not otherwise. And because, since the Treaty of *Madrid*, *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres Comte de Zutphren* hath taken part with the Emperour, and agreed with him, his Majesty declares him for his Confederate, and all others nominated here: And that those who are not nominated shall be excluded out of the said Treaty, unlesse they be comprehended under the generall termes of vassalls or subjects of the said Kings.

XLII.

1529. XLII. That the ſaid Emperour and King (aſſoon as they well can) for Ratification and Confirmation of this preſent Treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum* there muſt be inſerted and joyned together the Treaty of *Madrid*) ſhall ſweare ſolemnly upon the Evangeliſts, and the wood of the true Croſſe, in the preſence of the Holy Sacrament, and theſe Ambaſſadours that ſhall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the points and Articles of this Treaty, as alſo all thoſe contain'd in the Treaty of *Madrid*, which are not altred, chang'd, and innovated by theſe preſents; ſubmitting themſelves, for performance hereof, to the Juriſdictions and Eccleſiaſticall cenſures even to the invocation of the ſecular power *incluſivè*; Conſtituting their Proctors *in forma cameræ Apoſtolicæ*, to appeare in their names, or in either of them, in the Court of *Rome* before the Pope, and the *Auditori della Ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the condemnation and fulmination of the ſaid Cenſures in caſe of Contravention; and, for this purpoſe, to ſubmit themſelves and Prorogue their Juriſdiction before ſome Prelate or Eccleſiaſticall Judge. And that neither the ſaid Emperour and King, nor any of them may (without mutuall conſent) demand a Relaxation of the ſaid Oath, nor an Abſolution of the ſaid Cenſures. And that, if any did demand and obtein it, it ſhall not avayle him, without the Conſent of the other.

XLIII. That the ſaid King ſhall Ratifie and approve both this Treaty and that of *Madrid* in the forme there mentioned, ſave where it hath been chang'd, altred, and innovated by theſe preſents, foraſmuch as concernes the Seigneur *Dolphin*, according to the manner declared in the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid*. And that he alſo ſhall cauſe this Treaty to be Ratified and approv'd by all the particular Eſtates of the Provinces and governments of his Kingdomes: And that hee ſhall make them ſweare and promiſe, that the ſaid Treaty ſhall be perpetually kept, and ſhall cauſe them to be Regiſtred and verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, and all other Parliaments of the Kingdome of *France*, in the preſence of the Attorneys Generall of the ſaid Parliaments, to whom the ſaid King ſhall give eſpeciall and irrevocable power, to appeare in his name, in all the ſaid Parliaments, and there conſent to the aforeſaid Jnregiſtring, and ſubmit himſelf voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contein'd in the ſaid Treaty. And that, by vertue of the ſaid voluntary ſubmiſſion, hee may be enjoyned or condemned thereunto, by the definitive ſentence of the ſaid Parliaments in good and convenient forme. And that this Treaty ſhall bee alſo verified and Jnregiſt'red in the *Chambre des Comptes* of *Paris*, in the preſence, and with the conſent of the Kings Attorny, for the more effectuall execution, and accompliſhment of them, and the validations of the Acquittances, Renuntiations, ſubmiſſions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the ſaid Treaty. Which Ratifications, Jnregiſtrings, Verifications, and all other things above-mention'd ſhall be done and perfected by the ſaid King, and the diſpatches of them,

them, in due forme delivered into the hands of the ſaid Emperour, before his Children bee delivered, and within the ſpace of foure Moneths at furtheſt. And if, for the Jnregiſtring and verifications above-mention'd, it ſhould be neceſſary that the ſaid King ſhould releaſe, and diſcharge unto his Officers thoſe Oaths that they have taken, not to conſent or ſuffer any alienations of the Crown, the ſaid King ſhall doe it; and that alſo the ſaid Emperour ſhall, in his great Counſell, and his other Councells and *Chambres des Comptes* in his Dominions of the *Low-Countries*, cauſe to be made ſuch other Jnregiſtring, and verifications, releaſing alſo the Oath of his Officers, and cauſing the particular States of his ſaid Dominions to Ratifie and approve this Treaty, within the time above mentioned. 1529

XLIIII. That this Peace ſhall be publiſh'd through all the Kingdomes and Seigneuries and Dominions of the Emperour and the King, and eſpecially the Frontiers, before the 15th day of *September* next, to the intent that no man may pretend Ignorance; And the ſaid Arch-Dutcheſſe on the part of the Emperour, and the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme* on the part of the French King, and the ſaid Arch-Dutcheſſe particularly for the Queen *Leonora*, foraſmuch as may duly concern her, and by thoſe Oaths that every one of them hath made, do promiſe that they ſhall duly Ratifie all that is contain'd in this Treaty of Peace. And that they ſhall give Letters Patents thereof, in due and ſufficient forme, on either part, within two Moneths and a halfe after the concluding this preſent Treaty.

In teſtimony whereof the ſaid Ladies Arch-Dutcheſſe and Dutcheſſe, and each of them, have ſigned and ſealed theſe preſents. Dat. in the City of *Cambray* the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1529.

Margarite. Louiſe.

And this is the moſt ſubſtantiall part of the Treaty of *Cambray*, as it is ſet down by *Sandoval*; but *Bellay l.* 3. addes, that, beſides the above-mention'd two Millions of Crowns, *Francis* paid, for the Emperour, to our King, D.M. Crowns as a penalty the Emperour had incurr'd for not marrying the Princeſſe *Mary*. Moreover, that he was bound to diſ-ingage, from our King, a rich Jewell in the forme of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the wood of the true Croſſe, being pawn'd heretofore by *Philip*, Father of the Emperour, to *Henry* the Seventh, for fifty thouſand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which payments, together with the Jewell, as the ſame Author confeſſeth to have been ſent to the Emperour, ſo he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great Liberality of our King; who, beſides giving *Francis* foure years Terme, for payment of C D M. Crownes (which, as he ſaith, was the Money lent by our King to *Charles*) did remit and forgive him abſolutely the D.M. Crownes above-mention'd; and, for the Jewell, preſented it to his Godſon *Henry*, ſecond Son of *Francis* by the conveyance of *Guillaume Seigneur de Langey*, whom

Bell. l. 3.

1505.

1529. whom the French King ſent for that purpoſe into *England*.

Mart. du Bell. l. 3. Beſides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the ſame time and place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady *Margarite*, in the name of the Emperour. Our Kings Commiſſioners being *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and Mr. *John Hacket*, our Kings Reſident there. Which yet, becauſe it conteins nothing of extraordinary, but only the Continuation of Traffique for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or ſell any Lutheran books on either ſide, I purpoſely omit.

Sandov. *Francis* underſtanding this concluſion of Peace at *Cambray*, haſteth thither, that he might both render the Lady *Margaret* a viſit, and promiſe not to faile in performance of thoſe Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the Spaniſh Writers ſay Hee held no longer than untill the Ambaſſadours of his Confederates in *Italy* came to him; So that, when, together with his breach of League with them, they repreſented their own miſerable eſtate at that preſent, Hee excuſed himſelfe, through the neceſſity of his condition at that time; aſſuring them nevertheleſſe, that, notwithſtanding any Treaty, he would continue his love to and care of them, only when firſt he might have his Children. So that in effect he ſecretly aſſiſted them ſtill; as hoping thereby to defend himſelfe againſt the Emperour, when occaſion were. Which alſo hee extended ſo farre, as, upon preſumption thereof, hee broke ſome Articles lately concluded with the Spaniard. The Newes of this Treaty was no ſooner brought to Queen *Leonora*, but ſhe, for the better complying with her Husband, interceded with the Empreſſe, upon pretence that *Charles* attempted to draw ſome of the Suiſſe (heretofore allyed with *Francis*) unto his ſervice, and that the Children of *Francis* might have ſome more liberty, and the French detein'd in *Villalpando* a leſſe ſtreight Priſon; which alſo was granted her by the Empreſſe.

Jul. 28. Aug. 12. Sandov. For the Emperour taking his opportunity (while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in agitation) departed from *Barcellona* the 28th of *July* 1529. and arriv'd at *Genoua* the 12th of *Auguſt* after, with a Royall Train, and about eight thouſand Souldiers. And here (as *Sandoval* obſerves) began the wearing of ſhort haire, (the Emperour cutting off his, as a vow for his paſſage, or, as others have it, for a pain in his Head) long haire having been accuſtomed for many ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this voyage of the Emperours, ſends ſome Cardinalls to meet him at *Genoua*, himſelf in the mean while, preparing to attend him at *Bononia*. While the Emperour having found a reception from the *Genoueſi*, temper'd betwixt love and feare, did ſo civily interpret all to be reſpect, that He bid them a kind farwell, and ſo held on his way till he came neer the confines of the Popes poſſeſſions. Where three Cardinalls (carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies) met Him; And, after due Congratulations, made it appear that the antient Cuſtome of all thoſe who entred upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to ſwear firſt not

to

to offer any violence to it. The Emperour accepts the Oath, yet ſo as he ſaid he would not prejudice his own Imperiall right. And becauſe this was neer to *Peacenza*, divers underſtood his words to have Relation to that place, which as alſo *Parma*, is ſaid to have belong'd antiently to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperour had now a great Army in *Italy* under the command of *Antonio de Leyva*, which was employ'd cheifly againſt the Venetians, to which it is probable alſo hee would have joyned his own Forces, had not Newes come to him of the great miſchiefs which *Barbaroſſa*, that famous Pirate, did on the Seas, and of the Turks entry into *Hungary* with Two Hundred and fifty thouſand men. For as this ſtartled the Emperour from his deſignes in *Italy*, ſo he conſidered aſwell how uſefull the Pope would be in diſpoſing other Princes to joyn againſt this formidable Army. For which reaſons, as alſo for making his Coronation more glorious, Hee reſolved to proteſt againſt all other enterpriſes, and apply himſelf wholly to that warre. And the rather, that the Turk had lately undertaken the protection of *John Sepuſe*, pretender to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, and now layd Siege to *Vienna*, and endanger'd therein the Ancient Patrimony of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; Beſides, the Proteſtants in *Germany* having, about this time, made ſome high demands, Hee thought it his part to correct or ſuppreſſe them. Only hee judg'd it neceſſary not to give any publike demonſtration thereof, untill the affairs of *Italy* were compos'd. Therefore, he firſt makes a Peace with the Venetians, upon Condition they ſhould reſtore the places withheld in *Naples* from him, and give back to the Pope likewiſe the poſſeſſions of the Church.. Moreover, that they ſhould pay him a great ſumme of Money towards his charges. Which Articles the Venetians (as being in effect abandoned of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of *Urbino* (their Generall) might be comprehended therein. Which alſo was accorded. They together with the Pope interceded likewiſe for *Franceſco Sforza*, deſiring he might be reſtor'd to his former Eſtate. The Emperour alſo, conſidering that hee could make no ſecure Peace in *Italy*, unleſſe he remov'd all juſt cauſes of jealouſie, begins to thinke how he might gratifie *Sforza* herein, upon a Propoſition of a Marriage to be made between him, and *Chriſtierna* younger Daughter of the King of *Denmarke*, and *Iſabell*, Siſter to the Emperour; which yet becauſe of her unripeneſſe for Marriage (being now but ten years old) took no effect till 1534. So, that when the buſineſſe of *Florence* might have bin ended, all *Italy* now ſeem'd compos'd to quietneſſe. Theſe things thus ſettled, the Emperour entred *Bononia* about the beginning of *November*, with more glory, doubtleſſe, that he was inform'd how the Turk had rais'd his Siege from *Vienna*, about twenty dayes before. From whence after a Moneths ſiege, Hee was forced to retire by the water of old German Garriſon commanded by *Philip* Count *Palatine*, having done nothing notable, but crowned with his own Hand at *Buda*. *John Sepute* King of *Hungary*.

1529. *Sept.* 1534. *Novemb.* 5.

1529. *gary*. His reception alſo was Magnificent, while the youth of that City having apparell'd themſelves in a Livery, attended his Horſe like Laquais, that they might have the better pretence to be neer him. After whom followed his Army, ſome choice perſons whereof carried *Antonino de Leyva* on their ſhoulders; (though whether in regard of his antient infirmity of the Gout, or otherwiſe, for more oſtentation, is not certain.) In which equipage hee went to the Church of *St. Petronio*, at the gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a ſcaffold, and placed himſelfe on the top, with his *Tiara* or Triple-Crown on his Head, and, for the reſt, attended with a great traine of Cardinalls, did in that poſture expect him. The Emperour alighting here from his Horſe aſcended the ſteps, and humbled himſelfe to a kiſſe of the Popes foot, which the Pope preſenty diverted to a Pax or kiſſe on the cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all mens eyes, ſo was it the more conſiderable unto the ſpectators, that the conjunction of thoſe two great lights (as they termed it) could not but portend ſome ſtrange effect to Chriſtendome. *Charles* was then about twenty nine, that is to ſay in the prime age to temper his countenance betwixt lovelineſſe and Majeſtie; though nothing yet, in his face, was ſo remarkable as his great nether-lip. Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that family (even to this day) from the Houſe of *Burgundy*. The Pope though gray, retain'd yet much vigour in his eyes, though obſerved for nothing ſo much as his beard, which not only hee, but alſo all the Cardinalls, as our Agent *Richard Crooke* hath it, wore at a great length, beſides, he ſaid, many of them had their Robes or Veſtures of a Violet colour, inſtead of Scarlet, appearing, for the reſt, (as the ſame *Crooke* relates) in their faſhions ſomewhat ſouldier-like. This Interview being paſt, not without a ſerious Proteſtation of the Emperours, that he would ſtrive to reduce the affairs of Religion into better termes, they both lodged in the ſame Houſe, for the more conveniency of that private conference, which often paſt betwixt them: which alſo continued for ſome Moneths before they departed. Whereof though it were thought that the Emperour would make his advantage, as having the Pope in his power and Cuſtody; Yet the Pope and Venetians ſo manag'd the buſineſſe, as, joyning offices together (as is above ſaid) they obtein'd that *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be admitted to the Emperours preſence, and in ſequence thereof not only pardon'd, but reſtor'd to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which act of the Emperours, as it was magnanimous beyond expectation, ſo was it no leſſe opportune; both as it quieted not the Eſtates alone, but even minds of the Italians; and, as hee diſpos'd them thereby to give him their beſt aſſiſtance towards his great affaires in *Germany*. Beſides, he excludes *Francis* from hope of attempting that Dutchy, unleſſe he would declare himſelfe an open diſturber of the Peace of *Italy*. Hee did not omit yet, to Capitulate with *Sforza*, that the Marquis *de Guaſto*, and *Antonio de Leyva* ſhould have certain lands aſſigh'd them out of the Dutchy, and that he might

put Garrisons in some of the most important places thereof, till conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of universall League, under pretence of the good of Christendome, was by the Popes means concluded, (place being left for those that would to enter into it) which also was publish'd the first of *January* 1530. in the Cathedrall Church of *St. Petronio*. And thus, the Emperour proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron (which should be receiv'd at *Milan*) being brought, and after put on in the Popes Chappell; The other, of Gold, was set on his Head, *Febr.* 24. (which was his birth day) by the Pope in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more Notable, than that the Emperour, by antient custome, must first put on the habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly invested in this Imperiall dignity, the Pope the mean while saying Masse, both in Latine and in Greeke. The Rites whereof appear'd so much more new and strange, that since the time of *Frederick*, 1442, no Emperour had been publickely Crowned. This being done, *Francesco Sforza* was restor'd to an actuall possession of his Estate. The Emperour placing only a Commander in the Fortresse or Cittadell of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, And causing the City of *Monzo* with vast possessions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus setled *Lombardy*, Hee commandeth his Army to march against the Florentines, whom the Pope passionatly desir'd to chastise for the many Injuries his name and Family had lately received from them.

1529.

Jan. 1. 1530.

Feb. 22. *Febr.* 24.

1442.

All which signes of amity and correspondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crooke*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was easie to imagine what hope of favour hee might expect from the Pope in his important Businesse; yet, lest he should omit any thing which might serve for Justification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawfull way, Hee sent to the most famous Universities in *Italy*, and else-where, to have their opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any way to prevaile himself either of his own power among his Clergie, or of the Counsell the Pope had formerly given him, till hee had first discover'd what the learned'st men in Christendome held in that point. Hee also writ Letters with his own hand to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Gregory Casalis*, (then with the Pope) to tell them, that hee had sent Sir *Tho. Bolen*, (newly created) Earle of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokesley*, Elect Bishop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambassadours to the Emperour, and that they should advise together what was to be done. These comming to *Bononia*, after some passages with the Emperour, who told them he could not desert his Aunts Cause, repayred to the Pope; to whom, having proposed the Kings affaire, they received this Answer from him; That, though he was urg'd by the Queens Sollicitor to proceed against the King, yet Hee desired rather that all proceeding should be suspended in the Roman Court, upon Condition yet that King *Henry*, on the other

Decem. 8. 1529. *Jan.* 20. 1530.

March 26. 1530.

1529. side, would promise, not to Innovate any thing in the mean while in *England*. Whereof information being given our King, Hee answered, That his Holinesse hath fed him hitherto with faire words only, without intent to aide him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambassadours Audience to justifie his Cause.

In the mean while our King attends his Parliament businesse, where *Octob.* 26. 1529. Sir *Thomas More*, who was now returned from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being (in reward of his service) made Lord Chancellour, gave in an eloquent Oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in Black-Friers, *Novemb.* 3. *Reg.* 21. the first overtures of the Kings intentions in that Parliament. To which, our King, attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoyning Palace of *Bridewell*, *Thomas Audley* being chosen Speaker for the lower House. And as now *Luthers* doctrine was secretly admitted into many places of this Kingdome, with much approbation, so it gave those impressions, as even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errours then ordinarily controverted did belong to the Doctrine, or to the Government of the Church. And this alone as it was the first step, so was it a great and bold salley towards that Reformation which followed afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among those, who in their studies had no other designe but truth, and satisfying their conscience; so few understood the state of the questions propos'd, save only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private Interest would not retract, or for feare of unsettling the received Grounds of Religion in mens Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatall Solæcisme. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of some of the late doctrines of the Roman Church, and a benigne Interpretation of the rest, might have conserved an universall Peace among Christians, they now, by an obstinate and wilfull impugning of all those who said it was possible for them to erre, did leave the undertaking of this great Worke either to discontented Clergy-men, or to the more Laique and improvident sort; Which therefore as it prov'd in some kind, tumultuous and refractary, so certainly the Authors on either side were much to be blamed, When in handling of Controversies, they either, out of affectation of glory, or hope of gaining large stipends from their followers (upon pretence of revealing some new or readier way for obtaining Heaven and everlasting salvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the Rules both of Piety and wisdome, they should have proceeded more moderatly; conserving, in the midst of their differences, a brotherly love, and pronouncing the errours, on what part soever, more worthy pitty than hate. Which rule yet was so little observ'd in *England*, that many Reformers books, and persons were publikely burnt, while their Disciples (for Revenge) fell foule upon the persons of their adversaries, setting forth Books to the prejudice of the whole Eccleasiasticall Order. Which comming at last to the Kings knowledge

ledge made Him enquire further into the Abuſes of the Clergy, permitting the Redreſſe thereof to the lower Houſe of Parliament; Where Complaint for Probats of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Nonreſidence, and Prieſts that were Farmers of Lands, &c. being made, the Spiritualty was much offended, and eſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who (as our Hiſtory hath it) in a Paſſionate Speech told the Lords, That the Commons would nothing now but down with the Church. Saying further, that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the danger the Kingdome was in, by the Example of *Bohemia*. The Lower Houſe being inform'd hereof, ſent the King a Complaint by their Speaker; deſiring Reparation. But *Fiſher* excuſing himſelfe as hee could, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* on the part of the King, mediated the reſt. Notwithſtanding which, the Injury was not ſo digeſted, but that one who had made uſe of the Evangeliques Doctrine ſo farre, as to take a reaſonable liberty to judge of the preſent times, and howſoever was offended that the Biſhop Rejected all on want of Faith, ſpoke to this effect. 1529.

If none elſe but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would leſſe trouble me. But ſince ſo many Religious and different Sects (now conſpicuous in the whole World) doe not only vindicate unto themſelves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us Reſigne our Faith to a ſimple Obedience; I ſhall crave leave to propoſe, what I think fit (in this caſe) for us Laiques and Secular Perſons to doe. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better Expedient ſhall be offered; but that I would be glad wee conſidered hereof, as the greateſt Affaire that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all humane Actions it be hard to find that *medium* or even temper which may keep us from declining into extreams, it will be much more difficult in Religious Worſhip; both as the path is ſuppoſed narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every ſide. And becauſe each man is Created by God a free Citizen of the World, and obliged to nothing ſo much as the inquirie of thoſe means by which he may attaine his Everlaſting Happineſſe, it will be fit to examine to whoſe tuition and Conduct Hee commit himſelfe. For, as ſeverall Teachers, not only differing in Language, Habit and Ceremony (or at leaſt in ſome of theſe) but Peremptory and oppoſite in their Doctrines, preſent themſelves, much circumſpection muſt be uſed. Here then taking his Proſpect, Hee ſhall find theſe Guides directing Him to ſeverall wayes; whereof the firſt yet extends no further than to the Lawes and Religions of each mans native Soyle or Dioceſſe, without paſſing thoſe bounds. The ſecond, Reaching much further, branches it ſelfe into that diverſity of Religions and Philoſophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, untill Hee be able to determine which is beſt. But in either of theſe, no little difficulties will occurre. For, if each man

1529. ought to be ſecure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, How can Hee Anſwer his Conſcience? When looking abroad, the terrors of Everlaſting Damnation ſhall be denounced on Him, by the ſeverall Hierarchies and viſible Churches of the world, if Hee believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongſt theſe again, ſuch able and underſtanding Perſons may be found, as, in all other affaires, will equall his Teachers. Will it be fit that Hee believe, God hath inſpir'd His Church and Religion only, and deſerted the reſt; when yet Mankind is ſo much of one off-ſpring, that it hath not only the ſame *Pater Communis* in God, but is come all from the ſame Carnal Anceſtors? Shall each Man, without more Examination, believe his Prieſts in what Religion ſoever, and, when Hee hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other ſide, if Hee muſt argue Controverſies before Hee can bee ſatisfied, How much leiſure muſt Hee obtaine? How much Wealth and Subſtance muſt Hee Conſume? How many Languages muſt Hee learn? And how many Authors muſt Hee Reade? How many Ages muſt Hee look into? How many Faiths muſt Hee examine? How many Expoſitions muſt Hee conferre? And how many Contradictions Reconcile? how many Countries muſt Hee wander into? And how many dangers muſt Hee run? Briefly, would not our life on theſe termes bee a perpetuall Peregrination? While each man Poſted into the others Country, to learn the way to Heaven, without yet that Hee could ſay at laſt, Hee had known or tryed all. What remains then to be done? Muſt Hee take all that each Prieſt upon pretence of Inſpiration would teach him? becauſe it might be ſo, or may Hee leave all, becauſe it might be otherwiſe? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impoſſible, when yet in one Age it were poſſible (after incredible Paines and Expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other ſide, to reject all Religions is as impious; there being no Nation, that in ſome kind or other doth not worſhip God. So that there will be a neceſſity to diſtinguiſh. Not yet that any man will be able, upon Compariſon, to diſcern which is the perfecteſt, among the many profeſſed in the whole world; (each of them being of that large extent, that no mans underſtanding will ſerve to comprehend it in its uttermoſt Latitude, and ſignification,) But (at leaſt) that every man might vindicate and ſever, in His particular Religion, the more Eſſentiall and demonſtrative parts, from the reſt, without being mov'd ſo much at the Threats and Promiſes of any other Religion, that would make Him obnoxious, as to depart from this way: There being no Ordinary method ſo intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each man to his deſired end. Having thus therefore recollected Himſelfe, and together implored the aſſiſtance of that Supreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; Hee muſt labour, in the next place, to find out, what Inward Means, His Providence hath deliver'd, to diſcerne the True, not only from the

Falſe,

False, but even from the Likely, and Possible; each of them requiring a peculiar scrutiny and consideration. Neither shall he fly thus to Particular Reason, which may soon lead Him to Heresie; but, after a due separation of the more Doubtfull and Controverted parts, shall hold Himself to Common, Authentique, and universall Truths, and consequently informe Himselfe, what, in the severall Articles proposed to Him, is so taught, as it is first written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Lawes and Religions Hee can hear of in the whole world; For this certainly can never deceive Him; Since therein Hee shall find out how farre the Impressions of Gods Wisdome and Goodnesse are extant in all Mankind, and to what degrees His Universall providence hath dilated it selfe: While thus ascending to God by the same stepps Hee descends to us, Hee cannot faile to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble Him, if Hee find these truths variously complicated with Difficulties or Errors; since, without insisting on more points than what are clearly agreed, on every side, it will be His part to reduce them into Method and order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for connexion; So that it will concern our severall Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular direction; lest, otherwise they doe like those who would perswade us to renounce day-light, to study only by their candle. It will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how farre these Universall Notions will guide us, before wee commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastique Mysteries, or Supernaturall and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they also may Challenge a just place in our Beliefe, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Testimony; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible Principles for the instruction of All Mankind. Thus, among many supposed Inferiour and questionable Deities, worshipped in the foure Quarters of the World, we shall find one Chiefe so taught us, as above others to be highly Reverenced. 1529

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, *&c.* deliver'd us as Instruments or parts of His Worship, Hee shall find Vertue so eminent, as it alone concludes and summes up the rest. Insomuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it; Good life, Charity, Faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essentiall parts of Religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

Among the many Expiations, Lustrations, and Propitiations for our sinnes, taught in the severall quarters of the World, in sundry times, We shall find that none doth availe without hearty sorrow for our sinnes, and a true Repentance towards God, whom wee have offended.

And lastly amids the divers Places and manners of Reward and Punishment, which former Ages have deliver'd, Wee shall find Gods Justice and mercy not so limited, but that Hee can extend either of them

1529. them even beyond death, and consequently Recompence or Chastise eternally. These therefore, as universall and undoubted Truths, should in my opinion be first Receiv'd. They wil at least keep us from Impiety and Atheism, and together lay a foundation for Gods service, and the Hope of a better life. Besides, it will reduce mens minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a solid practise of Vertue, or when wee fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpose through Gods grace to amend our sinfull life, without making Pardon so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them doe. Lastly, it will dispose us to a generall Concord and Peace: For when wee are agreed concerning these Eternall causes and means of our Salvation, Why should wee so much differ for the rest? since as these Principles exclude nothing of Faith, or Tradition, in what Age or manner soever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the Beliefe of any Pious Miracle that conduceth to Gods Glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other. The common Truths in Religion formerly mentioned, being firmer bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us, therefore, establish and fix these Catholike or Universall Notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever els is faithfully taught upon the Authority of the Church. So that, whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of *Rochester*, *Luther*, *Eccius*, *Zuinglius*, *Erasmus*, *Melanthon*, *&c.* be in the Right, Wee Laiques may so build upon those Catholike and Infallible grounds of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be rais'd, these Foundations yet may support them.

But as few men are of the same mind in all Points of Religion, so this Overture was entertain'd diversly: Some desiring to passe further than such generall Notions, others again not finding how the divine Providence could bee sufficiently conserv'd to all mankind unlesse these did suffice. The resultance whereof finally was that a Reformation was pray'd, as farre as might bee, in Religion: Though when Particulars were examin'd, it was found, that some diseases therein were like that of *Cancer Occultus*, which Physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to Cure. Yet as it was manifest that in Probats of Testaments, Pluralitie of benefices, and divers other wayes above mention'd, the Clergie had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a redresse to these grosse faults. Therefore about last Wills and Testaments, which Cardinall *Woolseys* Legatine power had so disordred (as Sir *Henry Guilford* protested openly, that Himselfe being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir *William Compton* (who dyed 1528. of the sweating sickneſſe) could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinall, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, before hee had payed a 1000 Marks) some profitable orders were made. And the businesse of Mortuaries (exacted with much extremi-

extremity even on the pooreſt) was ſetled. Moreover Spirituall Perſons were abridg'd from taking of Farmes, and from Plurality of Livings, unleſſe they were qualified, either by certain Univerſity Degrees, or by the Nobility, to whom a competent number of Chaplaines were aſſign'd. Nonreſidence alſo (then very uſuall) was forbidden, but in ſome Caſes, and for the reſt explained, and interpreted. An Act alſo paſs'd for a Generall Pardon of all offences, Forfeitures, puniſhments, *&c.* except Murders, and Treaſons, which the King granted by way of gratifying His Subjects, for a Releaſe of a great Lone of money from them *Anno* 15 *H.* VIII. which motioned and aſſented to by the Lords, was with much adoe, Confirmed by the Lower Houſe. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Aſſize, which being Complicate before were reduced to a more ſingle method. And this was much to the eaſe of the Subjects. It was alſo declared Felony for ſervants to imbeſile their Maſters goods to the value of forty ſhillings and upwards. And order taken, that, after a Felon was attainted (but not before) the ſtolne goods might be reſtored. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Braſſe ſhould bee carried beyond Sea. Which ſeems to regard principally making of great Ordnance; (about this time appearing of great uſe.) Artificers ſtrangers alſo were reſtrain'd to certain rules. As that they might not keep above two ſtrangers ſervants in their houſe. That they ſkould beare ſuch charges as Naturall ſubjects did, paying all ſubſidies, *&c.* and take an Oath to be true and obedient to the King and his Lawes. That they ſhould have no Conventicles, but meet in the Common Halls of their Craft. That they ſhould not have Journey-men or Prentices ſtrangers above ten at a time. Moreover, authority was given to the Preſident of the Kings Counſell to aſſociate with the Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* both for the puniſhment of Ryots, and unlawfull aſſemblies, *&c.* and ſetting of priſes of Wines, as alſo all other Acts, limited and appointed by any Statute to be done by the Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seale, *&c.* Other Lawes alſo were enacted, which for being meerly Legall, and therefore relative chiefly to the Maſters of the Law, or otherwiſe Mechanicall, or at leaſt ſo particular, that they belong not properly to Hiſtory, I purpoſely omit. And ſo, a weeke before Chriſtmas, the Parliament was prorogued to the yeare following. 1529 *Decemb.* 17.

Before yet I come to the yeare 1530. I muſt not omit to mention *Haradin Barbaroſſa* that famous Pirate, who, from a low and obſcure beginning, had, by his valour and conduct (as wee have before touched) obtained the Kingdome of *Argel.* For being not fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his men, hee did, with no leſſe ſucceſſe attempt divers ſtrong places; So that hee was generally feared; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinan* a Jew, and many other notable *Picarones* had ranged themſelves under him; Whereby his Forces were ſo increaſed, that no Navigation was ſecure in *Sandov.* 1518.

1529. in the parts adjoyning to him. This year (particularly) Hee had
May 21. taken *Penon de Velez* from the Spaniard, and defeated a Fleet of theirs
Octob. 25. shortly after. And now his Designe was to make himselfe Master of the Seas from *Gibraltar* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperour employed divers, but infortunatly, Insomuch that *Andrea Doria* himselfe, though recovering some Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where part of *Barbarossa*'s Sea-forces (under the command of one *Haly*, a Pirat of *Tunes*) rode at Anchor; yet when he caused some Souldiers to be landed to attempt the Castle; *Haly* gathering a few resolute men together, charg'd them desperatly, and gave them a repulse with the losse of so many as made *Doria* desist from his enterprize; Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, made him resolve to Invade *Barbarossa* in his own Country, the successe whereof shall be related hereafter. The contents of my History requiring mee now to Speake of the Florentines; On whom as the Pope passionatly desir'd to be reveng'd, so the Emperour, having his pretences also, did for complying with him, send an Army thither under the Cõmand of *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange*, the Marquis of *Guasto*, *Juan de Urbino*, and others of note, and about twenty six thousand men. The Pope yet used distinction; for if he desired that the enemies of his Name and Family with their adherents should be punished, hee intreated aswell that the City and the Country (whereof he was a Native) should be spared. But as Prince *de Aurange* thought this a subtiltie fitter for a Schooleman than a Souldier, he undertook them together. While *Malatesta Baglioni* a brave Gentleman associated with *Francesco Carduci*, and ten others were chosen the chiefe Directours of the Florentine affairs. And by their advice the smaller Places of *Poscana* (for avoyding that finall desolation that assaults doe bring) yeelded themselves betime. Yet so as *Juan de Urbino*, a souldier of note was kill'd at one of them.
Sept. 16. And thus siege was layd to that faire City; the Suburbs whereof being weak, were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their Ramparts, and especially care taken to keep a passage for Victuals open. Yet as the warre was thought to proceed out of unkindnesse rather than hate, so divers of the more innocent sort perswaded the rest
1530. to implore the Popes mercy. The resultance whereof was, that at last an Ambassade was sent. But as by the craft of the adverse party, election was made of mean and despicable persons, the designe was eluded; the Pope not vouchsafing so much as to heare them. This made them resolve to defend themselves. Insomuch that all their fear being now actuated into desperation, they by continuall sallyes (as well by night as day) not only wearied the assiegers, and slew divers of their ablest Commanders, but finally kill'd *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange* himself, who being young, valiant, and liberall, was much lamented among the Souldiers. Famine, yet, at last pressing the Florentines, a parly was propos'd; but the more daring sort (choosing rather to dye with their Armes in their hands, than to yeeld to the Incensed Pope) sallied forth with that fury and disorder, that one
Aug. 3. 1530.

would

would have thought they pretended not so much to Victory, as to some other death then Hunger. The more unquiet sort, being thus at length worn out and spent, the rest, by the means of *Malatesta*, came to a composition with the Emperour, (the Pope also, out of Compassion to his Country, consenting to it) upon these termes; That they should pay 80000. Duckets towards the charge of the Army. That their popular Government should bee chang'd to Monarchicall, under the rule and Dominion of *Alessandro de Medici* (son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbin*) and his Heirs; their antient Priviledges being nevertheless reserved. And thus, after above ten Moneths Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperour; who, for more ample testimony of his favour, bestowed *Margarite* his naturall Daughter upon *Alessandro de Medici* together with the title of Duke. I find, yet by a private dispatch, that hee was not very well pleas'd with these Articles; as beleeving he might have made more advantage of his conquest, though, for contenting the Pope, He gave way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the Businesse of *Germany*. For as the affaires of Religion in those parts, together with the Invasion of the Turk requir'd his presence, so hee departed from *Italy*, about five Moneths before the reddition of that place: making (in his way) the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his brother *Ferdinand* at *Inspruch*, with much demonstration of love. Where also he advis'd concerning the present Estate and disposition, not of the Affaires only, but even persons and Favorites of those with whom he was to Treat. So that, comming at last to *Augsburg*, where a generall Diet and Assembly was appointed, with much solemnity (the Electors and other Princes of *Germany* meeting there) hee requir'd their Grievances. The account whereof yet I must omit a while, that I may come to the restitution of *Francis* his Children.

1529

Augusti.

March 22.

June 18.

The Jewell, Money, and Acquittances requir'd for discharge of his pretious Hostages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to performe his agreement. Only as hee confest himself much enabled hereunto by the speciall goodnesse and bounty of our King, so hee fail'd not to take his advice on all occasions. And thus, the day being come, *Anne de Montmorencie*, Grand Maistre of *France*, and *Hernando de Velasco Condestable de Castilla* were chosen by both Princes for the persons to whose fidelity and care they thought fit to commend this important businesse. And becaus the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the most substantiall whereof (besides those extant in the Treaty of *Cambray* to which Relation must be had) were these following.

March 10.

May 26.

I. That a Bridge or *Pontone*, of forty foot long, and fifteen broad should be erected upon Boats fastned with Anchors upon the midst of the River betwixt *Fuentarabie* and *Andaya*; whereupon the Exchange should be made.

II. That no troops of Horse should be within ten Leagues of the place for ten dayes before, and ten dayes after the delivery, Nor no consider-

1529. consiederable number of foot, And that no Gentlemen ſhould paſſe that way, but thoſe who were appointed.

III. That at the day of delivery no Company of men or women ſhould be within three Leagues of the Place.

IIII. That in *Fuentarabie* there ſhould be none but the ordinary Garriſon, being fifty men, and that the Cannon ſhould bee diſmounted.

V. That a hundred Horſe, and foure hundred Foot, (which afterwards was reduced to a leſſe number) ſhould be allowed on either ſide to come to the bank of the River.

VI. That twelve Perſons ſhould be admitted on either ſide to paſſe over and ſee theſe Articles obſerv'd; And that two Galleons ſhould coaſt the River, with equall numbers of both Nations to prevent ſurpriſes.

VII. That the Money ſhould be brought in one Shallop, and the Hoſtages in another to the two ſides of the Bridge; And that, for Counter-ballancing the money, ſo much Iron ſhould be put in the other.

VIII. That in the Shallop of the Hoſtages ſhould be twelve Spaniards, the *Condeſtable*, and *Seigneur de Praet* being comprehended, and *Mons' de Briſac* a Frenchman, with ſwords and daggers, the Hoſtages having daggers only. And that the like number and Armes ſhould be permitted to *Montmorency* in the other Shallop. And one *Alvaro de Lugo*, a Spaniard with two Pages to go along with them in lieu of the Hoſtages, and twelve Oares on either part unarm'd.

IX. That comming both at the ſame time to the two ſides of the Bridge, the *Condeſtable*, & *Montmorency* ſhould land firſt on the ſaid Bridge, and call to them in equall number their Companies. And that the Spaniards ſhould paſſe into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewells were, along the one ſide of a Barriere erected, and the French, on the other Shallop of the Hoſtages.

X. That Queen *Leonora* ſhould goe in a Shallop a part with ſix Ladies attendants, the reſt being eight Cavaliers, and ſix Oares of either Nation; but that ſhe ſhould not paſſe till the Exchange were made. Notwithſtanding which Agreement ſo much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the money, that many weeks preceding were ſpent before they could accord of the payment. The Spaniard finding the Gold to want of its purity, and the Deſchec or loſſe being valued at 40000 Crownes. Beſides, as the River on the Spaniſh ſhore was ſhallower than on the French, there wanted not
July 1. ſome Jealouſie and wrangling. Howſoever, at length the delivery was made. Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd did poſt from *Bourdeauz* to *Varin*, where with much joy Hee receiv'd his Children, and Queen *Leonora de Seres*, Whom alſo hee married an houre before the day following.

And now *Francis* remembring how much it concern'd him to correſpond

correſpond with our King (to whom hee owed firſt his own, and next his Childrens liberty) ſent over to acquaint him therewith. 1530

Our King alſo conſidering that *Francis* being now diſ-ingag'd might more freely declare himſelf, did (by a particular meſſage) not only make known the little hope hee had of the Popes favour in his particular buſineſſe, but deſir'd that Kings aſſiſtance, for obtaining the reſolution of the Univerſities and learned men in his Kingdome concerning the lawfulneſſe of his Marriage, for which purpoſe Hee induced *Guillaume de Bellay* (ſent by *Francis* to him in the beginning of this yeare) to cooperate, with them, as alſo thoſe of *Italy* and *Germany*, not omitting together to employ at *Paris*, his Kinſman, and Beneficiary, *Reginald Pole*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Edward Fox*, Maſter *william Paget* (after) being ſent to *Orleans*, & *Tholouſe*, and *Francis* together readily promiſing his aſſiſtance. And becauſe our King had many Agents about this time employ'd in *Italy*, as namely Doctor *Richard Croke* (a man excellent in the Greek tongue) at *Padua*; *Hierome de Ghinucci* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gregory Caſalis* at *Rome*; Doctor *Stokesley* at *Venice*, *Thomas Cranmer* (afterwards ArchBiſhop of *Canterbury*) *Andreas* and *Johannes Caſalis*, and *Previdellus*; hee had enough to doe: while ſometimes he laboured to reconcile, and ſometimes again to make uſe of their various Advertiſements. *Stokesley* writ (in a Letter dated 13th *June*) that he had gotten the Opinions of the Univerſity of *Bononia*; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the Pope contradicted. *Croke* ſaid, the Pope and Emperour threatned all that ſubſcrib'd in favor of the Kings cauſe. He writes alſo, that the Emperour's Ambaſſador in *Padua*, challeng'd one Eryer *Thomas*, for favouring the Kings cauſe, and told him, If this Concluſion ſhould take effect, many of the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom ſhould bee diſherited, or taken as Illegitimate; accounting in thoſe as well the Emperour, as the King of *Portugall*. Notwithſtanding which, he had gotten 80 principal mens hands a good while ſince, and had obteined thirty more, which yet, by their means, were burnt. By a Letter alſo of *Crokes* 24th *Auguſt*, It appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of *Venice*, to oppoſe the King in his Demand. Furthermore hee proteſted none would take money (Lawyers only excepted) for delivering their opinions, though he forced ſometimes a ſmall reward on them when they had done. Which particular Doctor *Stokeſley* (in a Diſpatch, 23th *September* 1530.) did confirme; ſaying, it was their manner both in *Padua* and *Bononia* to refuſe mony with theſe words, *quod a Spiritu ſancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur*. Moreover *Croke*, by a Letter 31th *Auguſt* 1530, ſaid, *Cæſar minis, precibus, pretio, & ſacerdotiis, partim territat noſtros, partim confirmat ſuos*: Certifying our King further, that *Andreas Caſalis*, & *Previdellus* did reveale his Highnes ſecrets to the Cæſarians: In Concluſion I find that many would have given their opinion in favour of the Divorce, if they durſt. So that though the Kings Agents did now and then differ in ſome points, they all yet agreed that moſt of the learned men in thoſe parts would have favour'd the King in the

Mart. du Bell.

June 13.

June 22.

July 4.

Aug. 24.

Sep. 23.

Aug 31.

1530. point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperour oppugned it. *Croke* addes further, that the Emperour got some hands in *Mantua* for Money, but they were of the meaner sort: Whereas twenty nine Doctors in that place had freely subscribed on his Highnesse part. Now as *Gregory Casalis* seem'd among all his Highnesse Agents, at this time, the most industrious, so hee sollicited the Pope continually on our Kings behalfe, not neglecting also the Cæsarians, to whom hee gave, and from whom he received that intelligence, as hee made advantage of all. By which dangerous and suspected wisdome yet hee prevail'd so farre, that at length hee had Authority, as it seems, to write this following Dispatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be transcrib'd out of the Originall.

Serenissime & Potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi supreme, humillima commendatione præmissa, Salutem, & fœlicitatem. Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, Concedi posse vestræ Majestati, ut duas uxores habeat; Cui dixi, nolle me Provinciam suscipere ea de Re scribendi, ob eam Causam, quod ignorarem an inde vestræ Conscientiæ satisfieri posset, quam vestra Majestas imprimis exonerare cupit. Cur autem sic Responderem, illud in causa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cæsariani moliantur aucupari soleo, exploratum certumq; habebam, Cæsarianos illud ipsum quærere & procurare. Quem vero ad finem id quærant, pro certo exprimere non ausim. Id certe totum vestræ prudentiæ Considerandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim Pontifici, nihil me de eo Scripturum, nolui tamen Majestati vestræ hoc reticere; quæ sciat omni me industria laborasse, in iis quæ nobis mandat, exequendis. Et cum Anconitano qui me familialiter uti solet, omnia sum Conatus. De omnibus autem me [ad] communes Literas rejicio. Optime valeat vestra Majestas. Romæ die xviii. Septembris, MDXXX.

C.V. Majestatis
Humillissimus Servus
Gregorius Casalis.

How this Letter was believed or accepted yet, doth not appeare to me, So that althongh *Melanthon* is said to have concurr'd in some such opinion, no effect followed thereof. For I find, that at this very time, King *Henry*, jealous of the Queenes, or (as our Historians say) of *Woolsey's* procuring Bulls against him, set forth this Proclamation, *September* 19.

Sept. 19. Hall.

THe Kings Highnesse streightly Chargeth and Commandeth, that no manner of Person of what Estate, degree or condition soever, hee or they be of, doe purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of *Rome*, or else where, nor use and put in Execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore within this year passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, conteining matter prejudiciall to the

the high Authority, Jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royall of this his said Realm, or to the lett, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces Noble and vertuous intended purposes in the Premises; upon pain of incurring his Highnesse Indignation, and Imprisonment, and farther punishment of their Bodies, for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadfull Example of all other. 1536

Thus did the King begin to shake off the Romish yoke; to which he was much animated by the Concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spirituall and Temporall, who (as it appears by our Records) in *July* this yeare under their hands and Seals sent a Declaration to the Pope. The Tenor whereof is this; *July 30.*

SAnctissimo in Christo Patri & Domino Domino Clementi divina Providentia ejus nominis Papæ septimo, Osculatis Pedibus omni cum humilitate fœlicitatem præcamur, & optamus perpetuam, in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Beatissime Pater, tam-etsi Causa Matrimonii, Invictissimi & Serenissimi Principis Domini nostri, Angliæ Franciæq; Regis Fidei Defensoris & Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipsa per se Argumentis V. Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerrime finem accipiat, quem Nos, summo cum desiderio, jam diu desideravimus, & longa, sed hactenus vana Spe a V. Sanctitate Expectavimus: Non potuimus tamen committere ut Rebus nostris Regniq; Statu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum discrimen adducto, omnino sileremus, sed quod Regia Majestas nostrum Caput, atq; adeo anima omnium nostrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, justa compagine capiti Coherentia, multa solicitudine V. Sanctitatem precati, & frustra tamen precati sumus, id nos literis nostris doloris gravitate adducti seorsim & separatim flagitaremus. Sufficere sane alioqui debuisset, Causæ ipsius justicia eruditissimorum virorum calculis passim probata, Celeberrimarum Academiarum suffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, a Gallis, ab Italis, prout quisq; apud eos cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut Sanctitas V. etiam nemine petente & Reclamantibus quibuscunque, suo Ore, suaq; Authoritate aliorum sententias confirmaret; præsertim cum Causæ definitio eum Regem,

1530. illud Regnum reſpiciat, quod de Sede illa Apoſtolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum ſit : Precibus autem nihil opus fuiſſet, niſi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & Preces non neceſſarias interdum effundere ſolent. Cæterũ quum apud Sanctitatem V. nec ipſius Cauſæ Juſticia, nec beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam aſſiduæ & diligentes preces, quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur a vobis quod Paternæ Pietatis officium exigebat ; adauctus ſupra modum in nobis miſeriarum ac calamitatum recordatione doloris cumulus ſingula etiam Reip. noſtræ membra vocalia facit, & verbis & literis conqueſtionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ Academiæ noſtræ, quod Academia Pariſienſis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod paſſim doctiſſimi eruditiſſimi & integerrimi viri domi foriſq; verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam Verbis quam Calamo ſe paratos oſtendunt, id pro vero non obtineat a ſede Apoſtolica ille Princeps, cujus Ore atq; Preſidio ſua ſtat Sedi Apoſtolicæ authoritas, a tam multis ac Populis etiam potentiſſimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim ferro, partim Calamo, partim voce atq; authoritate ſæpius in ea Cauſa reſtitit ; & tamen ſolus illius authoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut eſſet qua alii fruerentur. His quid reſponderi poſſet non videmus, & malorum interim Pelagus Reip. noſtræ imminere cernimus, ac certum quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod Diluvio par eſt, multa cæde ac ſanguine reſtinctam olim Succeſſionis controverſiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim ſummis virtutibus Principem, certiſſimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno Tranquillitatem daturũ, ſi Sobolem ex corpore Maſculam nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero matrimonio ſola ſpes eſſe poteſt : Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obſtat, ut quod de priore matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique V. Sanctitas ſua authoritate declaret. Hoc autem ſi non vult, & qui Pater eſſe debeat, Nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, et pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Noſtri nobis

curam

curam esse relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, Sanctitatem V. oramus ut Regi nostro in tam sanctis desideriis adesse, et, sine mora aut dilatione, favere velit, vehementer obsecramus, ut judicio suo Comprobet quod viri Doctissimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Pastorali officio debet Pietatem ex mutuo Cordis affectu obtestamur, ne claudantur Paterna viscera, tam obsequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris filiis. Causa Regiæ Majestatis nostra cujusque propria est, a Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majestate compatimur, quibus facile Sanctitas V. mederi posset, nec posset modo, sed ex Paterna Pietate deberet. Quod si vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem distulerit Sanctitas V. hactenus sane conditio nostra erit miserior, quod tam diu sine fructu frustra laboratum sit, sed non omni prorsus remedio destituta. Sunt quidem Remedia extrema semper duriora, sed Morbum omnino utcunque levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione non nihil est Spei; ut, si minus succedat quod Bonum est, sequatur saltem quod est minus Malum, & id temporis etiam cursu facile tolerandum. Ista autem ut secum consideret Sanctitas V. iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jesu Christo, cujus Vices in Terris se gerere, profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur ostendere; Ut veritatem doctissimorum hominum, vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam sua Sententia & Pronunciatione velit illustrare. Interim Vero Deum Optim. Maxim. quem ipsam esse veritatem certissimo Testimonio cognoscimus, comprecabimur. Ut vestræ Sanctitatis Consilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut, quod Sanctum, Justum ac verum est, a V. Sanctitatis Authoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia assequendæ veritatis molestia liberemur. 1530.

1530.

1. *Archiepiscopi.*
T.Cardinalis Ebor.
Willielmus Cant.
2. *Duces.*
Tho.Norfolke.
Charles Suffolke.
3. *Marchiones.*
T.Dorset.
H.Exeter.
4. *Comites.*
Willielmus Arundel.
Jo.Oxenford.
H. Northumberland.
Rauf.Westmerland.
Geo.Shrowsbury.
Henr.Essex.
Edw.Derby.
H.Worcester.
Tho.Rutland.
Hen.Cumberland.
Robert Sussex.
Geo.Huntington.
G.of Kildare.
5. *Episcopi.*
Robert.Ciceſtrens.
Joh.Carliolens.
Joh.Lincoln.
Rich.Menevensis.
6. *Barones.*
Henr. Mountagu.
G.Rochford.
Willielm.Weston.
E.Bergavenny.
Jo.Audley.
Hen.Scroope.
Tho.Dacres.
Tho.La-Ware.
Willielm.Dacre.
Tho.Barkley.
Hen.Morley.
Geo.Cobham.
Rich.Latimer.
Edw.Stourton.
Jo.Fitzwarren.
Jo Semers.
Jo.Lumley.
Willielm.Mountjoy.
Chriſ.Coniers.
Hen.Daubeny.
T.Darcy.
T.Monteagle.
Willielm.Sandys.
Jo.Huſey.
Andr.Windſor.
7. *Abbates.*
Jo.of Weſtminſter.
Jo. of Bury St. Edmund.
Rich.Glaſton.
Will.Glouceſter.
Tho. of *Abendon.*
Hugh of *Reading.*
*Edw.*of *Yorke.*
Jo. of *Peterburgh.*
*Jo.*of *Ramſey.*
*Jo.*of *Croyland.*
Ro. of *Thorney.*
Ro. of *Selby.*
William Abbot of *Bardney.*
Will. Ab. of St. *Benet de Hulmo.*
*Tho.*Ab. of St. *John* by *Colcheſter.*
*Jo.*Ab.of *Hyde.*
Clem. Ab. of *Eveſham.*
*Rich.*Ab. of *Malmſbury.*
*Rich.*Ab.of *Winchelcomb.*
*Rob.*Ab. *St.Crucis de Waltham.*
*Jo.*Ab.of *Circeſter.*
*Hen.*Ab.of *Teuxbury.*
8. *Milites & Doctores in Parlamento.*
William Fitz-william.
Hen.Guildford.
Steph. Gardiner.
Jo.Gage.
William Kingſton.
Bryan Tuke.
Rich.Sacheverell.
Rich.Sampſon.
Edw.Lee.
Rich.Woolman.
Jo Bettat.

To which *Clement* returned this Reply.

Vene-

1530.

Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis, ac dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Nobilibuſq; viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parlamenti Regni Angliæ,

CLEMENS *Papa VII.*

VEnerabiles fratres & dilecti filii Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Multa ſunt in veſtris literis die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis ſuperioribus diebus redditis quæ gravius accepiſſemus, niſi ea affectui, ſtudioq; veſtro erga Chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum, Regem veſtrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaq; ſedato animo ad eas literas reſpondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis conqueſti ſitis, neq; oportuiſſe tantum a vobis tribui privato erga Regem ſive officio ſive amori veſtro, ut nos duobus ingrati adverſus Serenitatem ſuam animi ac denegatæ Juſtitiæ, graviſſimis nominibus incuſaretis. Nos quidem agnoſcimus Regem veſtrum ea omnia quæ in veſtris literis enumeratis, ac multo etiam plura promeritum, manebitq; perpetuo non modo apud nos ſed ad poſteros noſtros memoria ejus in Sedem Apoſtolicam meritorum. Fatemurq; nos non modo Pontificiæ perſonæ quam gerimus, ſed privato noſtro nomine tantum Serenitati ſuæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed quod attinet ad Controverſiam quæ de matrimonio eſt inter Serenitatem ſuam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum abeſt, ut denegando Juſticiam, Regis ſpem fruſtrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes Majeſtatis ſuæ propenſi, reprehendamur. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi noſtri erga Regem veſtrum Tenorem repetamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme ab hinc Annis, Regii Oratores ad nos hanc Cauſam detuliſſent; animi noſtri propenſionem potius quam Juris rigorem ſecuti, commiſimus illam dilectis filiis noſtris Thomæ tit. Sanctæ Ceciliæ Eboracen.

1530. boracen. in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio tt'. Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim Campegio a noſtro Latere miſſo, Presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno atq; adeo domi ipſius Regis audiendam & terminandum; ſatisfecimuſq; tum, quantum in nobis fuit, Serenitatis ſuæ voluntati. Verum cum Regina ſuſpectum illud in partibus Judicium habere cepiſſet, & agravaminibus ſibi, ut dicebat, per eoſdem Legatos illatis ad Sedem Apoſtolicam appellaſſet, Procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem proſequendam conſtitutis, ne tum quidem deſiderari paſſi ſumus noſtram erga ipſum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tametſi cauſæ hujuſmodi appellationis Commiſſio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via Juris terminari hanc controverſiam cupientes omnes moras in Commiſſione dictæ cauſæ appellationis concedenda interpoſuimus, eo pretextu, quod eſſet de majoribus cauſis, meritoq; ad Conſiſtorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde ſuper hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties conſultatione, fuit aliquam diu dilatum negotium; Sed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto concluſum eſt, Commiſſionem cauſæ appellationis hujuſmodi per nos negari non poſſe. Itaq; Commiſſa eſt audienda & ſubinde in dicto Conſiſtorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in Rebus conſiderate procedere debemus, tum in hac potiſſimum quæ Regias & illuſtres perſonas tangit, & in quam totius Chriſtianitatis oculos conjectos eſſe videmus. Poſt quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus Procurator comparuit, qui aut ſcripto aut verbo de Juribus Regis doceret; ideoq; factum, ut lis ad-huc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum ex actis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda ſit. Quamobrem nulla cauſa eſt, cur nobis aſcribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam oratores ipſius Regis alibi, & præſertim Bononiæ a nobis petierint & imperarint, invitiſſimis quidem & reclamantibus Reginæ Procuratoribus. Cum itaq; nunquam per nos ſteterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus Rebus mature diſcuſſis,

termina-

terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur querimonia veſtra; niſi forte id dicitis, tot eſſe Regis erga nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Cauſam diffiniri oportuerit; id enim oſtenditis ſatis aperte, cum dicitis, in cauſa, ab eruditiſſimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiarum ſuffragiis probata, & nemine petente, ac reclamantibus quibuſcunq; Sententiam a nobis ferri debuiſſe. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modeſtiam veſtram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti poſtuletis, ut, in cauſa maximi momenti, Sententiam feramus, nemine petente, ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adverſa pars continuè opponat totius Chriſtianitatis ſcandalum, tot annorum matrimonium ad ſupplicationem Clariſſimorum Regum Henrici Patris, ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex diſpenſatione hujus Sanctæ Sedis conſtitutum; præterea filiam extantem, & plures Reginæ partus; & adverſus opiniones Doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum & ipſi graviſſimorumq; virorum judicium, & pro ſe facientia divini Juris mandata adducant, argumentis hauſtis non modo ex Latinis, ſed etiam, & uberrimis, in hac re Hebræorum fontibus, nobis tamen in neutram ad huc partem inclinantibus, ſed æquas aures præbentibus, cum cauſam hanc graviſſimam & ad totam Rempublicam Chriſtianam & poſteritatem omnem pertinere exiſtimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Univerſitatum Opiniones ſcribitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus noſtras, nobis non legitime, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præſentata, illæq; nudæ tantum illorum hominum Opiniones, nullis adſcriptis rationibus cur ita ſentiant, nullaq; Sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum ſpectare debemus, authoritate ſubnixæ. Poſtulare autem, ut, in Regis Gratiam, quicquã temere atq; inconſideratè ſtatuamus, nec æquum nec veſtra ſapientia dignum eſt. Nam, tametſi multum Serenitati ſuæ debemus, Tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur Eum, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes imperant; & veri Patris officium eſt proſpicere, ne nimia facilitate 1530.

1530. tate plus æquo indulgeamus filiis noſtris: irretiremus enim non noſtram ſolum ſed ſerenitatis ſuæ Conſcientiam matura ſententia; quæ, non recte prolata, pernicioſo univerſæ Chriſtianitati noceret exemplo. Nam quod Regno veſtro diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum eſſe abitraremur, ſi ſententiam, quæ recta Juſticiæ via ac ratione ferenda eſt, præcipitaremus, ac, nimio Erga Regem veſtrum amore, provecti, a Juſticia atque Officio noſtro diſcederemus; Maſculam autem Prolem, non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati ſuæ; atq; utinam tanto Regi ſimiles filios, ac non Regni tantum, ſed & virtutum Heredes haberet Chriſtiana Reſpublica! Sed pro Deo non ſumus, ut liberos dare poſſimus. Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos, authoritate noſtra, ſecundum veritatem de priori matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipſo Rege pronuncient; vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati ſuæ gratificari; poſſe autem ita debemus, ut non deſtruamus; deſtrueremus enim, ſi quid contra Juris Ordinem ſtatueremus, & ſi oculis noſtris exploratiſſima res eſſet. Ceterum, quod eſt in extremo literarum veſtrarum, Niſi petitionibus veſtris ſatisfecerimus, vos exiſtimaturos, veſtri vobis curam eſſe relictam, atq; aliunde Remedia conquiſituros, nec veſtra prudentia nec Religione dignum Conſilium, ab eoq; ut abſtineatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus. Nec tamen ulla medici culpa eſſet, ſi ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in ſe ſtatuerit, quod adverſaretur ſaluti. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac ſine pernicie dari poſſunt, remedia, non denegamus; quis enim infirmatur, & ego non infirmor? Quis ſcandalizatur, & ego non uror? Os meum patet ad vos, filii dilectiſſimi, & vos ut filios Chariſſimos monemus. Sed nec Regem ipſum, cujus Cauſam agitis, probaturum fuiſſe Credimus, ut ita ſcriberetis: Cognitam enim habemus ac perſpectam ejus probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non eſſet, accepturum fuiſſe putemus; & tametſi veſtrum omnium interceſſionem magnifacimus, Tamen noſter erga Serenitatem ſuam amor non patitur ſe cujuſquam cohorta-

cohortatione precibusq; excitari; nec meminimus frustra unquam Serenitatem suam a nobis petiisse, quod cum nostro, et hujus Sanctæ Sedis honore concedere possemus; paremq; ostendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Denique, quod ad hanc causam attinet, Nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram interponemus, quin, cum instructa, & partes auditæ fuerint, terminetur; nobis summopere cupientibus vestrum Regem & ipsam Reginam, nosq; ipsos molestissimo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum a Serenitate sua & devotionibus vestris requirimus, ne plus, ob summa ejusdem Regis beneficia, a nobis exigatis, quam quod sine offensa Dei persolvere possumus: cum in cæteris omnia a nobis expectare possitis, quæ habita officii ac personæ quam gerimus & Justiciæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die xxvii. Septembris MDXXX. Pont'. nostri Anno Septimo. 1530.

Evangelista.

And now Cardinall *Woolsey* it seems had tried his uttermost skill for recovering of the Kings favour; Whereof also some hope was given him in his being permitted to remove to *Richmont*. But as his enemies suspected hee would make use of this nearnesse, to obtain accesse to the King, so they labour'd instantly to send him to the North. Wherein, they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and Abbey of St. *Albans*, as also some other places of his forfeited by the *Præmunire*, might be applied in part to the Kings servants; a Pension only out of *Winchester*, being reserved to the Cardinall. The Revenues, also, of his two Colleges were torn, and divided. Which grieved him more than any other affliction; Insomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the College of *Oxford* might stand, and importun'd *Cromwell* to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith hee, *Opera manuum tuarum*. But *Cromwell* return'd him no Comfort herein, Saying; the King was determined to dissolve them, though whether hee meant to restore them again, and found them in his own name, hee knew not: but wishes him to be Content, *&c*. Howsoever, in the traffique of these and other Lands, as well as Negotiating his Masters business, *Cromwell* shewed that dexterity, which at last wonne him much Credit, both with the King, and his principall Counsellers. And now the Cardinall being Commanded to

Yorke,

1530. *Yorke*, had no excuſe for retarding his Journey, but want of Means,
March. which alſo hee ſignified to the King; Who thereupon ſent him a
thouſand pounds, with which and a Traine, reducted now to about
one hundred and ſixty Perſons, he ſet forth, giving by the way, much
Almes, and not a few other arguments of Devotion, which alſo made
him gratious with the People, who reſorted from all places adjoyning,
to him. And thus with ſlow and unwilling removes, hee came to
Sept. Cawood Caſtle, neer *Yorke*, about the end of *Sept.* 1530. where hee
prepar'd, according to the antient cuſtome, to be inſtalled with much
Ceremony about a moneth after; All acceſſe to the Quire, being,
till then forbidden. But whether the ſolemnity of this Action was
thought by our King to be unſeaſonable, and misbecomming one in
Diſgrace; or that otherwiſe the Cardinall had caſt forth ſome diſ-
contented words, which were related again to the King; here cer-
tainly began his finall Ruine. Which, as his enemies (at this di-
ſtance) did with more boldneſſe and advantage procure, ſo had hee
leſſe means to repaire himſelfe. Inſomuch, that without being able
to diſcover or prevent their Machinations, hee was forc'd to ſuffer all
that could be either truly, or (almoſt) falſly ſurmiſed againſt him.
Neither had hee other hope; but that the puniſhments he had alrea-
dy indur'd, might be accepted as an intire ſatisfaction for all offences.
And now, his ſtallation grew neer, when the Earle of *Northumber-
land*, Warden of the Marches, with one Sir *Walter Welſh*, Gentleman
Novemb. 4. of the Kings Privy Chamber, came by the Kings Command to *Ca-
Hall.* *wood* to arreſt the Cardinall, wherein, he uſed that diligence, and ſe-
creſie, that hee had plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any eſcaped
to advertiſe the Cardinall thereof. Neither did hee, at the Earles
comming up ſtayres, receive him in other termes than thoſe of a
Gueſt, till entring into a privat Chamber together, the Earl in a low
and troubled voice, Arreſted him of high Treaſon. The diſmay'd
and Penſive Cardinall ſtayed awhile before he anſwered, but at laſt
recovering his ſpirits, demanded the ſight of the Earles Commiſſion,
proteſting that, otherwiſe, he would not obey; urging further that
Hall. hee was a member of the College of Cardinalls at *Rome*, and ſo ex-
empt from all Princes Juriſdiction. But while the Earle replyed,
that he might not ſhew his Commiſſion, Sir *Water Welſh*, who had
now arreſted Doctor *Auguſtine* the Cardinalls Phyſitian, comes in,
and confirmes what the Earl had ſaid. The Cardinall beleeving (by
this time) that they were in good earneſt, yeelds to Sir *Walter Welſh*,
as the Kings ſervant, and not to the Earl; to whom he ſaid he would
not ſubmit himſelf, before he was better ſatisfied of his Authority.
Which whether hee did out of ſtubbornneſſe to the Earle, who had
been heretofore educated in his houſe, or out of deſpight to Miſtris
Anne Bolen, who (he might conceive) had put this affront upon him,
in finding means to employ her Antient Suror to take Revenge in
both their names, doth not appeare to me by my Author. Howſoe-
ver, he proteſted he was no way faulty in his Alleagiance. Doctor
Auguſtine,

Auguſtine, (whoſe offence yet doth not appear to me) was diſpatch'd to *London*, in the Poſture of a Traitor, his leggs tyed to his Horſe. But the Cardinall had ſome reſpite; though yet commanded to prepare for his Journey; which he began at length, in that deliberate manner, that, if hee removed ſlowly, before, from the King, hee moved now more ſlowly to him. Inſomuch that, had not the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, to whom (being the Steward of the Kings Houſhold) the Earle of *Northumberland* was commanded to deliver him, till the Kings further pleaſure were known, told him, that the King commanded he ſhould be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly favoured; It is probable that the afflicted Cardinall would have fallen under the burthen of his own griefes. Furthermore, the Earle aſſur'd him on the Kings part, that, though his Highneſſe could do no leſſe than put him to his Tryall, yet that it was more for the ſatisfying of ſome perſons than out of miſtruſt of his Traiterous doings. And thus at *Sheffield* Caſtle, he had ſtayed a Fortnight, when a Wind-Collick, which ended in a Dyſentery, took him. In which ſtate, Sir *William Kingſton*, Captain of the Kings Guard, and Conſtable of the Tower, attended with twenty foure Yeomen of the Guard (all of them formerly ſervants to the Cardinall) did find him. So that, notwithſtanding the many Incouragements of the Earle, ſeconded by Sir *William Kingſton* (who on his knees ſaluted him) the Cardinall remained ſtill ſick, and comfortleſſe. Neither did it availe him, that Sir *William Kingſton* (on the Kings part) gave him many gracious words, adding furthermore, that hee ſhould make no more haſt than ſtood with his health, and conveniency. For the Cardinall became ſtill more and more dejected. Notwithſtanding, as hee conſider'd that delay would but argue Guiltineſſe, ſo hee proceeded in his Journey the beſt hee could, till he came to *Leiceſter* Abbey, where a Fever, complicate with his former Diſeaſe, ſeizing on him, hee languiſh'd, not without manifeſt ſignes of his end. Being thus upon his bed, Sir *William Kingſton* came again to comfort him. But the Cardinall, finding now that Death would diſcharge him of all Tryalls, but that before God, ſpake to this effect.

1530

Novemb. 8. *Hall.*

Novemb. 27.

Had I ſerv'd God as diligently as I have done the King, hee would not have given me over, in my gray haires; but this is my juſt reward. Notwithſtanding, I pray yee commend mee moſt humbly to the King, deſiring him to call to remembrance all matters that have paſt betwixt us, and eſpecially about Queen *Katherine*, and then ſhall his Grace know whether I have offended him. Hee is a Prince of a Royall courage; but rather than he will want, or miſſe any part of his will or pleaſure, hee will endamage the loſſe of one halfe of his Realme. For, I aſſure you, I have often kneel'd before him, ſometimes the ſpace of three houres, to perſwade him from his will and appetite, but could never diſſwade him from it. Therefore Maſter *Kingſton*, I warn you, if ever you be of his Counſell (as for your wiſdome you are meet) that yee be well aſſur'd and advis'd what you

Cavend.

1530. put in his Head, for you ſhall never put it out again. After which words (as *Cavendiſh* hath them) he began an exhortation to take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of thoſe of *Bohemia*, leſt they ſhould likewiſe ſubvert the ſecular Power. But as in the proſecuting of this diſcourſe his ſpeech fail'd him, ſo did his breath preſently after, Inſomuch that hee dyed, and was buryed there in the Abbey Church, *November* 30th before day. And not, where hee had begun a Monument for himſelfe, long ſince (wherein, as appears by our Records, he had not omitted his own Image) which one *Benedetto*, a
1524. Statuary of *Florence*, took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529. Receiving for ſo much as was already done 4250. Duckats. The deſigne whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded farre, that of *Henry* VII, Nevertheleſſe, I find, the Cardinall, when this was finiſhed, did purpoſe to make a Tombe for *Henry* VIII. But dying in this manner King *Henry* made uſe of ſo much as hee found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the Tombe of the Cardinall partake the ſame Fortune with his Colledge; as being aſſumed by the King; both which yet remaine ſtill unperfect. The Newes of the Cardinalls death being brought to our King, did ſo much afflict him, that he wiſh'd it had coſt him twenty Thouſand pounds upon condition hee had lived. Howbeit hee omitted not to inquire of about 1500 pounds, which the Cardinall had lately got, without that the King could imagine how. So that, till it appear'd hee borrowed it of divers Perſons, hee might perchance ſuſpect it to be the remainder of ſome of his Antient Acquiſitions.

And thus concluded that great Cardinall. A man in whom ability of parts, and Induſtry were equally eminent, though, for being employed wholly in ambitious wayes, they became dangerous Inſtruments of power, in active and mutable times. By theſe Arts yet hee found means to governe not only the chiefe affaires of this Kingdome, but of *Europe*; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not ſeek to him. And as this Procur'd him divers Penſions, ſo, when hee acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, ſo cunningly to diſoblige that Prince who did ſee him laſt, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other ſide. But not of ſecular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of *Rome* hee was no little Courted; of which, therefore hee made eſpeciall uſe, while he drew them to ſecond him on moſt occaſions. His birth being otherwiſe ſo obſcure and mean, as no man had ever ſtood ſo ſingle: for which reaſon alſo his chiefe Indeavour was not to diſpleaſe any great perſon, which yet could not ſecure him againſt the divers pretenders of that time. For as all things paſſed through his hands, ſo they who fail'd in their ſuits, generally hated him: All which though it did but exaſperate his ill nature, yet this good reſultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be Juſt; whereof alſo he obtain'd the reputation in his publike hearing of Cauſes. For as hee lov'd no body, ſo his reaſon carryed him. And thus hee

was

was an uſefull Miniſter of his King, in all points, where there was no queſtion of deſerving the Roman Church; of which (at what price ſoever) I find hee was a zealous ſervant; as hoping thereby to aſpire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) hee ſeem'd more capable than any, had he not ſo immoderately affected it. Whereby alſo it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations; that Prince, who was ableſt to help him to this Dignity, being ever preferr'd by him; which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperour, and French King, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon theſe termes, hee doubted not to convey vaſt treaſures out of this Kingdome, eſpecially unto *Rome*, where hee had not a few Cardinalls at his devotion. By whoſe help, though hee could not obtain that Supream Dignity hee ſo paſſionatly deſir'd, yet he prevail'd himſelf ſo much of their favour, as hee got a kind of abſolute Power in ſpirituall matters at home. Wherewith again hee ſo ſerv'd the King's turn, as it made him think the leſſe of uſing his own Authority. One error ſeem'd common to both, which was that ſuch a Multiplicity of Offices and places were inveſted in him. For as it drew much envy upon the Cardinall in particular, ſo it derogated no little from the Regall authority, while one man alone ſeemed to exhauſt all. Since it becommeth Princes to do like good Husbandmen when they ſow their grounds, which is, to ſcatter and not to throw all in one place. Hee was no great diſſembler, for ſo qualified a Perſon; as ordering his buſineſſes (for the moſt part) ſo cautiouſly, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was farre from exact) it conſiſted chiefly in the ſubtilties of the Thomiſts, wherewith the King and himſelfe did more often weary than ſatisfie each other. His ſtyle, in Miſſives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly if it be true (as *Polydore* obſerves) that no man ever did riſe with fewer vertues, it is true, that few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſſer crimes objected againſt him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his firſt comming into *England*, committed to Priſon by him, as wee have ſayd) may be ſuſpected as a partiall Author. So that in all probability hee might have ſubſiſted longer, when either his Pride and immenſe wealth had not made him obnoxious, and ſuſpected to the King, or that other than women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and Cloſe enemies, ſo for the moſt part, they carry their buſineſſes in that manner, as they leave fewer advantages againſt themſelves, than men doe. In Concluſion, as I cannot aſſent to thoſe who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compaſſion of the People a little before his end, ſo I cannot but account it a principall felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things ſucceeded better than afterwards, though yet it may be doubted whether the Impreſſions hee gave, did not occaſion divers Irregularities which were obſerv'd to follow. 1530

I will return now a while to the buſineſſe of the Emperour at *Augsburg*, Where (by his Command) the Generall Diet was appointed

1530. pointed the eighth of *April* 1530. Cardinall *Campegius* being employ'd for theſe buſineſſes on the Popes behalfe. The Emperour comming thither in the beginning of *June*, The firſt point reſolved, was, that untill Controverſies in Religion were ſetled, all the Preachers on both ſides (ſome moderate Perſons to be nominated by the Emperour only excepted,) ſhould be ſilenc'd : Which being done, the Emperour declares, that the Cauſes of calling together the Aſſembly were, Firſt, the Invaſion of the Turke. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion. Demanding their advice and help in both; Which that they might perform with leſſe Confuſion, he Commanded their ſeverall propoſitions to be put in writing and read. Whereupon, the Reformed Princes made inſtance, that matters of Religion might bee firſt compos'd, promiſing afterwards to proceed unto the reſt. Not long after which, *Campegius*, in a Latine Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperour herein; adding further in the Popes name, that ſuch order ſhould be taken as Unity in Religion might be conſerv'd, to the end that all might go againſt the Turk. Which alſo was ſpoken in ſequence of the Emperours Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where hee indeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in agitation in *Germany*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, (with whom *Melanthon* was,) the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the *Lantgrave*, and others, deſired the Emperour to receive in writing the Confeſſion of their Faith, (called from this Dyet, *Confeſſio Auguſtana*) which the Emperour, at laſt, granted; admitting, afterwards, the Confeſſion of *Strasbourg*, *Conſtance*, *Lyndaw*, *Memingen*, and ſome other great Townes, who, following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in ſome points. Whereupon, advice being taken with *Campegius*, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that ſome able perſons of the Romaniſts ſhould, by way of confutation, return a written anſwer hereunto, accompanied with a ſtrict command of the Emperours to obey it. But this, again, was mitigated; and the reaſons, at laſt, examined on both ſides. The reſultance whereof (among the more ſober) was, that, ſince they agreed on ſo many points, their chiefe labours ſhould be not to make any Schiſme for the reſt; ſince it could not be denyed, but ſome things required Reformation. But the more heady ſort, on either ſide, would not acquiſce ſo, requiring an abſolute aſſent to their ſeverall opinions; inſomuch that they kindled in their Diſputations againſt each other. The Duke of *Saxony* (particularly) demanding, that the Anſwer to their Confeſſion might be given to them in writing; which yet was not ſuddenly approv'd by the Emperour; though, at laſt, finding no other way to avoyd tumult, hee granted their requeſt, on this Condition, that they ſhould not Print or Publiſh the ſaid Anſwer. Wherewith ſome were ſo diſcontented, that they returned home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conſcience, unleſſe they diſputed it abroad, and inſtructed others. At laſt, in *Auguſt* 1530. ſeaven Perſons were appointed on each ſide, to determine

April 8.

Sleid. l. 7.

Aug. 6.

determine controverſies, of which two ſhould be Perſons of quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the Romaniſts tooke the Biſhop of *Augsburgh*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwicke*, two Lawyers, and *Wimpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochlæus*, Divines. The other ſide chooſing *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*, *John Fredericke* of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepfius*, Divines. But theſe not agreeing ſufficiently (though comming ſomewhat neerer than they are at this preſent) *Melanchthon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others were permitted to decide the buſineſſe. But becauſe the Proteſtants thought they had yeelded already, to aſmuch as was poſſible for them with ſafety of Conſcience, the buſineſſe was remitted again to a greater number. To which courſe yet the Proteſtants would not condeſcend, but deſired a Courſe ſhould be taken for Preſerving of Peace till a Generall Councill were call'd. The Emperour finding things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt threats and promiſes, as each was moſt obnoxious; writing notwithſtanding to the Pope (as I find by the Spaniſh Hiſtory) that there was no way for ending of differences but by a Councill, which therefore he deſir'd might be granted, for thoſe reaſons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* ſhould tell him. Hee omitted not alſo to write to the College of Cardinalls for this purpoſe: adding further, for a motive, that divers Princes (in which our King alſo concurr'd) agreed in the ſame requeſt; as judging it neceſſary, not only for the cauſe above mentioned, but even for the Popes proper conſervation. Hee required alſo the diſpatches uſuall for making his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Laſtly, hee deſir'd permiſſion to ſell the Ornaments and goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at leaſt to have the fourth part of the Eccleſiaſticall Revenues, it being as hee ſaid for defence of the common Faith. Which comming, at laſt, to the Princes notice, was ſo ſuſpected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwiſe they were averſe enough from the Roman Church, yet, whether out of the danger they foreſaw of putting ſo much money into the Emperours hands, or that otherwiſe they would make themſelves neceſſary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Eraſmus* underſtanding now what was doing, writes to *Campegius* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as affairs then ſtood, it was better ſuffer, than to make warre againſt the Lutherans; ſuppoſing perchance, no Peace ſo devoid of Religion, as a Civill warre. The Emperour finding matters thus diſcompos'd, calls the Princes together, promiſing that a Councill ſhould be call'd, as ſoon as the place might bee agreed; upon Condition they would keepe Peace in the meane while, and the Religion antiently profeſſed. But the Proteſtants, affirming that theirs was the antient Religion, thank'd the Emperour for the reſt, deſiring only the Councill might be Pious and free. The Emperour not ſatisfied thus, would needs diſpute himſelfe awhile (which the Spaniſh ſay hee did with that eagerneſſe that hee drew his Dagger,) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Concluſion, inſtead of

1530.

Aug. 18.

Sept. 7.

Sandov.

1530. making an amiable accord, hee publiſhed a rigorous Decree; Commanding the practiſe of the Ancient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Proteſtants every where ſhould permit the Romaniſts the uſe therof, denouncing ſevere puniſhments to thoſe which obey'd not; Howbeit, he promiſed, within ſix Moneths to obteine from the Pope ſufficient Authority for calling a Councell the year following. In the meane time, that Peace ſhould be kept with all thoſe who ſubſcrib'd to this Decree; who alſo, and no other, might be admitted to ſit as Judges in the Imperiall Chamber. The Proteſtants now conſidering, that it was impoſſible to come to an exact deciſion of the points controverted, tooke their leaves ſomewhat abruptly, and returned; Whereupon the Emperour (intending chiefly the ſafeguard of *Germany* againſt the Turks) commanded the other Princes attendance. From whom Hee demanded money, towards the warre; which as few denyed (to their powers,) ſo the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Proteſtants offer'd freely to Contribute their parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the exerciſe of their Religion till the above-mention'd Councell was call'd. But the Emperour, not thus contented, inſiſted ſtill on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed (which were many) could not agree among themſelves, concerning the Lords Supper, and ſome other Articles. The conſequence whereof being not difficult to foreſee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who alſo had brought them neer to a head. Neither was there other impediment, but that ſingularity they affected in their ſeverall opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, agreed ſufficiently among themſelves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally imbrac'd. But as the Romaniſts took this occaſion to brand the Reformed, ſo they again regarding more their Reputation (ingaged to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publike writing) than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by degrees rather violently confirme their own aſſertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the terrours, and difficulties which their ſeverall teachers impoſed on them. In which ſtate of things yet the Reformed Princes and Cities, for preventing further inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themſelves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the end of *December* (at the ſame time that the Emperour having concluded the Nov. 19. Dyet at *Augsburgh* (*19. Novemb.*) had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen* (*Decemb. 29.*) concerning the chooſing a King of the Dec. 22. Romans. And here a defenſive League being made by the Proteſtants, they thought fit to ſignifie it to the Emperour; and together Dec. 24. to declare certain objections againſt the Pretended Election. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperour proceeds to make his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans *Jan. 5.* 1531, which alſo being advertis'd Jan. 5. 1531. to the Confederate Proteſtants, *John Frederic* Duke of *Saxony* manifeſted the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the adviſe

vise certainly of *Francis*; who as hee had his designes that way, so hee endeavoured nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* to *France*, upon condition that the eldest sonne should alwayes quarter the Armes thereof with those of *Daulphine*. And in these termes stood the affaires of *Germany* in the end of 1530. which I have deliver'd with the more particularity, that the first manifest separation from the Roman Church began here, there being little else materiall in regard of *England* that I can find, save that our King, (as appears by a Dispatch of the fifteenth of *July* 1530.) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I shall conclude this yeare with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low-Countries*; which were very dammageable; shortly after which followed the death of the two great Ladyes who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. Madam *Margurite*, Aunt to the Emperour, departed first, who having been propos'd in Marriage to our *Henry* the Seventh (when shee was then about twenty seven yeats of age) and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*; dyed in the 52th yeare of her age, with the reputation of governing the *Low-Countries* with much discretion for the space of 23 years. The newes whereof being brought the Emperour, made him neglect all his other businesses, to come to the buriall; which being perform'd with much solemnitie; hee substituted his Sister *Donna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her place. Madam *Louise*, Mother of *Francis*, died shortly after, (for whom our King kept a solemne Obsequie) a Lady from whom *France* receiv'd many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if shee govern'd wisely, during the Kings Captivitie, and again procur'd both his and her Grand-childrens delivery; Shee was thought also out of some particular despight to *Bourbon* to have given Him the first causes of Discontentment. And to have Occasion'd in part the losse of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

1531. *Jul.* 15. *Octob.* 8. *Novemb.* *Nov* 30. 1530. *Sandov.* 1503. 1513. *Septemb.* 22. 1531.

Our King during these great affaires of Christendome, resolving his Parliament should continue, caus'd it to sit again, *Jan.*6. 1531. Where these Lawes were enacted.

1531, *Jan.*6.

That, because much Wooll was employ'd to uses not so beneficiall to the Kingdome, and sometimes transported by strangers, It was Degreed that none should buy Wooll in some principall Shires (to the number of twenty eight) but those who would make Cloth or Yarne thereof, and that strangers should not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewise have his inconveniency, was continued only for ten years, as it had been in some former Kings times.

*Jan.*6.

Also a Law was made against exactions on Apprentices by Masters, Wardens, *&c.* And this was beneficiall for poore men, who were not able to put their children to learne Occupations without paying

1530. paying extraordinary ſummes. A remedy alſo was taken for repayring of decayed Bridges, and High-wayes, and the manner of raiſing the money (which before was uncertain) ſet down. The carrying over of Horſes, Mares, Geldings, alſo was forbidden upon a penalty to all places but *Calais*. Moreover, Deniſons, Notwithſtanding their Priviledges, were order'd to pay ſuch Cuſtomes as they pay'd before. For which purpoſe the Officers and Miniſters of Cities and Boroughs, *&c.* where ſuch Cuſtomes, *&c.* were due, were commanded to ſet up a Table in ſome open place, conteining the particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the Stillyart (called then *Theutonici.*) Together with which, it was provided, that the tables touching Scavage to be ſet up at *London*, ſhould be firſt viewed and examined by the Chancellour, and Treaſurour in *England*, the Preſident of the Kings Counſell, the Lord Privy Seale, and Lord Steward, and the two chiefe Juſtices; or by foure of them at leaſt, and by them ſubſcribed. And this was for preventing of the ſecret exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* Upon Wares to bee ſold within their Precincts. A Law was made alſo againſt Egyptians, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got money, and credit among the more Ignorant ſort. And whereas ſome penall Statutes were made heretofore againſt Strangers who were Handicrafts-men; It was declared, that the ſaid ſtrangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Surgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be handicraftſmen. And, becauſe the abuſe of taking Sanctuary, and flying to Hallowed places was great about this time, Inſomuch that many Criminalls, finding Refuge and protection in them, did there abjure the Realme, and ſo went into Forraigne parts, by which means they diſcover'd the ſecrets of the State, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas alſo, when they were to be tryed before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of ſome Sanctuary or Hallowed place, and Juſtice thereby delayd; Divers good orders were taken to remedy theſe Inconveniences. Which yet I mention uot at large; becauſe they, together with the uſe of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and aboliſh'd. And now the buſineſſe of *Præmunire*, into which the whole Clergy was ſayd to fall by ſupporting the power Legantine of the Cardinall, having fully been debated by the Kings Counſell learned, and reſolved againſt them; (Whereupon alſo they were brought to the Kings Bench:) It was agreed in their Convocation Houſe, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the firſt queſtion was, in what forme to make it; the Title of *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, was by ſome inſerted in the Proeme; But this again being demurr'd on, ſome of the Kings Counſell, together with *Cromwell*, came in, and perſwaded them to approve it; But they being ſilent, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *Qui tacet Conſentire videtur*; Whereto on anſwered, *Itaque tacemus Omnes.* But at laſt this Clauſe being added, *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, nine Biſhops, (whereof *John Fiſher* Biſhop

Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was one, and fifty two Abbots and Priors conſented thereunto, as alſo the major part of the Lower Houſe, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proeme, they Petition'd the King, that Hee would accept the ſumme of one hundred thouſand pounds of the Province of *Canterbury* (eighteen thouſand eight hundred forty pounds, being afterwards given by the Province of *Yorke*) in lieu of all Puniſhments: They promiſing, for the future, to make no Conſtitution, nor execute any, without the Kings leave. All which the King graciouſly accepting, granted them a Pardon for all offences againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, Proviſions and *Præmunire*, and all other Penalties, and Forfeitures, except Treaſon, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having paſs'd the Lords, came to the Lower Houſe, the Commons, not knowing how farre this might concern them, made ſome difficulty till themſelves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a Check, ſaying, that was not the way to exempt themſelves. Whereupon the Lower Houſe, becomming ſenſible of the Kings diſpleaſure, and their own danger, humbled themſelves in that ſort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewiſe. 1531.

I Shall begin the Forteigne buſineſſe of this yeare 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans at *Aix*, *January* 11th, on whom it was thought, the Emperour his Brother did conferre this Dignity, that he might the better eaſe himſelfe from the troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in ſo many kinds, and places, that his Counſell in *Spain* writ a Letter, Exhorting him to leave thoſe parts, and return. To which alſo conduced that *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the yeare before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſo that he was now enabled to ſuſtain the dignity of that Charge; to the which I find alſo the Duke of *Bavaria* aſpired. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperours ſole Authority (and without thoſe formalities antiently uſed) So the Romaniſts fighting for them, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, it was not every where allow'd for authenticall. So that it was thought fit an Imperiall Mandate ſhould be ſent forth every where in *Germany* to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Proteſtants were requir'd to aſſiſt in a warre againſt the Turkes. For which alſo all Military preparations were made. But whether the Proteſtants doubted leſt this ſhould be intended againſt them, or that otherwiſe they thought all hope of reconciling differences in Religion to be vaine, they prepared to defend themſelves. They would indeed have been glad to ſee ſome generall and moderate Reformation. But as thoſe they call'd the moſt erroneous points of the Roman Clergies faith, proved to bee their moſt profitable and commodious doctrines, all accord was judged deſperate: Notwithſtanding which, neither would they have broken thoſe neceſſary Bonds of Charity, (which Religion ſhould ſtrengthen) or lived under other name than that of Catholique, when the Romaniſts would

Jan. 11.

Jun. 28. *Sandov.*

1531. would have allow'd the antient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their Primitive institution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the Roman Church would remit nothing of its Rigour, under pretence that it was Inspir'd from above; they not only cast off all hope of Accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benigne Censure of their Actions abroad. Therefore, they sent severall Letters, to our King, and *Francis*, Dated *Feb. 16. Sleid.* 16th *February* 1531. from *Smalcald*, Reciting what had formerly pass'd at *Wormbs*, and *Augsburg*, betwixt the Emperour and them; saying farther, that the Emperour propos'd to them certain Articles (call'd the *Interim*) which they should hold till a Generall Councill were summon'd, but that they were such, as they could not with any safety of Conscience admit; concluding with a request, that their good offices with the Emperour might be interpos'd for the Convocation of a pious and free Councill, out of all the parts of the Christian World; which also the Emperour had promis'd. But before the severall answers of these Princes were return'd, the Emperour, doubting the consequences of this Assembly, requires again their Assistance against the Turke. To which the Princes replied, that before themselves had security given for Peace, it was unseasonable to grant help against others. Which being privately advertis'd to the French King, hee left awhile his *Amourettes*, to which he was now much addicted, and studied nothing more than how to make som advantage of the division. For the present yet hee return'd this answer only to the *April 21.* Princes, *Dat.* 21th *April* 1531. That hee desir'd Peace and a Generall Councill, and was glad to understand they inclin'd that way; only that they must take care of chooſing a secure and Indifferent place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much hee esteem'd them, hee said they might gather by this, that during his war with the Emperour, all free accesse, and intercourse was permitted them. Our *May 3.* King also by his Letters, of *May* the third, writ, that hee was glad to understand their Designe was to conserve the Antient Religion, and to cure only the diseases crept into it. Therefore, that they should especially take heed of those who desir'd to Innovate, bringing in parity of degrees and persons, and making the Magistrate contemptible. Of whom hee could not but take notice, some of them having come out of *Germany* to his Realme; Concluding, that he desir'd a Councill, and that hee would mediate with the Emperour for them. The Princes thus animated, protest against the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withall to defend themselves. Which being related to the *Suisse*, made them desire to enter *June.* into the Confederacie. But the Duke of *Saxony* refused; alleging, that since they differ'd about the Lords Supper, they could not safely accept their help and Friendship, lest ill should happen to them, as to those (*ut scriptura testatur*) *qui muniendi sui causa cujusq; modi præsidiis usi sunt.* For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to bee read, so out of the literall sence thereof, the manner of those times

was

was, Promiſcuouſly to draw arguments, for whatſoever in matter of State or otherwiſe was to be done. Inſomuch, that the text which came neereſt the point in queſtion, was taken as a deciſion of the buſineſſe; to the no little detriment of their affaires: the Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular inſtructions in thoſe points. But this is ſo much leſſe ſtrange, that the yeare preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the People) were now tranſlated in divers Languages, and into Engliſh by *Tindall*, *Joye*, and others, though, as not being warranted by the Kings Authority they were publiquely burnt, and a new and better tranſlation promiſed to be ſet forth, and allowed to the People. It being not thought fit by our King that, under what pretence or difficulty ſoever, his Subjects ſhould be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniences were obſerv'd to follow. For as the People did not ſufficiently ſeparate the more cleare and neceſſary parts thereof from the obſcure and acceſſory; And as again taking the ſeverall Authors to bee equally inſpir'd, they did equally apply themſelves to all; they fell into many dangerous opinions: little caring how they liv'd, ſo they underſtood well, bringing Religion thus into much irreſolution and Controverſie. While few men agreeing on the ſame Interpretation of the harder places, vexed each others Conſcience, Appropriating to themſelves the gift of the Spirit. Whereof the Roman Church, (much perplext at firſt with theſe defections) did at laſt prevaile it ſelfe; As aſſuming alone the power of deciſion; which yet was uſed more in favour of themſelves, than ſuch an Analogy, as ought to be found in ſo perfect a Book. So that few were ſatisfied therewith, but ſuch as, renouncing their own Judgement, and ſubmitting to theirs, yeelded themſelves wholly to an Implicite Faith; In which, though they found an apparant Eaſe, yet as, for juſtifying of themſelves, the Authority of their beleefe, was deriv'd more immediatly from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few difficulties were introduced, concerning both: while the more ſpeculative ſort could not imagine, how to hold that as an Infallible Rule, which needed human help to vindicate and ſupport it; Nevertheleſſe, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the Roman Church had added or alter'd in Religion, ſo many recover'd a juſt liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergie, which yet, through the obſtinacy of ſome, ſucceeded worſe, than ſo pious Intentions deſerv'd.

1531.

1530.

May 2. 1530.

The former proceedings of King *Henry*, being advertis'd to the Pope made him feare a totall defection in our King, Inſomnch, that at *Rome* they ſtudied nothing more than how to reteine Him in his antient devotion; ſome arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which intention alſo it did not a little conduce, that he had taken ſome diſtaſt againſt the Emperour; who, being deſir'd to appoint certaine Judges to determine all differences betwixt

1531. betwixt him and the Duke of *Ferrara*, concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, chose such as sentenc'd on the Dukes behalfe; which so incens'd the Pope, that hee fell off from the Emperour (as will appeare hereafter.) For which reason also it is probable, that our King might have closed with him, and received some satisfaction in the affaire of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this time, as is above-said, concurr'd to the setting up of the Regall Authority in Ecclesiasticall affaires. To whom therefore hee thought fit to communicate what his Agents in *Italy*, and other places had done, concerning that so much-controverted point of the lawfulnesse of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet sitting, the Lord Chancellour, accompanied with Doctor *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, and divers other Lords Spirituall and Temporall, came into the Lower-House 30th *March* 1531, and told them; That they could not bee Ignorant, how the King, having married his Brothers Wife, was troubled in Conscience, and therefore had sent to the most learned Universities in Christendome, to be resolv'd in that point; and namely had employ'd the Bishop of *London* there present, for this purpose. Not, yet, but that his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* could have sufficiently decided the point, but that hee might the more amply satisfie himselfe and the world. Whereupon Sir *Bryan Tuke* was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Universities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Bourges* in *Berry*, and *Tholouse* in *France*, and of *Bononia*, and *Padoua*, in *Italy*, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawfull. After which, above a Hundred bookes of severall Doctors, (whereof Doctor *Cranmers* was one) confirming the same opinion, were exhibited. The perusing of which yet (the day being far spent) was referr'd to a further time. As also the Resolution of our two Universities (brought after the rest to our King,) which because *Sanders* calls in a sort surreptitious, I shall relate out of some Originall peeces which I have seen. To the University of *Oxford*, the Bishop of *Lincolne* was employ'd, where, neither easily, nor by generall Vote, there past this Decree 4th *April* 1530.

Jan. 6. 15$\frac{31}{32}$.

March 30.

Hall.

April 4. 1530.

NOs Johannes Cotisford hujus almæ Universitatis Oxoniæ Commissarius, authoritate & consensu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & diffinimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum Magistrorum tam Regentium quam non Regentium singularum facultatum hujus almæ Universitatis Oxon. concessisse & consensum pariter & assensum suum præbuisse, quod Determinatio Definitio & Responsio ad Quæstionem nobis ex parte Serenissimi Domini Regis nuper propositam per illos Triginta tres Doctores & Baccalaurios, ad id per facultatem Theologiæ nuper electos, sive per majorem partem eorum faciendo, habeatur, censeatur, & reputetur pro diffinitione Determinatione & Responsione totius hujus Universitatis; Et quod liceat Dominis Commissario & Procuratoribus Sigillum commune Universitatis literis super præfata determinatione per eosdem concipiendis apponere.

Which

Which Copy though blurr'd (upon what occaſion I know not, for it is not probable it ſhould be intended to the King in that manmer) was diſpatcht the day following, as the Act of the Univerſity, by the Biſhop of *Lincolne*. As for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, I find *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox* were employ'd; Where, Notwithſtanding the Kings Letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few difficulties did occur. Inſomuch that it was firſt denyed, then the voyces on both ſides were brought even, and at laſt, (ſome abſenting themſelves) it was agreed, that the Queſtion ſhould be diſputed by twenty eight Delegates, and that two parts of three ſhould determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellour, and the two Proctors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whoſe names are extant in the ſame Record. Which averſneſſe, more than in Forreigne Univerſities, whether it ſhould be attributed to the power of the Pope in *England*, or to their particular ſcrupuloſitie of Conſcience, is more than I will determine; Though, on this occaſion, I can doe no leſſe, than repeat ſome Arguments drawn (in favour of the Divorce) out of our Records. Firſt the place in *Leviticus* xviii Chap. xvi verſe; Thou ſhalt not uncover the nakedneſſe of thy Brothers Wife. Secondly, St. *Baſill*'s opinion, tending this way, Where he ſaith, that he ſhall be Excommunicated that marrieth his wifes Siſter. Thirdly, becauſe two Epiſtles, tranſcrib'd out of the Popes Regiſters, and ſent into *England*, by Doctor *Stokeſley* (whereof one was of *Gregory*, the other of *Innocent* the third) do profeſſe, that the Pope cannot diſpence againſt the Law of God; the particular caſe being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that, granting the Pope can diſpenſe, *ex urgentiſſima cauſa*, with that which is *ex jure divino*, (which yet Divines for the moſt part deny) there was no occaſion here, ſince the Peace betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, (which was taken as the ground of the Breve) ſtood firme and intire. Laſtly, that the Jewes themſelves (for our Agents conſulted with them alſo) did not hold the Law of Marrying the Brothers wife, *Deut.* 25. as neceſſary in this time, but did often *pati diſcalceationem*. All which being maturely conſidered by the Lower Houſe, made them deteſt the Marriage, as our Hiſtorians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit alſo to prorogue the Parliament, to the intent that every man repairing home, might ſatisfie his Neighbour of theſe paſſages; Not omitting, together, to cauſe theſe Forreigne determinations, to be printed and publiſhed this yeare, as the Book yet extant in Print ſhewes. Notwithſtanding which, ſo farre was the King from remitting any thing of his gentle behaviour to the Queen, that, had he not forborne to come to her bed, neither could his outward favour towards her, or her faſhions towards him have argued any diminution of love; all thoſe wonted Ceremonies, by which they ſuſtain'd the dignitie of their place, and civilities which might imply a mutuall reſpect, continuing firmly on either ſide. Which our Hiſtorians amplify ſo farre, that they ſay hee ſore lamented his chance, and made no

1531.

Baſil. Epiſt. 197

Hall.

1531. manner of mirth or paſtime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to ſpeak improbably, when wee conſider both how deere this liberty coſt him, and how much it endanger'd the ſucceſſion. Howſoever, that he might both prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion, and alſo ſatisfie the doubts he had rais'd not in his own alone but ſubjects breaſts; Hee ſent to Queen *Katherine* ſome Lords
May 31. of his Counſell, wiſhing them to acquaint her with theſe Determi-
Hall. nations (which alſo I find had been ſhewed the Pope) and together to demand of her, for quieting the Kings Conſcience, and ending this buſineſſe, whether ſhe would rather referre her ſelfe to the Judgement of foure Spirituall, and foure Temporall Lords in this Kingdome, or ſtand to her Appeale. To which the ſad Queen anſwered, That her Father, before hee conſented to her ſecond Marriage, had taken the adviſe of Doctors, and Clerks, whoſe opinion ſhee beleev'd rather than any others; And that, the Pope having confirmed it, ſhee wondred that any ſhould queſtion it. And, whereas for quieting the Kings Conſcience, you would have me put the buſineſſe to eight Lords; That which I ſay, is, I pray God ſend his Grace a quiet Conſcience. As for Anſwer to your meſſage; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawfull Wife, and ſo will abide, till the Court of *Rome* determine to the Contrary. But our King, who alleg'd his Proceedings were according to the Law of God (which therefore hee ſayd ſhould be more inſiſted on, than any other authority) ſent other Meſſengers, exhorting her ſtill to conforme her ſelfe, among whom one ſpake to this effect. Madam, you cannot bee ignorant how much you have provoked the Kings diſpleaſure againſt you, ſince his Grace having uſed all fit means to cleare his own, and ſubjects inſatisfactions, concerning the lawfulneſſe of his Marriage, you yet continue refractory in that violent manner, as you not only refuſe the generall Determinations of Univerſities, and learned Men; but, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royall dignity have cited his Highneſſe to appeare in the Court of *Rome*; neither have thoſe many Admonitions you have received concerning the danger, and conſequences hereof, been able to divert you from your purpoſes, or reduce you to reaſon and your duty. Of which therefore his Highneſſe is ſo ſenſible, that he hath forborn of late to ſee your Grace, or receive your tokens, giving you liberty further, to repaire either to his Mannor of *Oking*, or *Eſtamſteed*, or the Monaſterie of *Biſham*; for, ſince you were known by his Brother Prince *Arthur*, you cannot be his lawfull Wife. To which the vertuous and ſorrowfull Queen replied little more than this. That to what place ſoever ſhee remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the Kings Wife. And here the King
July 14. bid her a finall farwell: for, from this time, being *July* the fourteenth, I find not the King ever ſaw her more.

Our King being now inform'd that Italian, and other Forreigne Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they ſold well, and then return'd the money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhauſting

exhausting of the wealth of this Realme, and the diminution of his Customes, Caused a Proclamation to be set forth, that according to a branch of a Statute *Ri.*III. no Mony they tooke here for selling their Wares should be exchanged to other Countries, but employed in the Commodities of this Realme, which (our Historians say) as long as it was observed, proved to the great benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Mony for the *Præmunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their ease would have drawn the Priests of *London* to contribution, which they tooke so ill, that, in outragious manner, breaking into the Chapter-house of St. *Pauls*, they did beat his servants; till the Bishop, for avoiding more mischiefe, gave them his blessing, and leave to depart for the present; though shortly after they were punish'd for their misbehaviour. 1531 *Sept.* 1. *Hall.*

This while, the Emperour (intentive wholly to the affairs of *Germany*) did more calmly suffer our Kings intended Divorce; and the rather, that it is probable the Determinations of the Universities above mentioned had given him, if not satisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect awhile the Prosecuting this businesse. Especially, since at this time he might have so much use of our Kings assistance, against the Turke; Of which also hope was given him. On the other side *Francis* did by all means advance, and set it forward; both in regard himselfe (as their Historians have it) was much addicted to love-making at this time; and as that hee doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a variance with the Emperour. Against whom the offences and quarrells hee had taken being not extinguished, hee both fortified himselfe by all means, and labour'd publikely to traduce even his most Impartiall and generous Actions. Therefore hee was so farre from admitting the Restitution of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that hee took it, if not as an affront to him, yet at least as a Politique Introduction of one to that Dignity, who hee knew could not be disposest thereof again, without offending all *Italy*. So likewise the parting with the *Contado* of *Asti* (antiently belonging to the house of *Orleans*) to the Duke of *Savoy*, was thought to be no more than an interessing him in that quarrell. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in *Italy*, at the Cost of the Confederates, (but under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*) was understood, not for conserving the Peace of *Italy*, but defending of *Genoua* against him. All which was so ill taken, that *Francis* did, not only by the entremise of *Guillaume de Bellay*, Treat of entring a private League with the Princes of *Germany*, for defence of the Rights of the Empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*) but prepar'd to send them succours when occasion were. Nor did his rancour against the Emperour stay here; but (if wee may believe some even of his owne Nation) extended it selfe so farre, as secretly, at this time, to incourage the Turke to invade the Patrimony of the House of *Austria*; to the no little scandall, both of his own Honour, and the Christian Religion. The Emperour, not ignorant of all these machi-

1531. machinations, lends *Seigneur de Balançon* to *Francis*, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furnish land, and Sea-forces for a warre against the Turke; alleging Treaties, Promises, and many Arguments to this purpose. To which *Francis* answered. That the Emperour had gotten, lately enough, from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to suffice. For the rest that hee was neither Merchant nor Banquer to furnish money, but a Christian Prince, that would have his part of the Honour and danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that hee would spare no Forces out of his Kingdome, nor permit them goe to any place where himselfe did not lead them. Besides, as this Summer was farre spent, he could not send his Cavallerie to *Austria* without much incommoditie, (the distance between both Countries being so great.) Therefore, that the Emperour should defend *Germany*, while himselfe with an Army of fifty thousand Men, would undertake to defend *Italy*, which the Turke also menac'd. And for the next yeare, hee would be ready, with the help of his good brother, the King of *England*, to goe to any place where it should be needfull. As for his Shipping, hee could least of all spare it; having occasion to defend the Maritime parts of *France* against Pirats. Which being related again to the Emperour (then at *Ratisbone*) hee thought fit to publish it, thereby to make *Francis* more odious, though effectively hee took his offer to defend *Italy*, to be little more than irrision. Businesses standing thus, *Monsieur de Bellay* Ambassadour from the French King to the Princes, (having first conferr'd with *Monsieur de Velly* Ambassadour from *Francis* to the Emperour) absolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Master: giving by this means a perpetuall cause of Jealousie, and Offence to the Emperour. Yet as *Francis* thought himselfe not strong enough alone, so hee implored our Kings assistance; which our King also promised, by *Monsieur Gillex de Pommeraye*, (French Ambassadour in *England*,) sending with him (at his returne) fifty thousand Crowns to be employed for the defence and conservation of the right and privileges of the Empire. An Enterview also was projected betwixt them for the yeare following, wherein both Kings should Treat of the Generall affaires, and particularly what they were to do, in case the Turk should again invade Christendome.

Bellay. l. 4.

July. 1532.

Bellay. 1532.

While affaires abroad passed thus, our Nation enjoyed much security, and quietnesse; so that, if contention about Religion had not hapned, they might have thought themselves happy; which though it had its beginning from the divers explications of the holy Scripture, yet many good men laboured to reconcile them; Affirming, that, whatsoever was necessary to the attaining of everlasting happinesse, was so plainly, and so perspicuously set down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing besides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet unnecessary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers points might be added, for the Ampliation, convenience, and Ornament of Religion when they were deliver'd upon

these

theſe termes, and not under thoſe Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more neceſſary parts were injoyn'd. Whereupon alſo they concluded, that, if divers paſſages in the holy Scriptures might ſeem obſcure, it was Gods will to have it ſo, who thought not fit to reveale them, otherwaies; as reſerving a full knowledge to a ſecond and better life. Yet, becauſe divers, not content with this or any Moderate Reformation, did (through the violence of their ſpirits) runne into thoſe extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the Roman Church into a perverſe ſence; much occaſion of controverſie was given; While they who indeavour'd a Peace ſo little prevail'd, as, (for the moſt part) like thoſe who part Affraies, they bore blowes on either ſide. In which doubtfull times King *Henry* put in execution all former Lawes againſt Hereticall Perſons, and Books; whereby one *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelaur of both Lawes, declaring himſelfe with great vehemency in divers Articles againſt the Roman Church, was (*a*) condemn'd to be Burnt, and ſhortly after, for the ſame cauſe, (*b*) *Bayfield* a Prieſt, and (*c*) *Baynham* a Lawyer. The whole narration whereof being extant in Maſter *Fox*, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe. 15$\frac{31}{32}$. *Fox.* (*a*) *Aug.* 19. (*b*) *Nov.* 27. (*c*) *April* 30. 1532.

The next Yeare *January* 15th, the Parliament ſate againe till *May* 14th. Where the Commons perſiſting in their Grievances againſt the Clergy, which they comprized in a Booke, and delivered by their Speaker; The King anſwer'd, Hee would take advice, and heare the parties accuſed ſpeake, and then proceed to a Reformation; which followed in part, as appears in ſome Statutes of this Parliament. For, Whereas it was uſuall in former times that Clerks who committed petty Treaſon, Murder, or Felony, were (through a certaine Privilege of the Church) Deliver'd to their Ordinaries, Who alſo thereupon, for Lucre or other undue motives, did ſuffer them to make their Purgation by ſuch as nothing knew of their miſdeeds, to the great ſcandall of Juſtice; It was now enacted, that none ſhould have the benefit of this recourſe to the Ordinarie, but thoſe who were within holy Orders, and yet to find ſufficient Sureties for their good abearing. This Act yet not to extend to thoſe, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and ſo deliver'd to the Ordinary. It was provided alſo that Ordinaries, having ſuch perſons in their Cuſtody, might degrade them, and ſend them to the Kings Bench to be detain'd. 1532. *Jan.* 15. *Reg.* 23. *Hall. March.* 18.

It was enacted alſo, how perjuries, and untrue Verdicts ſhould be puniſhed. And this was to the ſingular benefit of the Subject; there being no miſchiefe ſo eaſie to be done, ſo irreparable in their conſequence, or unlimited in their extent, as thoſe of this kinde.

And, whereas the Commiſſion of Sewers being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, *&c.* and Damms, Weres, *&c.* in freſh Rivers, was not particularly enough ſet downe heretofore; It was now declared and interpreted. And this was much for the benefit of the Sea-Coaſts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

1531. Whereas alſo Statutes of the Staple were heretofore uſed only betwixt Merchant, and Merchant, for ſuch Merchandize of the Staple, as paſſed betwixt them; the uſe thereof was now permitted to others of the Kings ſubjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarged Contracts, but ſtrengthned much the ſinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the Kings Subjects were ordinarily called by Citations to appeare, in the Arches, Audience, and other high Courts of the Arch-Biſhops of this Realme, to anſwer to many ſurmiſed cauſes; and that they who refuſed, were Excommunicated or ſuſpended from divine Service; It was now enacted, that none ſhould be ſo Cited but in certain caſes declared in the ſaid Statute.

Feofments of Lands alſo to the uſe of a Church (as being little different from Mort-main) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the benefit of their Clergie, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break Priſon, it was now Declared Felony.

Divers other good Statutes paſſed alſo this Seſſion; which yet, for being meerly Legall, or limited to certaine places, are not here recited.

This Yeare alſo an Act paſſed, concerning *Annates* or the firſt fruits of Biſhopricks, paid uſually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, *&c.* The Preamble and conſideration whereof was (as I find in the Records.) 1. The great ſums of money already paſſed out of the Kingdome that way, (being no leſſe than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds Sterling, ſince the ſecond year of *Henry* the Seventh.) Secondly, that more was like to be ſhortly tranſported, by reaſon many of the Biſhops are Aged. Thirdly, That the firſt uſe and grant of them was for maintaining Armes againſt Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no more money to be paid to *Rome* to that intent, except as is hereafter ſpecified, (*viz.*) Leſt the Court of *Rome* ſhould thinke themſelves irremunerated for their pain, in making and ſealing Bulls in Lead, *&c.* it was ordein'd, that there may be allow'd for the ſaid Bulls five pounds in the hundred, according to the rate of the Biſhopricks cleere value above all charges. And if any man, being choſen to a Biſhopricke, and preſented by the King to the Pope, ſhall hereupon find any lett or hindrance, by reſtraint of his Bulls, upon convenient ſuit for the ſame; then hee may be named and preſented by the Kings Highneſſe to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province; who ſhall Conſecrate him; or, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop delaying under pretence of want of Pall, Bull, *&c.* the perſon, ſo named, ſhall be Conſecrate, and inveſted by any two Biſhops of the Land, whom the King ſhall appoint thereto; and ſhall be held and reputed thereafter as a Compleat Biſhop. But of this Act wee ſhall ſpeake again when wee come to the 25th yeare of the King. For though it paſt the Parliament now, and the King gave his Aſſent thereto; Yet power was reſerv'd for him to annull or confirme the ſame any time within two years next following.

Records.

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Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament Declare, that they doe not intend to uſe any extremity or violence, before gentle and courteous wayes have been attempted. But if it ſhall pleaſe the King to propoſe an amicable Compoſition to the Pope, and his Holineſſe ſhall be content either to aboliſh or moderate thoſe *Annates*; then the Compoſition, ſo made, to ſtand firme. But if, upon the ſaid amicable Propoſitions, the Realme cannot be disburdned, and that, for the continuance of the ſame, the Pope ſhall unjuſtly vex, and diſquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, *&c.* Bee it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Kings Highneſſe his heires and Succeſſours Kings of *England*, and all his Spirituall and Lay ſubjects of the ſame, without any ſcruple of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increaſe and and continuance of vertue, and good example within this Realme, (the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of them notwithſtanding) miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſtred throughout this ſaid Realme, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentalls, Ceremonies, or other Divine Service of holy Church, or any other thing or things, neceſſary for the health of the Soule of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuouſly uſed or accuſtomed to doe within the ſame. And that no manner of ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſſe or Compulſories ſhall by any of the Prelats, or other ſpirituall Fathers of this Region, ne by any of their Miniſters or Subſtitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publiſhed, executed, or divulged in any manner of wayes. 1532.

This Act being paſs'd, our King made uſe thereof, to terrifie the Pope, which alſo tooke effect; as I find by our Ambaſſadours Letters Dated from *Rome*, *April* 29th 1532. though together (as they were inſtructed from hence,) his Holineſſe was told by them, that our King had reſerved the whole buſineſſe to his own power and Diſcretion; which however it appeas'd the Pope awhile, yet as matters paſt afterwards, the Statute had his finall confirmation. *Anno* 25. *Henry* VIII. *April* 29.

I Shall begin this year's Hiſtory with the affairs of Queen *Katherine*; who, by her Proctor at *Rome*, aſſiſted with the adviſe and power of the Imperialiſts, Negotiated puiſſantly with the Pope; So that, notwithſtanding our Kings Indignation for her proſecuting him in this manner, Shee urged ſtill her Appeale, beſeeching the Pope to Cite the King, by himſelfe or Proctor to appeare. But the Pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our King to take againe his Wife *Katherine*.

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1532.

CLEMENS PAP. VII.

CHariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Quod pro noſtra in te benevolentia, tuoq; honore & ſalute falſum eſſe cupimus, Relatum nobis eſt, & a multis confirmatum, Serenitatem tuam, quæ non ſolum antea, verum-etiam poſt motam litem inter te & chariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrem, ſuper validitate matrimonii inter vos Contracti, eam apud ſe, ut decebat, in ſua Regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam & uxorem habuerat, & tractaverat, a certo citra tempore eam non ſolum a ſe & ſua Curia, ſed etiam a Civitate ſeu loco ſuæ reſidentiæ ſeparaſſe, alioq; miſiſſe, loco autem ejus quandam Annam in ſuum contubernium, & Cohabitationem publice recepiſſe, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere; Quæ res, fili Chariſſime, ſi modo vera eſt, tuq; parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perſpecturus ſis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentiæ & Judicii noſtri, vel ob ſcandalum Eccleſiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem; Quæ omnia ita a recto & religioſo Principe, qualem te ſemper habuimus, aliena ſunt, ut, tanquam tuæ naturæ & Conſuetudini repugnantia, & ſi nobis in dies magis confirmantur, difficilius tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, & tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per Oratores & literas, ſuper cauſa iſtuc remittenda, inſtare, inde te ipſum Tuo facto cauſa decidere? Quid ſimile tui, armis & ſcriptis olim Eccleſiam & ſanctam fidem defendiſſe, Nunc tali facto Eccleſiam videri Contemnere? Jam vero communis ſalus & tranquillitas a nullo unquam noſtri temporis Rege acrius quam a te cuſtodita eſt, qui bellum pro Eccleſia olim ſuſceptum, & glorioſe confectum, pro communi quiete depoſueris; ſemperque Arbiter quidam pacis & communis concordiæ inter Chriſtianos Principes

Principes Conciliandæ fueris existimatus; Quo magis hæc nova de te audientes, admiramus simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modo verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria & consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, Hanc ad te, quasi amantis & solliciti Patris vocem procurrere voluimus, antequam Judicis ullas partes tecum sumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ Celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraq; ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu & lenitate agere velimus, sumpta parentis persona, & Judicis tantisper deposita, donec ex tuis literis consilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falsa esse, aut non tam aspera quam nobis referuntur, Teq; ipsum deinceps, pro tua singulari sapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de Serenitate tua omni virtute conspicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex hæreticis gaudens audiat, te Reginam, quam in uxorem accepisti, Regumq; filiam, Cæsarisq; & Regis Romanorum materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commoratam, prolemq; ex te susceptam habentem, nunc a tuo thoro & contubernio procul amovisse, Aliam quoq; publice apud te habere, non modo sine ulla licentia nostra verum etiam contra nostram prohibitionem; Is profecto necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodo de optimo Principe ferat, tanquam Ecclesiam & publicam tranquilitatem parvi faciente, quod nos scimus ab intentione & voluntate tua longissime abesse; in tantum, ut si quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat, quod a tua Serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed etiam severe vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem fili, etiam si tu rectissime sentias, ut nos quidem constanter credimus, tamen causam præbere rumoribus & scandalis non debes; hoc præsertim tempore tam calamitoso, plenoq; Hæresum, & aliarum perturbationum; ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præsertim illustrium, sicut tua Serenitas est, pro- 1532

posita

1532. posita quasi in specula, hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est communis salus, & totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper fuit optimorum Regum. Nec, fili, debes Sereniſſimos Cæsarem & Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ Reginæ nepotes, nulla te prosecutos contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indecisa lite, afficere, & exinde pacem perturbare universalem, qua sola adversus imminentem nobis Turcam tuti sumus; ne scandali in Ecclesia, periculi in tota Christiana republica causam præbeas, propteraq; Rex cœlestis a te irritatus, tantam suam erga Te benignitatem aliqua severitatis amaritudine permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua semper te sumus prosecuti benevolentiam, semperque, si per te liceat, prosequemur, omni studio & amore hortamur, & paterna charitate monemus, ut, si hæc vera sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem & gloriam denigrant, tute ea corrigere velis, ipsam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atq; in eo Reginæ honore, & uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te habendo: Ipsam vero Annam a publico tuo convictu & cohabitatione, propter scandalum, removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos subsequatur. Quod nos quidem, etsi est a te debitum, tibiq; est maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse a tua Serenitate videbimur. Nam quod te in pristina tua voluntate erga nos, Observantiaq; erga hanc sanctam sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis & beneficiis semper certasti, conservare maxime cupimus; Summo sane cum dolore, ad ea descenderemus Juris remedia, quorum necessitatem non nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, sed Dei omnipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis, & tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quanquam invitis, imponeret, Sicut Etiam Nuntius apud te noster hæc Tuæ Serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud *Jan. 25.* Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv^to^. Januarii 1532. Pont' nostri Anno Nono.

Blosius.

But

But the Pope had no good Anſwer thereunto; For as the People for the moſt part exclam'd againſt the Match (as our Hiſtorians relate,) ſo the King would have found perchance ſome difficulty to appeaſe their ſcruples, when otherwiſe he could have ſatisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet thoſe who Defended her cauſe publiquely both in books and Sermons (of whom the chiefe were *Thomas Abel* her Chaplaine, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) and privatly in diſcourſe, (eſpecially women) though not ſufficiently either to clear all objections, or to remove the King from his affection to Miſtreſſe *Anne Bolen*. Among which I muſt not forget one *Temſe*, of the Lower Houſe of Parliament; who motion'd that they all ſhould petition the King, to take his Queen againe; which being advertis'd to our King, He ſent for *Thomas Audley*, the Speaker of the Houſe, and told him to this effect. That he marvail'd any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which could not properly be Determined there. As for this particular that it concern'd his Soule ſo much, that hee many times wiſh'd the Marriage had been good, But ſince the Doctors of the Vniverſities had generally Declar'd it unlawfull, hee could Doe no leſſe, than abſtaine from her Company. Which therefore he wiſh'd them to take as the true reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetite: ſince, being in the 41th. yeare of his age, it might be juſtly preſum'd ſuch motions were not ſo quick in him. All which, that they might the better underſtand, he had inform'd himſelfe in all parts of Chriſtendome, concerning ſtrange marriages; and that, ſaving in *Spaine*, and *Portugall*, he could never find that any man had ſo much as married two Siſters, if the firſt were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brothers wife was ſo abhorr'd among all Nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelfe; and therefore wiſhed them to beleeve that his Conſcience was troubled. Shortly after which, the King ſent for the Speaker againe, and told him that he had found that the Clergy of his Realme, were but his half Subjects, or ſcarce ſo much. Every Biſhop or Abbot, at the entring of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope Derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which Contradiction He deſired his Parliament to take away: Whereupon theſe two Oaths by the Kings command being read and conſidered, the Parliament ſo handled the Buſineſſe, as it occaſion'd the finall Renouncing of the Pope's authority about two years after.

1532.

April 30. *Hall. Fox.*

May 11. *Hall.*

While theſe things thus paſs'd, King *Henry* commands his Agents at *Rome*, (the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Sir *Gregory Caſalis*,) to preſent unto the Pope the opinion of Divers famous Lawyers, in favour of his cauſe; procuring alſo learned men from all parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, to offer diſputation, for the ſame. To ſecond this againe King *Henry* in *January* 1532. ſends *William Benet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, with inſtructions to this purpoſe. But becauſe it was found, that, by the continuall interceſſion of the Queen and Emperour, the Pope intended ſhortly to Cite the King to appeare at *Rome*, either in

Jan.

1532. in perſon or by Proxy; He Diſpatches thither about *February*, *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, to be his Excuſator, and to remonſtrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law ſo to appeare. But the Pope making difficulty to admit this Excuſator, It was Diſputed in the Conſiſtory, whether he ought to be heard or no? but much time being ſpent herein, the Queen's Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principall cauſe. In the meane while our King, by Sir *Francis Bryan*, importunes *Francis* to intercede for him with the Pope; who, thereupon, by Letter Dated *March* 16th. informs his Holineſſe, that the requeſt of the King of *England* is juſt, and he ought to relieve him. Or elſe they two, (being *une meſme choſe*, and who have ſo well Deſerv'd of him) ſhall be forc'd to ſeeke ſuch other Remedies, as ſhall not pleaſe him, *&c.* To enforce this moſt earneſt Letter, *Francis* ſends *Gabriel de Grammont*, Biſhop of *Tarbe* (lately made Cardinall) to the Pope, who yet, being continually urged by the Impetialiſts to proceed againſt the King, and hearing (beſides) firſt the prohibition of *Annates* above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certaine Prieſt was committed for maintaining the Papall Authority, and that another Prieſt (being put in Priſon by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for favouring *Luther*) after hee had appeal'd to the King *tanquam Dominum Supremum*, was ſet at liberty, proceeds to Ciration; And, calling a Conſiſtory *July* 8th. committs the hearing of the cauſe to *Paulus de Capiſucci* Deane of the *Ruota*, and appoints the Month of *October* 1532. for the Kings Apparence, proteſting *alioqui procedetur &c.* In the meane time, he writes to our King, certyfying him, what was done, (yet omitting the Clauſe of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to ſend a Proctor; making, alſo, this overture to our Agents, That hee will be content that all the Proceſſe ſhall be in *England*, except only the finall Deciſion, which (becauſe there is queſtion of the Papall Authority and the Law Divine) he will reſerve to himſelf. The terme prefixed for our Kings apparence being expir'd; *Capiſucci* Cites our King againe, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which *Edward Karne* anſwered publiquely the 14th. of *November* 1532. That the proceeding was undue, both as the queſtion concerning his Excuſation was not yet Decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the Breve ſent to the King concerning this buſineſſe. Beſides, that the Emperour was ſo powerfull in *Rome*, that he could not expect Juſtice. Wherefore, unleſſe they Deſiſted, he Declared, that, he muſt Appeale from thence to the able men in ſome indifferent Univerſities. And that, if this were refuſed, he proteſted then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope as little regarding this, goes to *Bononia*, ſhortly after, to meet the Emperour, according to an agreement made a good while ſince betwixt them; promiſing our Agents yet, that notwithſtanding the Queen's Proctors ſollicitation, nothing of moment ſhould be Done in this cauſe, till the Emperour were departed.

Feb. *March.* *April.* — *March* 16. — *April.* *June.* — *July* 8. — *July.* — *Novem.* 4. — *Novem.* 14.

The

The Turke now threatning *Germany*, the Elector of *Ments*, and *Lodovicus* Prince *Palatine* interposed Offices for Reconciling the Emperour and the Protestants: The Treaty whereof began in *Aprill*, and so continued untill *July*. When Newes of the comming of the Turk being brought, both parties condescended to this Capitulation concluded at *Noremberg*. 1532. *April.* *July* 23.

That no man should be troubled for cause of Religion, till the Councill be held, (which the Emperour will labour to procure to be summon'd within six Moneths, and held within a year following) or some other way of determination of controverted-points be found. *Sleid.*

Whereupon also the Protestants (being seven Princes, and twenty three Cities) offer'd him ayd against the Turke, Who, this Yeare 1532. upon Colour of putting *Johannes Sepusius* in possession of that Crown, invaded *Hungary*, which also hee prosecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any reasons from the Emperour, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of *Spaine*, (for hee said there was no Emperour but himselfe) hee brought in an Army of three hundred thousand men into *Hungary*. And because his equipage was singular, I presume the Reader will take well the Description of it. For his own Person he was cloath'd only in a rich Robe of Crimson brodered with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as also the Saddle and Bitt of the Horse, on which hee rid, was set with Stones of inestimable value. Then followed his Visir-Bassaes, and *Abraym* his Favorite and houshold Retinue; being about twelve thousand men. Before him went foure thousand Horse with the Standard Imperiall, and foure thousand Janisaries of his Guard, foure hundred slaves on horseback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his most pretious Treasure, and some of the Choycest beauties of the Serraglio, and especially the admired *Espanziel* a Macedonian, and foure thousand Horse to Guard them, besides two hundred brave Horse richly furnished, which were led by the hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horseback, whereof twelve more gorgeous than the rest, and his Lacquies one thousand, Richly apparelled likewise in a Livery, all of these (last mentioned) wearing great Plumes. After which followed his Doggs and Hawkes in no small proportion.

With this Trayne *Solyman* marches to *Belgrade*, then turning to the left hand of the *Danubius* he besieges *Giuntz*: whence being Repulsed, hee sends out his Captaines to forrage the Country; Who after committing all sort of cruelty, were at the last defeated and slaine: And now *Solyman* finding great Forces raised against him, and prepared to give him Battell, retir'd, with as little successe as hee had, three years since, at *Vienna*; This Army of the Christians consisting, as I find, of ninety thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse was rais'd by the Emperour, who yet did not thinke fit to conduct them in person, as comming from *Lintz* in *Austria* to *Vienna*, No sooner than that *Solyman* was departed from *Hungary*; Whence he sent to *Rome* *Octob.* 16. 1529.

1532. a Dispatch of 4th of *October*, desiring the Pope to meet him at *Genoua*. About which time hee received newes from *Andrea Doria*,
Octob.4. whom the last Summer hee had commanded to scoure the Mediterrane Sea, and to land where hee thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with
a great Fleet, and ten thousand Souldiers, setting forth from *Messina*
Aug.18. in *Sicily Auguſt* 18 passing by *Cephalonie* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*,
Libro.xx.p.178 and landed at *Coron*, (antiently called *Corone*, not *Charonea*, in *Bœotia*, *Plutarch*'s Country, (as *Sandoval* mistakes it.) and battering it
Sept.21. both by Sea and Land, took it by Composition, *Sept.*21. where leaving fifteen hundred Spaniards, Hee return'd with great Spoyles and honour to *Genoua*.

This while our King finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the Pope, hastens the League with *Francis*, formerly projected, to a conclusion; and the rather, that hee heard this meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperour would shortly follow. In emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and *Francis* was concluded, in
Bellay. that forme which Cardinall *Woolsey* heretofore had set down upon the
1527. like meeting projected *Anno* 1527.

Tillet. The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and *Ormond* Lord Privy Seale, together with *Edward Fox*, the Kings Almoner, on the one part, and *Gilles de la Pommeraye* on the other part, were these.

June 23. I. That all former Treaties shall remain in force, so that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not performed, the former Treaties yet, especially that of perpetuall Peace, shall stand firme.

II. That if the Emperour *Charles* any way shall Invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they shall be bound to send mutuall Ayd, (*viz.*) The King of *France* to the King of *England* (within three moneths warning) to the place appointed five hundred men at Armes, (armed *a la Françoise*,) or any other lesse number, which the King of *England* shall pay according to the rate they use to have of the French King. The King of *England* to the King of *France* such a number of Archers on foot as hee shall require, so it exceed not five Thousand; to receive pay of the French King according to the rate of *England*. And if either the Horsmen or Archers passe the Sea, these into *France*, or those into *England*, then, besides this pay, there is such provision to be made for victuall, by the Prince under whom they serve, that the Souldiers may well live and maintain themselves by their Pay. And if the said Emperour shall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Moneths notice to the other, shall receive for Ayd a Navy, (in which shall be fifteen thousand Souldiers,) well armed and equipped, which Navy both Kings shall be bound to maintain for six Moneths together, or longer if need be, at their own costs, to defend and secure against the said Emperour the Sea and shores on both sides, from the Isle of *Ushant* to the place call'd the *Downes* between *Sandwich* and *Dover*.

III. If

III. If the Emperour or his Governours ſhall detaine the goods, or ſhips, or perſons of the Engliſh Merchants in his Dominions, the King of *France* ſhall ſummon him to make reſtitution, which if hee denies, hee ſhall lay hold on and arreſt the Emperour's Subjects, and goods in his Kingdome, *&c.* nor ſhall releaſe them till ſatisfaction be given. And in like manner is the King of *England* bound to the King of *France.* 1532.

(But, if for any probable cauſe, and particularly for any contained in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of *England* and *France*, or for Juſtice denied, after hee hath requir'd it, the Emperour ſhall arreſt any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their goods, then the other is not bound to ſee him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, Firſt, that the Emperour make it appeare, that it is for a juſt cauſe. Secondly, That hee arreſt no more than may countervaile his pretended loſſe. Thirdly, Provided alſo that the Number of Ships arreſted by the Emperour, bee not above five or ſix, and that for ſome particular intereſt or deed betwixt them and him.) This third Article ſhall not be extended to the Merchants of Higher *Germany*, and the Subjects of *Charles Jure Imperii.*

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendſhip, or affinity with any Prince or Eſtate, to the prejudice of the other. If hee doe, it ſhall be counted voyd, and of no effect: This Treaty, being Minuted 23 *June.* 1532, was to be ſigned five Moneths after.

And now the time of the Interview approaching, our King paſs'd the Seas to *Calais*, xi. of *October* 1532, with a Royall traine, and Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, (lately * Created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke.*) And going thence to *Bologne*, the young Princes, the Children of *Francis*, meeting him, were recommended to Him by the King their Father. Who, after many complements, conducted him to the Abbey, where they both lodg'd in the ſame houſe. Many curteſies were exchang'd, and many deſignes projected betwixt thoſe Princes concerning Religion, and other affaires of Chriſtendome, for the ſpace of foure daies that they ſtay'd together; Which being paſt, *Francis* return'd with our King to *Calais*, in this order, that, while *Francis* was on French ground hee gave place, but when hee came to the Engliſh pale, hee receiv'd it. Being now come neer *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmont*, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended met them. All the Souldiers of the Town alſo, and ſervants to the Nobility, richly apparel'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the ſtreets. The lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was moſt richly furniſh'd with Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, Imbroidered in ſome places with Pearle and Pretious Stone. And their ſeveral ſervices brought in a hundred and ſeventy Diſhes all of Maſſive Gold. The Marchioneſſe alſo made them a curious and rich Maſque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which, *Anne de Montmorencie*, a Noble man of moſt Antient and generous Family, Grand-Maiſtre, and Mareſchall of *France*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, and Admirall of *France*, were accepted into the Order

Octob. 11.
**Septemb.* 1.
Octob. 20.
Octob. 25.
Hall.
Octob. 27.
Octob. 28.

1532. Order of the Garter. *Francis* himſelfe (who was alſo of this Order) ſitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* into the Order of St. *Michael* by *Francis* at *Boulogne*. And, here, the two Kings adviſed what in their particular ſhould be done againſt the Turke; For, though Newes was already brought of his Retrait, yet becauſe that hee had left behind him a great part of his Forces, and that it was thought hee intended to returne, It was agreed betwixt theſe Princes, the next year to bring an Army into the Field of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, and not to part without mutuall conſent. That they ſhould ſend to the Princes in *Italy* or *Germany* to require paſſage and victuall at a reaſonable price, *&c.* This being ſettled, our King complained of the ill uſage the Pope gave him in the affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was Cited to appeare at the Court of *Rome* by himſelfe or Proctor; Whereas it was uſuall in theſe caſes to ſend Judges to the place; It being not reaſonable that either a Proctor ſhould be truſted with the ſecrets of his Conſcience, or that himſelfe ſhould abandon his Realm to go in Perſon to ſo remote a place. Whereupon they began mutuall complaints againſt the Pope for the *Annats* and exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promis'd to remedy, by ſummoning him to a Councill, and in the mean while to ſend their Ambaſſadours to require reparation, proteſting, that otherwiſe (by calling Provinciall Councills in their ſeverall Kingdomes) they would give that order which was fitting: And, for this purpoſe that the Cardinalls of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, ſhould be employed; who alſo were Authoris'd to tell the Pope, that, whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the French King at *Avignon* or *Nizza*, that it might be, that the King of *England* his good Brother, could be perſwaded eaſily to go along with him, for ending all controverſies, if his Holineſſe were diſpos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Biſhop of *Auxerre* the French Ambaſſadour at *Rome* ſhould cetifie the Pope, that the ſaid Cardinalls would be preſent at the Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperour, to the end they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King *Henry* Judges in his own Kingdome, to decide the point of the Divorce. After which, comming to ſpeak, (as I find by our Records) concerning his intended Match with the new Marchioneſſe, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed; promiſing, if the Cauſe were queſtiond, to aſſiſt him to the uttermoſt, whatſoever ſhould come of it. In which Diſcourſes purpoſing *fier la Partie* for the chiefe affaires of *Europe*, they paſſed four daies at *Calais*. After which time the King conducting him to the French ground bid him farewell 30 *October* 1532, and ſo return'd to *Calais*. Yet as the weather was then tempeſtuous, hee paſſed not the Seas before the 14th of *November*; on which day ſome write, He privately marryed the Marchioneſſe, though others place it on the 25 of *Jan.* following, *Rowland Lee* afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and Preſident of *Wales*, (under whom it began firſt to bee govern'd

Octob. 25.

Bell.

Octob. 30.

Novemb. 14. *Holinſh. Stow. April.* 94. 1534.

govern'd by the Lawes of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the presence of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, *&c.* which yet was not published till the Easter following. Not long after which (or as some have it in the beginning of the next Spring) the King sent *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to desire him (if occasion were) not to faile his promise. Furthermore he requir'd his advice, how it were best to publish it, since it could not be long Conceal'd. He also acquainted him how the Earle of *Murray* had done some hostile Acts in his Kingdome; wishing him therefore not to take it ill if he Reveng'd himselfe on the Scots; Intreating him further that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then secretly projected) must needs follow (which yet he wished were protracted) that he would remember his Cause, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often desir'd. 1532. *Bellay.*

The Emperour who was well inform'd of this Interview, hastened his with the Pope. And because the Pope could not be perswaded to come to *Genoua* by Sea, the meeting was agreed at *Bononia* 20th. *December* 1532. where also the two Cardinalls above mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the generall affairs, but not with that intireness and satisfaction which formerly past; for the Pope retained still some grudge Concerning the businesse of *Ferrara* above-mentioned. Therefore, when the Emperour (according to his promise given to the German Princes) prest him to call a Councill, he deferr'd it; and, when he wish'd him to renounce all Friendship with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himselfe, saying, they were Christian Princes. Again, when he required that *Catharina de Medicis* the Popes Neece (between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Sonne to *Francis*, a Treaty past) should be disposed of to *Francesco Sforza*, he replyed she was already promised. Only, it seems, he accorded all that could be requir'd Concerning our King. Insomuch, that unlesse he would Contribute puissantly for and against the Turke (for which purpose the Pope promis'd his Letters) the Emperour was then assur'd that all that could bee done in favour of Queene *Katherine* should bee immediatly dispatched. Which also the Emperour (now more than ever offended at our Kings League with *Francis*) tooke so well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then Concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinalls being made at this Interview, the Ambassadours of *France* demanded a Cardinalls Hat for *Hierome*, Bishop of *Worcester*; which the Emperour oppos'd, saying he would have taken it lesse ill, that the French King should have sued for four Hats for his owne Subjects, than one for any appertaining to our King, especially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce. Many designes here likewise were projected, and among them one by the Bishop of *Como*, who for deciding all controversies, Decem. 20.

1532. *Bellay.* said it was neceſſary that the Pope, the Emperour and French King ſhould meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unleſſe our King made the fourth. But this alſo in reguard of the little ſecurity thoſe Princes Could mutually give or receive, being Judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which the Pope and Emperour took leave of each other. During this Interview I find in our Records a *Portugues* in the name of *David* King of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly Called *Prete Jan*) preſented himſelfe Ambaſſadour to his Holineſſe; for authoriſing of which Charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (tranſlated out of the Chaldee to the Italian and Portugall Tongues) wherein the ſaid King declared himſelfe to be deſcended from Queen *Candace* mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further effect of his Employment being to require ſome excellent Artificers, and 2000. Arquebuſiers, whom he would uſe in a Warre againſt the Turke in *Egypt*, when his Holineſſe would Compoſe the differences in the Weſterne parts, and joyne all Chriſtian Princes for recovery of the Holy-Land; pretending thereupon in the name of that King to render Obedience to his Holineſſe as the true Succeſſour of St. *Peter*. But this (as *Auguſtino de Auguſtini* an Italian there preſent, and ſometimes ſervant to Cardinall *Woolſey* hath it in his Letter to *Cromwell*) made the reſt ſuſpected; And the rather, that other Circumſtances made it probable, that this Ambaſſadour was ſuborn'd partly by the *Portugall* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards thoſe parts (much grudg'd at by his neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to returne to our Hiſtory.

Feb. 28. 1533. *Jan.* 31. 1533. *Febru.* 2. 1533.

Our King having notice of the foreſaid Interview, and finding that the Emperour who ſeem'd a while to deſiſt from the eager proſecution of his Aunts Cauſe, was now more vehement than ever; ſends Inſtructions to his Agents at *Rome* to proteſt in his name that he was not bound either in his owne Perſon, or by his Proctor to appeare there, urging, for this purpoſe, the Determination of ſome Univerſities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithſtanding which he permitted Doctor *Bennet* to make (as of himſelfe) divers motions to the Pope, the principall whereof in our Records I find theſe. Firſt, That ſeeing by the opinions of Lawyers, and the Councill of *Nice*, the matter ought to be decided *in partibus*; and that by the Lawes of *England* the Determination (it Concerning the Succeſſion) Cannot elſewhere be made; it would pleaſe his Holineſſe that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Biſhops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, ſhould decide the ſame. But this being diſlik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* ſecondly propos'd, Whether he would referre the Determination to Sir *Thomas More* or the Biſhop of *London* to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperour name another, and the French King the third, and let the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* be the fourth. But this alſo

also being rejected, *Bennet* Came, it seems, to the last degree of the Instructions, which was, That if the Cause might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refused the sentence, she should have the benefit of her appeale before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the third from the Pope, who also should discusse the matter in some indifferent place. But the Pope allowed not this, saying, since he saw the King would needs Conserve his Authority, he would likewise Conserve his, and proceed *via ordinaria*. Before yet, I conclude this yeare, I shall relate some particular home-businesses, Among which I find that our King having gotten *Yorke*-house (now *white-Hall*) upon the Cardinalls Conviction in a *Præmunire*, did newly enlarge and beautify it, buying also the hospitall and Fields of St. *James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpose he Compounded with the Sisters of the house for a Pension during their lives. Not long after which hee suppress'd the Priory called Christ-Church in *London*, distributing the Canons being Franciscans into other houses of that kind, and bestowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on Sir *Thomas Audeley*, newly made Lord Chancellour, Keeper of the Great Seale. For Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour of *England*, after divers sutes to be discharg'd of his place, (which he had held two years and a halfe) did at length by the Kings good leave resigne it. The example whereof being rare will give me occasion to speake more particularly of him. Sir *Thomas More*, a Person of sharp wit, and endewed besides with excellent parts of learning (as his works may testify) was yet (out of I know not what naturall facetiousnesse) given so much to Jesting that it detracted no little from the gravity and importance of his place, which though generally noted and disliked, I doe not thinke was enough to make him give it over in that Merryment we shall find anone, or retire to a private life. Neither can I beleeve him so much addicted to his private opinions, as to detest all other governments but his own *Utopia*, so that it is probable some vehement desire to follow his booke, or secret offence taken against some Person, or matter (among which perchance the Kings new intended Marriage, or the like might be accounted) occasion'd this strange Counsell, Though, yet, I find no reason pretended for it, but infirmity and want of health. Our King hereupon taking the Seale, and giving it, together with the Order of Knight-hood, to *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Lower-House, Sir *Thomas Moore* without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his family at *Chelsey*, where after a Masse Celebrated, the next day, in the Church, he comes to his Ladies Pew, with his hat in his hand (an office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and says, Madam, my Lord is gone. But she thinking this at first to be but one of his Jests was little mov'd, till he told her sadly, he had given up the Great Seale; whereupon she speaking some passionate words, he Call'd his Daughters then present to see if they Could not spye some fault about their Mothers dressing, but they after

1532

June 4.

May 16.

June 4.

Life of Sir *Tho: More* by *T. M.*

1532. after search saying they could find none, hee replied, doe you not perceive that your Mothers Nose standeth somewhat awry, of which Jeere the provoked Lady was so sensible, that she went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, hee acquainted his servants with what hee had done, dismissing them also to the attendance of some other great Personages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Foole hee bestowed him on the Lord Major during his office, and afterwards on his Successors in that Charge. And now comming to himselfe, hee began to consider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred pounds yearly in Lands, besides some money, hee advised with his Daughters how to live together. But the grieved Gentlewomen (who knew not what to Reply, or indeed how to take these Jests) remaining astonish'd, hee sayes, Wee will begin with the slender dyet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, wee will take such Commons as they have at *Oxford*; Which, yet, if our purse will not stretch to maintain, for our last refuge wee will goe a begging, and at every mans dore, sing together a *Salve Regina* to get Almes. But these Jests were thought to have in them more levity, than to be taken every where for currant; hee might have quitted his dignity, without using such Sarcasmes, and betaken himselfe to a more retired and quiet life, without making them or himselfe contemptible. And certainly whatsoever hee intended hereby, his Family so little understood his meaning, that they needed some more serious Instructions. So that I cannot perswade my selfe for all this talke, that so excellent a Person would omit at fit times, to give his Family that sober account of his relinquishing this place, Which I find hee did to the Arch-Bishop *Warham*, *Erasmus*, and others.

$15\frac{33}{34}$. *Feb.* 4. *Regn.* 24. THis yeare of 1533. *February* 4. the Parliament sate againe.

The chiefe Lawes enacted were; That all Victuals should be sold by the larger kind of weight call'd Haverdepois. That the price of a pound of Beefe or Porke should be a halfe-penny at most, and of Mutton or Veale three farthings, and lesse, where it was usually sold for lesse. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of those times with these. This Law yet was finally Repeal'd in regard unseasonable years did not permit a Certain rule in these things, and some of the Lords of the Counsell appointed to set the prices; whereof in its due place.

That they who kill'd any Person attempting to Rob by or neere the high-way, or that broke Houses, should be acquitted without forfeiting either goods or lands.

That no Appeals should be made out of this Realme for these reasons (*viz.*) That whereas the Kingdome of *England* was a just Empire furnish'd with such able Persons both Spirituall and Temporall, as could decide all Controversies arising in it; And whereas *Edward* I. *Edw.* III. *Rich.* II. *Hen.* IIII. and other Kings of this Realme, have made

made ſundry Ordinances, Lawes, and Statutes, for the Conſervation of the Prerogative, liberties, and preeminences of the ſaid Imperiall Crowne, and of the Juriſdictions Spirituall and Temporall of the ſame, to keep it from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as alſo from the Authority of other Forreigne Potentates attempting the diminution or violation thereof; And becauſe notwithſtanding the ſaid Acts, divers Appeals have been ſued to the See of *Rome* in cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great vexation and Charge of the Kings Highneſſe, and his Subjects, and the delay of Juſtice; And, foraſmuch, as the diſtance of the way to *Rome* it ſuch, as the neceſſary prooſes and true knowledge of the Cauſe, cannot be brought thither, and repreſented ſo well, as in this Kingdome; And that therefore many Perſons be without remedy: It is therefore enacted, That all cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions, either Commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter ſhall Commence in any of the Kings Dominions, ſhall be heard, diſcuſſed, and definitively determin'd, within the Kings Juriſdiction, and Authority in the Courts Spirituall and Temporall of the ſame, any forreign Inhibition or reſtraints to the Contrary Notwithſtanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this occaſion ſhould follow from that See, the Prelat's and Clergy of this Realme ſhould adminiſter Sacraments and ſay Divine Service, and doe all other their duties, as formerly hath been uſed, upon penalty of one years Impriſonment, and fine at the Kings pleaſure; And they who procur'd the ſaid ſentences, ſhould fall into a *Præmunire*. As for the Orders to be obſerv'd henceforth, It was enacted, That in ſutes Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon or his Officialls, Appeale might be made to the Biſhop of the ſaid See. And from thence within 15. dayes to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Arch-Piſhop of *Yorke*, reſpectively in their Provinces, and ſo likewiſe to the Arch-Biſhops in the Kings other Dominions. Or if ſute be Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon of any Arch-Biſhop or his Commiſſaries, then Appeale may be made within 15. dayes to the Court of Arches and ſo to the Arch-Biſhops without further Appeale. In all which Caſes, the Prerogative of the Arch-Biſhop and Church of *Canterbury* was reſerved. That if any ſute aroſe betwixt the King and his Subjects Appeale might bee made within 15. dayes to the Prelats of the upper Houſe in the Convocation then ſitting, or next Called by the Kings Writ, there to be finally determined. And that they who ſhall take out any Appeale Contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuſe to obey it, They, their adherents, and Counſellours, ſhall incurre the penalty of the Statute of XVI. *Rich. Secundi.* 1533 32

All former Statutes alſo made againſt the exceſſe of Apparell were repealed, and new orders given, which yet ſtood not long; There being no meaſure it ſeems for things that depended ſomuch upon

1531. upon fancy and opinion It is now time that we returne to our Hiſtory.

Among the many things Concluded at the late Interview at *Bononia*, we may remember one was that the Pope ſhould write to our King to ſend Ayde againſt the Turke, who having fayld (accidentally) in his intentions, He ſayd this Summer would puiſſantly Invade Chriſtendome. But our King anſwer'd by his Ambaſſadours. That the Emperours Ambition was the Cauſe thereof, and the raſheneſſe of the Pope, who at the Emperours requeſt had lately Excommunicated *John Sepuſe Vayuode* of *Tranſilvania* and Elect King of *Hungary*, and ſo forced him to ſeeke forreign Ayde; which ought to put his Holineſſe in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his owne particular were afraid of the Turke, that he ſhould come to *Avignon*, and that hee and *Francis* would undertake his protection, ſince the Emperour was reſolv'd to Conſent to the German Princes, about ſome Innovation in Religion; only to diminiſh his Holineſſe power. How the Pope yet reliſh'd this motion, appears not; But certainly I find that as long as hee was ſo aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* thinke it ſafe to Treat, or our King to repoſe intire Confidence in him; though now the Cæſarean Forces being withdrawn a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* tooke effect, Inſomuch that *Francis* now began ſecretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medices* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbin*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, had promis'd his aſſiſtance to him for recovering his Claymes in *Italy*, which hee paſſionatly deſir'd, ſo hee was diſpoſed now, though not altogether to forſake our King, yet at leaſt to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his ſide, it may be thought no ſmall motive, that hee had upon his own Authority not only levied ſome Tenths upon the Clergie in *France*, but prepared Forces to aſſiſt the Proteſtant Princes, which ſo ſcandaliz'd his Holineſſe, as hee thought it ſafer to permit a Warre of Dominion (though in *Italy*) then of Religion in *Germany* aſſiſted by the French. And certainly, as the times then ſtood, the Pope had reaſon to feare a defection in more than one Prince. The Pope alſo wanted not his deſignes upon *Modena* and *Rheggio*, wherein hee hoped *Francis* would ſecond him, againſt the Emperour, whom hee hated ſtill for approving the late Sentence in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which places now hee intended to give his Neece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbin*, when it could be gotten. For performance of all which, the French Writers ſay a Treaty was concluded. Our King being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis* notwithſtanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers Reiterated profeſſions of friendſhip, had upon the Popes Breve and requeſt executed ſome Perſons in *France*, who it ſeem'd oppos'd the Papall Authority, and recall'd from Baniſhment one *Bede* a bitter

Jan. 4. *Records.*

1531. *March. Sleid.*

enemy

enemy to the Kings Divorce, thought it now his expedient to ſtand to the deciſion of his own Clergie, Whereunto it conduc'd much, that *Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Cranmer* (an able Perſon) much favour'd by the Nobility, as our Hiſtorians ſay, and lately employed in the Kings buſineſſe in *Italy*, and at this preſent in *Germany*, was though abſent choſen to this Place. Neither indeed could the Kings Clandeſtine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Childe, So that hee reſolv'd ſhortly, both to publiſh his Marriage, and to require his Clergie to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean time, ſo favouring his intentions, that they made the aforeſaid Act againſt Appeales to *Rome*, to the no little diſpleaſure of Queen *Katherine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our Law) to inſiſt on hers. Howſoever, I find, ſhe had many openly favour'd her cauſe, without that our King thought fit to puniſh them. 1533 *Aug.* 23. 1532.

Queen *Katherine* was now at *Ampthill* in *Bedford*-ſhire; And becauſe it concern'd the King to acquaint Her with the Cauſes of this ſecond Marriage, hee ſent again, ſome grave Perſons to prepare her thereunto, wiſhing her together to ſubmit. But ſhee perſiſting ſtill, *Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* Cited her to appeare at *Dunſtable* being ſix miles off. Where for deciding this buſineſſe, hee appointed a Court to be held; And with him came the Biſhop of *London*, *Wincheſter*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincolne*, and many great Clerkes. Their firſt proceedings (as *Sanders* hath it) was a Ciration to our King to put away his Wife *Katherine*, proteſting otherwiſe that they would Cenſure him. But the Records which I have ſeen, mention only that *Cranmer* demanded and obtained leave of the King to determine the matter, ſince it caus'd much doubt among the Common People, and feares of great Inconveniencies in matter of Succeſſion. The Court being now held, and the Queene ſummond fifteen dayes together, without yet that ſhee appear'd, The Arch-Biſhop having firſt pronounc'd Her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which alſo hee caus'd to be publikely Read in the Chappell of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunſtable*, before two Notaries, and then ſent to the King, deſiring further to know his Mind concerning his ſecond Marriage, aſſoon as he had adviſed with his Counſell. *May.* *Sand. Schiſ. Angl.* *April.* 11. *May* 10. *May* 23.

The Tenor of the Sentence was this.

IN Dei nomine Amen: Nos Thomas permiſſione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quadam Cauſa inquiſitionis de & ſuper viribus Matrimonii inter illuſtriſſimum & potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem,

1533. fensorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum Regis filiam contracti & conſummati quæ coram nobis in Judicio ex officio noſtro mero aliquamdiu vertebatur, & ad huc vertitur & pendet indeciſa, Rite & legitime procedentes. Viſis primitus per nos & diligenter inſpectis Articulis ſive capitulis in dicta Cauſa objectis & miniſtratis una cum reſponſis eis ex parte dicti illuſtriſſimi & potentiſſimi Principis Henrici Octavi, factis & redditis, viſiſq; & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum teſtium fide dignorum dictis & depoſitionibus in eadem cauſa habitis & factis, Viſiſq; præterea & ſimili modo per nos inſpectis quam plurium & fere totius Chriſtiani Orbis principalium Accademiarum cenſuris ſeu concluſionibus Magiſtralibus etiam tam Theologorum quam Juris peritorum Reſponſis & Opinionibus, utriuſq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conſiliorum Provincialium aſſertionibus & affirmationibus, aliiſq; Salutaribus monitis & doctrinis ſuper dicto Matrimonio de ſuper reſpective habitis & factis. Viſiſq; ulterius et pari modo per nos inſpectis, tractatibus ſeu fœderibus pacis & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum Septimum nuper Regem Angliæ & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hiſpaniæ, de ſuper initis & factis, viſis quoque peramplius & diligenter per nos inſpectis omnibus & ſingulis actis, actitatis, literis, proceſſibus, inſtrumentis, Scripturis, munimentis, Rebuſq; aliis Univerſis in dicta cauſa quomodolibit geſtis & factis, ac hiis omnibus & ſingulis ita per nos viſis & inſpectis atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recenſitis: Servatiſq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de Jure ſervandis; Nec non partibus prædictis (viz.) præfato illuſtriſſimo & potentiſſimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta cauſa legitime comparente dicta vero Sereniſſima Domina Catharina per contumaciam abſente (cujus abſentia divina repleatur præſentia) de Concilio Juris peritorum et Theologorum

gorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad ſententiam noſtram diffinitivam, ſive finale decretum noſtrum in dicta Cauſa ferendam ſive ferendum ſic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, allegata, probata pariter & Confeſſata, articulataq; Capitulata partis, Reſponſa teſtium, depoſitiones & dicta inſtrumenta, munimenta, literas, Scripturas, cenſuras, concluſiones Magiſtrales, Opiniones, conſilia, aſſertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera Pacis, proceſſus, res alias & Cætera præmiſſa coram nobis in dicta Cauſa reſpective habita, geſta, facta, exhibita & producta. Necnon ex eiſdem & diverſis aliis ex cauſis ac conſiderationibus, argumentiſq; & probationum generibus Variis et multiplicibus validis quidem et efficacibus quibus animum noſtrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene et evidenter invenimus et comperimus dictum matrimonium inter præfatos illuſtriſſimum Principem et Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur contractum et conſummatum, nullum omnino et invalidum fuiſſe et eſſe, ac divino Jure prohibente, contractum et conſummatum extitiſſe. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiſcopus Primas et Legatus antedictus Chriſti nomine primitus invocato, ac ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes, pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus, ipſumque prætenſum matrimonium fuiſſe et eſſe nullum et invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum et conſummatum, nulliuſq; valoris aut momenti eſſe, ſed viribus et firmitate juris caruiſſe et carere, præfatiſq; illuſtriſſimo et potentiſſimo Principi Henrico Octavo ac Sereniſſimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere, in eodem prætenſo matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, ipſoſq; illuſtriſſimum et potentiſſimum Principem Henricum Octavum, et Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto et non de Jure dictum prætenſum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et conſummarunt ab invicem ſeparamus et Divor- 1533

1533. tiamus, atq; ſic ſeparatos et divortiatos necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali reſpectu dicti prætenſi matrimonii, liberos et immunes fuiſſe et eſſe pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, per hanc noſtram Sententiam diffinitivam, ſive hoc noſtrum finale Decretum, quam ſive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis ſcriptis.

Maii 23. 1533.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the laſt Parliament) commands ſtrictly *Katherine* ſhould no more be call'd Queen but Princeſſe Dowager, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*, and diſpatches Meſſengers both to *Rome*, and to the Emperour (then in *Spaine*) to declare and Juſtifie the Proceedings, not omitting together to ſatiſfie *Francis* thereof, as ſhall be told in his place. The Oration made to the Emperour (whether by Doctor *Hawkins* then reſident in his Court, or Sir *Thomas Wyat* as *Fox* hath it) did in effect remonſtrate, that ſince his Highneſſe did ſtill eſteem him to be his friend Confederate and Ally, hee thought good to acquaint him with Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Juſtice of the Cauſe, and order of the Proceſſe, In which nothing being omitted, which might ſatisfie himſelfe or others, Hee hath found, at laſt, that the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was indiſpenſable, as being againſt the Law of God, Nature, and Man, yet that herein hee uſed not his own Judgement alone, or his Subjects (though enough to quiet his Conſcience) but requir'd it of forreigne parts and Univerſities, and among them thoſe of *Bononia* (though depending of the Popes) and *Padoua* (though menac'd by the Venetians) and hath found them, and many other ſo conſentaneous to his Divines, that (ſome few partiall places and perſons only excepted) they all determined in favour of his Highneſſe Cauſe; The further Confirmation whereof, by publike diſputation and proofe, Hee ſhould willingly offer his Majeſty, were it not too great an Injury to that which is paſſed in this Realme, to diſpute it in any other Country; eſpecially when it is contrary to the Lawes of the Land: ſo that hee truſted his prudency would take it as a thing done, and juſtly done, and not to marvell if the King his maſter, for the weale of his Soule aſwell as benefit and Peace of his Realme, had taken a courſe which otherwiſe hee would ſo little have thought of, as hee wiſheth no ſuch Occaſion had ever been given him, wherein, hee hopes it will appeare, how much Reſpect is given both to the Pope and your Selfe, ſince otherwiſe his Highneſſe ſhould not have ſent ſo many Ambaſſages to you both, or ſpent ſo many years in clearing theſe points without receiving yet any fruit but delay and inſatisfaction. Inſomuch, that hee perceived after the cauſe had depended almoſt ſeven years ſpace, hee was in a Labyrinth, out of which he ſaw no likelihood to get, had he not

Fox. July 6.

not ſtept right forth at once to the Mazes end. Yet if this were all, he could better ſuffer it : for ſince at laſt the neceſſity of clearing his Conſcience, and ſatisfying his People, had made him give a period to his ſutes, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, Cited him to appeare at *Rome*, and publiſh'd divers ſlanderous Breves againſt him, Requiring the Cauſe to be determined before him ; though a Generall Councill hath long ſince determined that all matters ſhould be ended, where they began. So that if the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* as Metropolitane of the Realme had at length given Sentence on the Kings part, Hee thought the queſtion ſhould not bee ſo much, whether it were done according to the common faſhion, as whether in it ſelfe it were right, whereof therefore Hee would Treat with the Pope apart, deſiring his Majeſty howſoever to take well this Declaration, ſince his Highneſſe reputing him ſtill his friend, thought this accompt due to him, as hoping further, he would not be leſſe friendly hereafter, than hee had been heretofore. To which the Emperour anſwered little more that I can find, than that Hee well knew how matters paſſed, and that hee would adviſe with his Counſell, what further was to be done ; giving by this ſhort and ſharpe Reply juſt ſuſpition of preparing warre againſt *England*, as hee had more than once threatned. For which purpoſe, as 1529. hee had practis'd with the Earle of *Deſmond* in *Ireland*, ſo now hee Treated ſecretly with *James* King of *Scotland*, to whom alſo hee ſent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes occaſion (upon expiration of the late five years Truce) to give eare unto the complaint of the Earle of *Anguis*, (then at *Barwick*) and to permit Sir *Arthur Darcy* to enter the Country and forrage it. Which Hee did in *April* 1533. burning divers Towns, and carrying away much booty. Pretending for cauſe thereof, the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. But while *James* a valiant Prince (as his many Expeditions in Perſon againſt the Out-Lawes did declare) prepared to be Reveng'd, the French King taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without ſome difficulty. Notwithſtanding which, the Treaty with the Emperour continued. For whereas the young King being not long ſince deſirous to Match in *France*, found ſome interruption, Hee hark'ned now to an offer from the Emperour. And his faithfull ſervants thought it time, as having runne no ſmall hazard in his Night-walkes. And now three *Maries*, all of the Emperours Family, were mention'd to him ; His Siſter *Mary Dowager* of *Hungary*, *Mary* of *Portugall* his Neice by his Siſter *Leonora*, and *Mary* our Princeſſe. Neither will the Reader thinke it ſo ſtrange, that the Emperour preſum'd here ſo farre with our Kings Daughter, when hee ſhall conſider (as I find in our Records and *Bellayes* Hiſtory) that hee offer'd her afterwards to the *Daulphin*. The Anſwer which *James* return'd was, That hee ſhould moſt deſire the Match with *England* if conveniently it could be effected, ſaying yet that after Her hee would gladlieſt have a Daughter of his Siſter of *Denmarke*. But *Charles* ſaying Shee was already promis'd

1533. *Conſtantinople.* *April.* 1535.

1533. promis'd, the buſineſſe of Marriage ended ſo, for the preſent, the Treaty of Friendſhip nevertheleſſe being in ſome kind entertain'd. Whereof our King being advertiſed, labour'd to break it, propoſing to his Nephew a Match with *Iſabel*, Siſter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*. For which purpoſe he alſo ſent Sir *Henry Knevet* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, who gladly entertain'd the motion.

This while, the Duke of *Albany* was ſent by *Francis* unto the Pope, to Treat in apparance of a warre againſt the Turke, but really to conclude the deſigned Marriage with *Catharina de Medites* to whom the ſaid Duke was neere allyed. Which Match though the Emperour had heretofore oppos'd; yet now conſidering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide *Francis* from our King, hee reſolv'd privatly to give aſſent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniences would follow that way, than if both Kings joyn'd againſt him. Before yet hee would declare himſelfe, he told the Pope hee ſhould require theſe Conditions from *Francis*. 1. To Innovate nothing in *Italy*. 2. To confirme againe
Bell. the Treaty of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. 3. To obtain ſome aſſurance from him, that hee ſhould conſent to the calling of a Generall Councill. 4. That Hee would labour effectually with the King of *England* not to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other anſwer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as hee alleg'd) to diſpoſe otherwiſe of ſo puiſſant a Prince.

1532. And how becauſe the Reader may expect an account why this Generall Councill, promis'd within a years ſpace to the Germans, formerly by the Emperour, ſollicited by our King and *Francis*, ſubmitted unto by the Proteſtant Princes, tooke yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chiefe paſſages thereof: ſince I dare ſay no Age ever produc'd a juſter occaſion for the calling of it. Which therefore alſo I ſhall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in ſome free Place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or could now more authoriſe any ſolemne error, than a factious and Partiall Aſſembly, under what generall or ſpecious Title ſoever. Nevertheleſſe, as it concern'd the Emperour in point of Honour and advantage, chiefly to procure this worke, our
Bell. l.4. King and *Francis* were content awhile to looke on. And three motives I find were preſented by the Emperour to the Pope. 1. The ſetling of the buſineſſe of Religion. 2. Reſiſtance againſt the Turke. 3. Accommodation of Differences, betwixt Chriſtian Princes. The Pope having received theſe, replied only, That Hee would commit the buſineſſe to ſome principall Perſons of his Counſell, who making this following Remonſtrance, the Pope thought fit to ſend it to the Emperor. And firſt concerning Religion, They thought it a dangerous point to admit Proteſtants or Heretiques to diſpute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councills have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon alſo they might take Occaſion to call in queſtion

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the Articles of Christian Faith: On the other side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might thinke themselves worse us'd than the Arrians, and other Heretiques heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home more obstinate than ever. Secondly, If they have contradicted the Determinations of former Councills, What hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a scandall it would prove to be disobeyed. Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compell them to a strict observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperour and other Christian Princes, had so much to doe both one against another, and against the Turke? Thirdly, That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhered to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councills, who by divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtfull Places; So that if once they call'd in question the authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding Controversies. Fourthly, That it is probable, their demand of a Councill, was not so much with the intention to Obey it, as to avoyd the punishment due from the Magistrate; since their request was to have liberty of Religion, till a Councill had determined the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done. Fiftly, That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart before any determination, as they did from the Diet at *Augsburgh*. Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some should condescend to an alteration in part, it might cause a Schisme, and consequently a setting up of Councill against Councill, or of Pope against Pope, as hath formerly hap'ned. And again, that whether the Pope were declared above a Councill, or a Councill above the Pope, Inconveniences would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Councill were permitted to them, or to the Emperour, it might take up more time and years, than the Emperour could spare to attend it. 2. As for the second motive of calling this Councill, being the Invasion of the Turke, It was answer'd, That the Hostile Preparatives being ready, and the Assembly of a Councill in all likelyhood so slow, it was more fit to thinke of taking Armes, than of entring into Schoole disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alleging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the businesse of Religion were setled. Moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks comming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his Dammage and hurt, and consequently would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Councill gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seeke Protection from the Turke, as the *Voyvod* of *Transilvania* had lately done, and under pretence of Evangelicall libertie seize on the Goods of the Church. These Motives from the Emperour, together with this Politique answer of the Pope, being brought to *Francis* by the *Seigneur de Praet*, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, *Francis* after

1533.

1530.

1533. deliberation said, that notwithstanding there were Inconveniences in calling a Councill, there were farre greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other Lawfull and ordinary way for decision of Controversies in Religion. Insomuch, that all future Ages would condemne not only his Holinesse, but all the Christian Princes of the time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they should assemble a Councill without yet neglecting the other point propos'd. And for this end that all Christian Princes by their Letters, and Ambassadours should advise together before the Councill were call'd, and each of them set down what they in their particular thought fit to bee done. Whereupon, also, they should send to *Rome* joyntly to demand a free and secure Place of meeting, where the points projected might bee resolved. In discussion whereof, therefore, such intire and honest liberty should be permited to all and every one, as they might frankly discover themselves. Only, that they should not interpose any thing concerning their private differences and quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it should be agreed that no decision of former Councills should be urged to the hinderance of an Ingenuous and free communication concerning these points; when yet it should be alleged that the questioning of former Acts would but open the way to frustrate this. Since it would give occasion unto many to withdraw themselves, who otherwise would be present at the Councill. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them should send their Ambassadour or Deputies with unlimited Commission to treat concerning the points in controversie. Which also should be lay'd down in writing, to the intent that by common Vote and consent they might afterwards be determined. With this caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities should bee layd aside or quenched. And that till this were done, and the severall Superiours of the said Ambassadours or Deputies acquainted with the proceedings (so that absolute power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unseasonable to call a Councill. But if they chose this way, it would follow that either the Inferiour Number would submit to the greater, and consequently conforme themselves to one common way in Religion, or at least they would remaine without excuse or cause of exception, when on so good and indifferent tearms the determination of a free Councill had been offer'd them. All which he signified by his Ambassadours.

Feb. It was now towards the end of *February* 1533. when the Emperour received this Answer, who as Hee was disaffected to *Francis*, did easily mis-interpret his meaning, taking all his advise in a counter-sence. First, because hee thought it unreasonable that the Ambassadours of Christian Princes and Protestants should project the points and Articles to be Treated of in the said Councill, since it could be thought no lesse than an Artifice and Invention to restraine and diminish the Authority of the said Councill, which together with all that could

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be Treated there in ought intirely to depend on the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt and not upon the Opinions of Men. Secondly, Becauſe *Francis* had made no particular Anſwer concerning Contribution for reſiſting of the Turke, as if He thought the danger of his Neighbours in this kind did not concerne him. 1533

Which Remonſtrance being brought (in forme of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperour) to *Francis*; He anſwer'd; That he could not but marvaile how the Emperour ſhould ſo much miſtake him, ſince together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affaire of Religion, He had declar'd likewiſe that the Ambaſſadours and Deputies ſhould not neglect the other point, whoſe Reſolutions alſo concerning reſiſtance of the Turke, he thought not only more effectuall and proper than thoſe of a Councill, but of a quicker diſpatch. And for the other point concerning the reſtraint or diminution of the Councill, it was ſiniſtetly and malignly interpreted. For when they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadours from all parts with ſo pure and ſincere affection, and zeale for the good of the Church, and defence of Chriſtendome, he could doe no leſſe than beleeve that the Holy Ghoſt will aſſiſt and direct their Aſſembly. And howſoever that any thing Concluded in this kind ſhould be eſteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Councill: Nevertheleſſe for the giving more intire ſatisfaction to the Emperour, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperour did not approve the ſaid Aſſembly of Ambaſſadours, He for his part would mention it no further; Only when the Emperour would but pleaſe to take notice that himſelf made the firſt Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by *Du Pra-et* might appeare. For the reſt He wiſh'd it might be a true Univerſall Councill and not a Nationall or Provinciall as it muſt bee tearm'd, when all Chriſtian Nations did not aſſiſt therein. And as for War againſt the Turke though He had already paid 1200000. Crowns, and muſt pay 800000. more, Yet if the Turke in Perſon ſhould aſſaile Chriſtendome, He would not only hazard his owne blood and his Subjects to oppoſe him, but hope the Emperour would doe the like. But neither was the Emperour ſatisfied herewith. For as He thought *Francis* would make uſe of this Aſſembly for Contriving ſome Deſigne or Enterprize againſt him; ſo he ſecretly declin'd it. *Francis* likewiſe as he was wholly wonne to the Pope, and intentive to the buſineſſes of *Italy*, labourd not much to advance a buſineſſe, ſo ſuſpected and dangerous to the Roman See. So that the diffidence and Jealouſie betwixt theſe Princes broke off the Councill at this time, when it ſeem'd ſo neceſſary for the Peace and welfare of Chriſtendome. Howbeit the Emperour (who departed from *Genoua April* 8. and was now in *Spaine*) leſt He ſhould be thought not to comply with his promiſe, obteined from the Pope, that theſe following Conditions ſhould be offer'd to *John Frederic* Elector of *Saxony* in the roome of his Father, lately deceaſed. That it ſhould be free and open to all as in times paſt: That aſſurance ſhould be given on both ſides

Bellay.

April. 8.

Aug. 1532.

Sleid. l. 8.

1533. sides to ſtand to whatſoever ſhould be decreed there. That they who could not be preſent, ſhould ſend their Deputies. That in the meane while, nothing ſhould be Innovated. That the Place ſhould be *Piacenza*, *Bononia*, or *Mantoua*, at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themſelves, nor ſent, they ſhould yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Councill, and if they diſobeyed, that the Emperour and other Princes ſhould ſee Juſtice done. That if theſe Conditions were accepted the Councill ſhould be ſummon'd within ſix Moneths following the Date hereof (being towards the end of *March*, or beginning of *April* 1633.) and held within a yeare after. For more authoriſing of which Propoſitions, the Emperour commanded His Ambaſſadours to ſecond the Legate. The Duke of *Saxony* hereupon, *June* 30. after deliberation with the other Proteſtant Princes and States at *Smalcald*, returned this Anſwer; That the Councill could not bee free as long as the Pope who was a Partie ſhould ſit as Judge. That the cauſe of Religion as being grounded on the Scriptures ſhould be determined by them, and not by Schoole Opinions. That the Place ought to be (as the Emperour had promis'd) in *Germany*, if it ſhould be free and open unto all. Our Hiſtorians ſay, alſo, that the Pope ſent (in *May*) to our King to be preſent at the Councill, or at leaſt to ſend thither. But when the Meſſenger (being requir'd to it) ſhew'd *Hall.* a Commiſſion, which had neither Place nor time expreſt, hee was diſmiſt.

While theſe things paſt, our King by a Diſpatch to *Francis* requires him to ſend hither ſome truſty Perſon to whom he might with all confidence communicate ſuch things as could not fitly be committed to paper, intreating alſo that the ſaid Perſon might be inſtructed in all the paſſages of Affaires (whereſoever) ſince the Interview. For though the King by Meſſage, ſent formerly by the Lord *Rochfort* had acquainted *Francis* that Hee was privatly Married, yet as Hee had many particularities to ſpeak of, and might beſides have uſe of the Aſſiſtance which *Francis* had offer'd, ſo Hee deſir'd one on that part to whom Hee might freely open Himſelfe. Hereupon *Francis* *March. Bell. l. 4.* ſends *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* with theſe Inſtructions. That he ſhould perſwade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any elſe to juſtifie and defend His proper Cauſe, Aſſuring him, that he ſhould be as ſafe, both in his paſſage to, and ſtay there, as in his own Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe if he thought not fit to come, that at leaſt he ſhould ſend one in whom he might repoſe intire confidence. Hee was charged alſo to informe our King how *Francis* had made thoſe Ordinances concerning Horſe and Foot, and Sea-buſineſſes, which were agreed betwixt them. Laſtly, he was commanded to deſire our Kings Advice concerning the Affaires of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who inſtantly crav'd their joynt aſſiſtance.

When *Monſieur de Langey* was come, and had expos'd theſe particularities; Our King anſwer'd. That ſince the Biſhop of *Rome* (for

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so he now tearm'd the Pope) after many dissimulations, and delayes would not decide the businesse of the Divorce; Hee had for discharge of his Conscience, Referr'd it to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as being not able to support any longer the continnall vexations wherewith his mind was afflicted. And that the said Arch-Bishop and divers Bishops and principall Persons of the Clergy having sentenced a nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Dispensation for it voyd, as given in a Case which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not bee dispenced with; Hee had thereupon privatly Married the Marchionesse without yet that he had intention to disclose it before *May* next. About which time hee hoped also that the Interview betwixt his Master and the said Bishop would be, and that the said Bishop therefore would doe him Justice. If not, that he would publish his Marriage, and withdraw himselfe totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Bishops Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Usurpation whereof, hee had compos'd a large and ample Treatise; The Title whereof was, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem Impietatem* as *Beutherus* hath it; though (for my part) having seen no such Book, I conceive it was that *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ, & quæ sit ipsa virtus & veritas utriusq;* made about this time, which nevertheless he said he would not publish, untill he saw what Right the Bishop would doe him; desiring the said King in the mean time, not to abandon him, since the Bishop had vaunted, hee would set all Christendome against him, which the Emperour also, in his discourse with the Pope had averred, discovering how by the means of *Scotland* he would Revenge his Aunts quarrell. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the said *Seigneur de Langey*, who crossing the Seas from *Boulogne* to *Dover* was assaulted by some Scotchmen of warre, who hovering in our Seas to espy their advantage, set upon the Gallion that *Langey* went in, so that had he not made use both of Sayles and Oares, he had been overtaken or sunke; their number being superiour, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his consort, which having Sayles only, and not Oars, could not escape them. *Monsieur de Langey* being now dismiss'd, acquainted *Francis* with our Kings resolution, Whereupon, also, hee hastned his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propos'd, was finally resolv'd at *Marseilles*, the Emperours Ambassadours at *Rome* in vain opposing it. 1533

Beuth. hist. lib. 4.

And now the Newes of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburies* Sentence, and open Marriage of Mistris *Anne Bolen* being come to the Popes eares, and together with it an information concerning the Booke our King had compos'd against the Popes Authority (which also more than any thing else offended him) the whole College of Cardinalls, especially such as were for the Emperour, became humble suppliants to the Pope, that hee would proceed rigorously against our King; which also the Pope accorded, though not in that peremptory

June.

and

1533. and publique manner as was afterwards done; For I find that this
Concil. Trid. Records. Sentence was not definitive in the principall cause (as the Imperialls
desir'd, and *Sanders* mistakes it) but only declarative in the point of
July 11. Attemptats (as they call it) in that King *Henry* (the cause yet de-
pending) had Divorced Himselfe without the leave and Authority
of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein
were subject to a Nullity, and Himselfe to Excommunication, un-
lesse He restored things *in integrum*, for which time was allowed
him, till the end of *September* following. These Proceedings being
reserved, and the Censures thus suspended, argued that the Pope was
willing before he went any further to see the successe of his Interview
with *Francis*. For as the Pope knew well that the Emperour was al-
ready sufficiently incens'd against our King, so it was easie for him to
collect, that if he could gain *Francis*, nothing afterwards could hin-
der him to fulminate. And hee had reason to choose this way of
Treaty; for I find all his Interviews succeeded well with him. Ne-
vertheless, the Emperour as hee knew not how farre this new Treaty
might extend, labours by his Ambassadours to retard it. But they
failing, he tooke another course, for being advertis'd that the Pope in-
tended to make use of some of his Galleys for this Journey, he sends a
Command that they should bee employed against the Turke. But
neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not goe, re-
solv'd to commit himselfe to the French Galleys, and so to passe to
Marseilles. Things being thus advanc'd, our King (in conformity
May 18. 1532. to the Proposition of *Francis*) sends the Duke of *Norfolke* lately
made Marshall of *England*, the Lord *Rochefort*, Sir *William Paulet*,
Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, followed with some hun-
dred and sixty Horse to repaire to *Francis*, and afterwards attend the
Interview.

This while, our King being confident, that either by the Popes
good permission, or his proper Authority, he should be able to Justi-
fy a cause which so many Universities had sentenc'd on his side, pro-
June 1. ceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which also was perform'd
with much solemnity. And the rather that the murmure of those
who objected against the irregularity and deviation of our Kings pro-
ceeding herein might be hidden and cover'd in the Pompe. Short-
June 23. ly after which, our Historians say, *Mary* the Dowager of *France* dy-
ed, and was buried at St. *Edmundsbury*.

July. The Duke of *Norfolke* being now come to *Francis* (who was upon
his Journey to *Marseilles*) acquaints him with part of his Instructi-
ons, which were to diswade him from the Interview and Marriage
propos'd, or, at least, to suspend it, till the Pope hath given our King
satisfaction, offering also ayd for a War in *Piemont* if he would suf-
fer no more moneys to goe out of his Realme to *Rome*, and instead of
the Pope to erect a Patriarke, which it seems was one of the private
Records. Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview; but hearing, at the
same time, of the Declaration past at *Rome* against our King, thought it

too

too late to expect any favour from the Pope, and therefore demanded leave to returne. Notwithstanding which *Francis* desir'd his stay, promising all the best offices and assistance to our King he could require, assoone as he should come to *Marseilles*, protesting furthermore, that what Offence soever was done to our King, he would take as to himself. But the Duke being informed againe, by our diligent Agents, what had past at *Rome*, would omit no longer to advertize the King. Therefore, he posted away the Lord *Rochefort* to acquaint his Highnesse with what was done, and to know his Gracious pleasure, whereupon, the King upon advice with his Counsell, thought fit to Revoke together with the said Duke, the Duke of *Richmont* then living in the French Court, Commanding also his Ambassadours with the Pope to returne. Nevertheless as *Francis* insisted still with our King to send some other, if for no other end yet at least to witnesse that earnestnesse and sollicitation wherewith he would pursue the Kings affaire with the Pope; So our King thought fit to send *Stephen Gardiner* not long before made Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bryan* together with Sir *John Wallop* to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable, that *Francis* had many Designs whereof also he resolv'd to prevaile himselfe according to the Occasion. For if he Treated with the Pope, he no lesse entertain'd his former Correspondence with the Princes of Germany, who sent to him (then being at *Tholouse*) a Secretary of the Dukes of *Bavaria* to tell him how, upon the Consignation of 100000 Crowns, which the said King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in ayd, and for the Restitution of the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, whose Possessions were withheld by *Ferdinand*, they now all agreed that it should be put into the hands of the said Duke, desiring nevertheless that it might be done with all secresie. To which *Francis* Answered: that the Interview being past, hee would send some one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

1533.

Aug. 8.

Decem. 5. 1533.

This while the Duke of *Albany* being departed with the Galleys of *France*, to conduct the Pope to *Marseilles*, newes was brought to *Francis* of the death of one *Mervelles* employed by *Francis* to *Francesco Sforza* (then in possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Emperours favour, though not as yet of the Daughter of *Denmarke*, formerly destin'd unto him) The occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my Relation. This *Meveilles* being a Milanesse, had served long in the French Court, and was now by the good leave of *Francesca Sforza* Received as a secret Agent or Ambassadour for *Francis*; The tearms on which *Sforza* stood with the Emperour not admitting a more ouvert accesse. The servants of this *Merveilles* having a quarrell with one *Castiglione* concerning some words he had spoken against their Master, did at last kill him in the streets, which was Reveng'd by the Magistrate on *Merveilles* himselfe, whose goods he seized on, and afterwards by order of the Duke privatly cut off his Head. Which being advertis'd to *Francis*, he fell into an extreame passion, Saying, he was his Ambassadour, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated.

Bell.

July 3.

July 6.

1533. Violated. The reſentment whereof alſo, hee thought common to all Princes, ſo hee acquainted the Pope, Emperour, and other Potentates of Europe therewith in high tearms, not forgetting alſo to give our King a particular account thereof, together with his Intentions; proteſting to them all, he would have Reparation. But when the Emperour had received his Letter, hee return'd no other Anſwer, but that *Merveilles* had deſerv'd death, and was juſtly puniſhed, hee being no Ambaſſadour, but a ſubject of the Duke of *Milans*. Whereupon the French Ambaſſadour hoping to ſatisfie the Emperour, ſhewed him private Diſpatches, by which it appear'd, that the Duke acknowledg'd him under that Title. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperour made ſmall account of them, as ſuppoſing the quality of an Ambaſſadour not wronged as long as the Perſon in queſtion (beſides, that he was no ſubject of the French King) did not openly ſuſtaine the dignity of his Place; Whereupon alſo this Act was ſo farre from being chaſtiſed by him, that it did but haſten the Marriage of *Sforza* with *Chriſtine* the King of *Denmark*'s ſecond Daughter whom the Emperour immediatly ſent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of *Orleans* Married *Catherina de Medices*. Notwithſtanding which, *Sforza* ſent his Chancellour to *Francis*, alleging by way of excuſe, that *Merveilles* was no more but a private Perſon, though authoriz'd ſometimes to Treat, neither was he ever acknowledg'd publikely by any other title than his Vaſall and ſubject, ſo that not to have done Right to another ſubject kill'd by his procurement, had been to the derogation of Juſtice and his own Authority. Beſides, he ſayd *Merveilles* was ſuch an outragious and miſchievous Perſon, that hee had been told divers times on the Dukes Part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the ſecret manner of his being put to death, he ſaid, it was to avoid ignominy, in caſe *Francis* for delivering ſome of his Meſſages (when there was occaſion,) ſhould repute him his Ambaſſadour. But this excuſe, (as it implied ſome contradiction) did but exaſperate *Francis*, Who told the Chancellour, that if intire ſatisfaction were not given, he would in ſome fitting time and place procure it.

Sept.6. About this time, the Queen being brought to bed of the Princeſſe
Sept.10. *Elizabeth* (who happily ſucceeded to this Crown) the Chriſtening followed ſhortly after, with much ſolemnity, where the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, and Marchioneſſe of *Dorſet* Godmothers. Howbeit the Divorced *Katherine*, and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cauſe, writ, and ſpoke againſt the late Marriage; a Nunne of *Kent* alſo, pretending to Prophecy thereon, of whom and
Novemb. her feigned Miracles (about this time diſcovered) wee ſhall make mention hereafter.

Octob.6. It was now in *October* 1533. when the Pope conducted by the Duke of *Albany* came by Sea to *Marſeilles*, where *Montmorency* received him. His publike entrance into the Town (being the next day after his arrivall) was in a rich Chaire, carried on the ſhoulders of

two

two men, Himſelfe wearing his Pontificall Ornaments (the Tiara or Triple Crown only excepted) before him a white Hackney was led, on which the Sacrament was carried. After him followed all the Cardinalls, and his Neece *Catharina de Medices* (the Dutcheſſe of *Urbin*) with a great Traine of Cavaliers and Ladies. *Francis*, at the ſame time, that he might ſeeme to give the Pope entire poſſeſſion of the Towne, going out thereof, but the next day returning thither, and after many complements to the Pope, comming to buſineſſe, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himſelfe Marrying the young couple. Her Portion in money was but little, being only 100000 Crownes, but in expectation and Titles great; Since a pretence to *Urbin* in the Right of her Father *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Leo* the tenth gave the Inveſtiture to the diſ-inheriſon of *Franceſco Maria Conte di Feltri*, (who at this preſent was in poſſeſſion thereof) as alſo the Donation of *Rheggio*, *Modena*, *Rubeira*, *Piſa*, *Ligorno*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza* by the Pope, or ſomething equivalent to them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of *Francis*, eſpecially, when ſo potent a Prince ſhould undertake her Cauſe, not without hope of uniting theſe places to the Rights hee claimed in *Italy*. After which, the Pope was often ſollicited by *Francis* in the behalfe of our King, that, at leaſt, the time of declaring the Cenſures againſt him, might be prorogued. But the Pope anſwering only, that though the terme prefixt for fulmination were now paſt, yet he would omit further proceſſe till he came to *Rome*: Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Inſtructions, and *Edmund Boner* (as I find by an Originall of his to our King) getting audience of the Pope, *November* 7, in reſpectfull tearms, and under proteſtation that his Majeſty intended no contempt of the See Apoſtolique or Holy-Church, intimated to him King *Henry*'s Appeale to the next Generall Councill lawfully aſſembled, exhibiting alſo the Authentique Inſtruments thereof (made before the Biſhop of *Winchester*) at which the Pope being much incens'd, ſaid, he would referre it to the Conſiſtory, Which being held *November* 10. hee Anſwer'd *Boner*, That, concerning the Kings Appeale, hee rejected it, as being unlawfull, and againſt a conſtitution of Pope *Pius*. Secondly, for the Councill, hee would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King *Henries*. Thirdly, for the Originall Inſtructions (which *Boner* required back) hee denied them, and ſo diſmiſt him; deſiring *Francis*, only, that hee would perſwade our King to conforme himſelfe to his antient Devotion and Obedience to the Roman Church. Shortly after which, being 12th of *November* 1533. the Pope return'd. I find moreover that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at this time ſuſpecting the Pope would proceed againſt him, by the adviſe of our King made his Appeale alſo to the Councill. Which hee deſir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The ſucceſſe whereof yet doth not appeare in our Records. Here alſo, at the requiſition of *Francis*, he made foure French Cardinalls, which added to ſix more, who held that Dignity, made the

1533.

1556.

Novemb. 13.

Novemb. 7.

Novemb. 10.

Novemb. 12.

1533. Emperour see that the Pope intended to strengthen the French Party in *Rome*. Besides, as the Pope did feare lest *Francis* should usurpe upon the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in his Kingdome, hee gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monasteries alone, but in all Elective Benefices in his Kingdome, which was politiquely done, for he prevented thereby, that power, which *Francis* might have assumed, especially when he had stood to the Conventions hee made with our King at their last Interview. By which means also, hee disposed *Francis* to oppose the Emperour about calling a Councill, shewing together how inconvenient it would bee to the Roman Church, as Affairs then stood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to send to *Germany*, both in favour of the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, and to comfort the Protestant Princes, in their perseverance, promised to doe all that he could for them in a Defensive way: Hee omitted not, also, to send *Jehan du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris* to our King, both to acquaint him with all passages at *Marseilles*, and to Induce him to send Ambassadours to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning the suspending of this Fulmination, Which hee said highly concern'd him. But our King who was in some part acknowledged already *supremum Caput Ecclesiæ* in his Dominions replying, hee would advise with his Counsell hereof, one who much favourd the Papall Authority, spake in this manner.

Sir, Your Highnesse is come to a point which needs a strong and firme resolution, it being not only the most important in it selfe, that can be presented, but of that consequence as will comprehend your Kingdome and Posterity. It is, whether, in this businesse of yout Divorce, and second Marriage, as well as in all other Ecclesiasticall affaires in your Dominions, you would make use of your own, or of the Papall Authority? for my part, as an English man, and your Highnesse subject, I must wish all Power in your Highnesse: But when I consider the antient practise of this Kingdome, I cannot but thinke any Innovation dangerous: For if in every Temporall estate it be necessary, not only to keep order, but to come to some Supreme Authority, whence all Inferiour Magistracy should bee deriv'd; It seems much more necessary in Religion; both as the body thereof seems more susceptible of a Head, than any else; and as that Head againe must direct so many others. Wee should above all things therefore labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof, as being that sacred bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much Sir, would wee recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chiefe and most eminent part? And who ever liked that body long, whose Head was taken away? Certainly Sir, an Authority Received for many Ages, ought not rashly to be rejected; for is not the Pope *Communis Pater* in the Christian World, and Arbiter of their differences? Doth hee not support the Majesty of Religion, and vindicate it from neglect?

neglect? Doth not the holding of his Authority from God, keepe men in awe, not of Temporall alone, but Eternall punishments, and therein extend his power beyond death it selfe? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and trust only to the sword of Justice, and Secular Arme? Besides, who shall mittigate the rigour of Lawes in those cases, which may admit exception, if the Pope be taken away? who shall presume to give Orders, or Administer Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Dispensations, Indulgences, and other Mysteries of the Church? Who shall be Depositary of the Oathes, and Leagues of Princes, or Fulminate against the perjur'd Infractors of them? for my part, (as Affairs now stand) I find not, how either a Generall Peace among Princes, or any equall moderation in humane affaires can be well conserv'd without him. For as his Court is a kind of Chancery, to all other Courts of Justice in the Christian world; so if you take it away, you subvert that equity and Conscience which should be the rule and Interpreter of all Lawes and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highnesse, as my King and Soveraigne, all true greatnesse and happinesse, but thinke it not fit (in this case) that your subjects should either examine by what right Ecclesiasticall Government is Innovated, or inquire how farre they are bound thereby; Since, besides that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow both of the one and the other Authority; it would give that offence and scandall abroad, as Forreigne Princes would both reprove and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and together upon any occasion, bee dispos'd easily to joyne against us. 1533.

To which was replied by one in this manner.

SIR, If hee who propos'd this question, had resolv'd it aswell, I should not have needed to returne an Answer, But since from Principles wee admit as true, he draweth Consequences which follow not, I shall according to common reason, crave leave to examine his Arguments, without insisting upon any thing urg'd out of either Testament, or controverted by the Theologians of this time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some supreme power in Spirituall as well as Temporall affairs; Only the question will be, whether they be better united in one Person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the Precincts of both be of the same extent, and the Magistrate no way obnoxious: For can we suppose a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? will the bare precepts of Theology containe People in their Duties, unlesse the Secular Arme concurre? or the inflicting punishment with a high Hand suffice to teach a good life, or bring men to everlasting happinesse? Besides, can a Kingdome be safe, if the Secular Magistrate command one thing, and the Spirituall another? Must not the subject on these termes be suspended betwixt his Obe-

1533. diences, or distracted into some Schisme or Rebellion? which Inconveniences as they cannot be denyed, so neither doe examples want thereof, both antiently betwixt Emperours and Popes, and of latter times as well in this Kingdome as divers others, Where not only scandall and dissention, but even Ruines and Desolation followed on this occasion. It being manifest thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoyned; The next question will be, Who is most proper to exercise them in this Kingdome? But it is cleare that Popes are not. For besides that they want Title, Succession, Election, Possession, or whatsoever else may establish Government for the Temporall part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the Spirituall, while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither can take timely notice of the proceedings and deviations of the Clergy, or give that order and redresse which is fitting; So that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to *Rome*, they strive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increased. The Causes brought thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes wholly frustrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, then be at the cost of bringing their Witnesses with them to so remote a Place, as neither their health or means can reach unto. Of which, as also many other Inconveniences in this kind, the Germans in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long since complained, without that the whole Court at *Rome* could devise a due Remedy, as long as the determination of Ecclesiasticall Affairs was so commonly avoked thither. Whereby it follows, that the Pope, as being neither Secular Magistrate in this Kingdome, nor within a Just distance to exercise the Spirituall, cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute power in either Jurisdiction. It remaines, that Princes of this Kingdome successively assume it, both as their Person and office hath in it a mixture of the Temporall and Spirituall Power, and as the Precincts they claime in Ecclesiasticall affaires, are no larger than their swords can reach to, and secure, nor their Intereests other, than to conserve at home, a perpetuall Peace of Religion; which also will be with so much advantage to their subjects, as while the same Authority animates and gives life unto all, none of the members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxime, hee may be convinc'd by examples of Popes themselves, who practise this mixed power not only in their Territories about *Rome*, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote Dominions with that singular benefit to their Vassalls, that they more than any other in *Italy*, are exempt from being drawn into contrary parts. So that, if it be cleare aswell by reason as by Precedents, that both powers may subsist together, and be exercised by one and the same Person, I thinke none will deny, but that it will bee so much the more equall, to place them in a Temporall than a Spirituall Monarch, as it imports more to give good Lawes, and exhibite Justice, than to dispute Controversies (where the grounds of Religion are already setled,) and to resist Forreigne Invasions, than to declame against Vice,

and

and the Non-payment of Church-duties: out of which therefore may be concluded, That there is no more neceſſity of a Pope over us, or (if you will) over all Churches in the World (when they could be converted to Chriſtianiſme) than to aſſigne one Univerſall Monarch over it. There being in the frame of Government aſwell as all other bodies, a certaine Symmetrie and proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. Theſe things thus appearing, it may be conſidered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity, for ſwaying all the Eccleſiaſticall Affairs of this Kingdome, in his being ſo obnoxious to other Princes. But this alſo is evident, ſince the French and Spaniard ſo conſtraining him of either ſide that hee muſt ſubmit to the ſtronger, or ſuffer ſuch Impriſonment and outrages as hee hath lately done, it will be dangerous to Conſtitute him our Supreame Judge, in theſe Affaires of Religion, which regard matter of State. For ſuppoſe he would be Impartiall between ſuch Princes as may preſſe him equally; Shall wee preſume he will be ſo to us, who ſtand not in the ſame Relation of neereneſſe and Intereſt unto him? Nevertheleſſe, I ſhall eaſily grant that hee may wiſh us well, or beſtow his Bleſſing on us: But where his Perſon or Eſtate will be concern'd, I doe believe it would be ſo unſafe for him to doe us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to aske it. But may hee not in ſome caſes yet be retain'd as Judge in Eccleſiaſticall affaires, and Arbiter of the differences of Chriſtendome? for my part, I ſhall accord it; as long as Hee complies with his Place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Cenſures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he preſcribe, and exterminate thoſe, who otherwiſe might give him a due reſpect, doth hee not relinquiſh his Name? eſpecially while without regard to the quietneſſe of mens Conſciences, the Peace of Chriſtendome, or the Unity of Religion, (which might eaſily follow, when the unneceſſary points were layed aſide) Hee, (for the conſervation of his Authority in this Kingdome only) procures Forreigne Princes to Invade it. Wherein therefore, hee ſo little exerciſeth his Paſtorall Charge (Inſtituted at firſt for the ſafeguard and eaſe of the Secular Magiſtracy) as hee now diſturbeth all, whereas he ought ſo much rather to uſe a diſcreet Moderation, as hee ſees that Princes can both Reigne without him, and contain their ſubjects (whether Spirituall or Temporall) in their accuſtomed Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that untill theſe Eccleſiaſticall affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determined without them, there will be ſmall hope of an accommodation. And for theſe reaſons alſo, Wee can as little admit him, Arbiter of the Temporall Cauſes betwixt us, and any other Chriſtian Prince, though otherwiſe the function be ſo neceſſary, as (it ſeems) there is no ſo good means for avoyding the many Warres, and deciding the Controverſies betwixt them. But it is alleged ſtill, That in deferring the Popes Authority ſome diminution of Religion may follow; Alas, if Religion ſtood not on firmer Princi- 1533.

1533. ples than these, it were worse grounded than any other knowledge; For were not the Lawes of Piety and goodnesse so written (at first) in the heart, as Mankind had no other direction for attaining his everlasting happinesse, for about two thousand years, and untill the Decalogue was given? And is that againe any thing else but an Explication of these Lawes? Besides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith deliver'd us in some part of our Beleefe or Creed (and I say in some, for the beginning thereof, aswell as certaine Articles towards the end, are generall Notions both written in our hearts, and Received in all Religions.) And have we not through the Reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the ten Commandements, and therein submitted our selves to all that is required in either Testaments, and will they yet exact new Beleefes, and obtrude new Articles? When the Lawes of God, only written in Mens hearts, and the Decalogue, for so many Ages were thought to suffice for Salvation? Let them say what they will; I find no reason to believe, that the Divine wisdome imposeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than those that were delivered to our Fore-Fathers; or that some such obliquation of Religion hath hap'ned as the course of his Providence should be varyed too. And therefore, though I shall be content, that the Illustration or Explication of some points, may be worth the Churches labour, I can never agree that the Principles and foundation of this Structure, should be stir'd, or exhibited on other tearms. Neither indeed should the Roman Church, in true wisdome procure it, the Majesty of Religion being no wayes so well conserv'd, as by asserting such a perfection, Antiquity, Universality, and Visibility in the more necessary parts thereof, as may argue the care God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to represent the Doctrines of Faith, and of Gods mercy, in middle times after such manner, as may be for our Instruction. And thus their Auditours, being informed, not only what parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in sequent times, may Glorifie him for both. Nevertheless, if Popes shall be so farre from these charitable and temperate wayes, as they will still Intermixe and trouble all things; if they shall confound and Joyne together the certaine, and the uncertaine, and compell Men equally to the belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this case to prevent distractions? ought they not to extinguish Usurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Errour and neglects? While in giving a due Lustre and Protection with the Temporall sword, they make her become more Reverend and Awfull. Which Duty also is so much more requisite in them, as it is not in the power of any else to performe it. Neither should wee feare, lest our Princes should grow too absolute hereby; When it is the most assured way for conserving, not the outward only, but inward Peace of this Kingdome. Nor that this Authority may be at length devolv'd to such as would abuse

abuſe it; there being a poſſibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. 1533
And that *Incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum.* And thus Sir may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all defects reſtored by your Highneſſe in your Dominions, without either ſuffering Sophiſtry or Pedantiſme to be taught in ſtead of true Doctrine, or that the Hietarchy of your Kingdome ſhould be deveſted from their antient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highneſſe pretends not to Create new Articles of Faith, they may continue ſtill, to expound the old, in their ſeverall kinds, and give light to the hard places in the Scripture, Read Divine Service, Adminiſter Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort men to Piety, Charity, Good life, Repentance, and what ever elſe may conduce to everlaſting happineſſe; Whereof alſo when the Pope would take ſuch notice, as to confirme and approve our proceedings, wee might (if your Highneſſe ſo pleas'd) returne that reſpect to him, as upon his publike Declaration, that he doth not only Ratifie our Confeſſion of Faith, but relinquiſh all his pretences, which may Derogate from your Regall Authority, and behave himſelfe (for the reſt) *tanquam Communis Pater*, ſuch points might be referr'd to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be ſo farre-forth acknowleg'd, as he might ſtill retaine a Primacy, according to his antient Patriarchall Right, without Intermedling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-houſe hath already Decreed for your Highneſſe. And now to come to the preſent queſtion concerning the Divorce; I muſt ſay, I cannot find what the Pope ſhould take ill. For is any thing done by our Arch-Biſhop, but what, not only the Pope, himſelf, but the moſt famous Univerſities of Chriſtendome have declared Lawfull? So that, if after ſix years ſuſpenſion of the Cauſe, we have Determined the buſineſſe, as himſelfe confeſſed he would have done, but for feare of the Emperour; What offence can he take? will hee complaine, he is not able to doe us Juſtice, and yet be ſcandalized if it be done by others? or ſhall the Executing of what he thought reaſonable, be Judg'd a fault, when the not executing thereof muſt (in all equity) have made us the greater Criminalls? Let us therefore, ſend to deſire his conſent; It hath been already Intimated unto us, that it was not ſo good to aske a Licence, as a Pardon, we will hope then from him a Confirmation of the Arch-Biſhop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conſerv'd, without that we ſhould need to feare any Forreigne Invaſion, as long as the generall Vote of our Kingdome ſhall eſtabliſh what (in a ſort) it hath agreed unto.

And to this opinion our King inclin'd, and ſo much the rather, *Hall.*
that about this time the Popes Sentence againſt him, was openly ſet up at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*; So that to prevent further Inconveniences, the King (as our Records ſhew) adviſed with his Counſell *December* 2. *Records.* Firſt, to informe his Subjects of his Appeale to the Councill Generall, and the Juſtice thereof. Secondly, of the unlawfulneſs

of

1533. of the Dowagers Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute against it, which sayd Statute was (for that purpose,) to be set upon every Church dore in *England*, as also his Majesties said Provocation or Appeale, whereof Trans-sumpts also were to be sent into *Flanders*.) Thirdly, to command it to be taught, that the Generall Councill is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in *England* by Gods Law than any forraigne Bishop. Lastly, to send into *Germany*, to Confederate with the King of *Poland*, *John King* of *Hungary*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Baviere*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, *&c.* as likewise the *Hanse-Teutonick* Townes, being *Lubeck*, *Dansick*, *Norembergh*, *&c.* These things being resolv'd on; for a finall Answer, hee desir'd the Bishop
Bell.4. of *Paris*, to certifie *Francis*, That if the Pope would supersede from Executing his Sentence, untill hee had Indifferent Judges, who might heare the businesse, hee would also supersede of what he was deliberated to doe in withdrawing his Obedience from the Roman See. But the Bishop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good termes, made an offer to Negotiate the businesse at *Rome*. Which our King gladly accepted, assuring him withall, that assoone as he had obtained what was demanded, he would send sufficient power and authority to confirme as much as was accorded on his part, as having intire confidence in his discretion and sufficiency, ever since his two years employment as Ambassadour in this Kingdome.
Decemb. Whereupon the Bishop, though in the Christmas-Holidaies, and an extreame Winter, posted to *Rome*. Where he came before any thing was done, more than what formerly past; And here obtaining a publike Audience in the Consistory, hee Eloquently Declared our Kings Message, representing both what hee had obtained of our King, and shewing withall how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which so prevail'd that they prefixt a Day for receiving from our King, a Confirmation thereof. Insomuch, that a Currier was dispatched to King *Henry*, desiring his Answer within the time limited. But the terme being expired, and no Answer brought, the Pope resolved to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence, which being advertis'd to *Bellay*, he repair'd to the Pope and Cardinalls (then sitting in full Consistory) desiring them to stay awhile, it being probable that the Currier, either through crosse winds, or other accidents in long Journeys, might be detain'd; concluding his Speech, that if the King of *England* had six years together been patient, they might attend six dayes; which space only, he desir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our Kings Answer; this proposition being put to the question,
March 19. Records. the plurality of Voyces carried it against our King, and the rather, that in this mean time, Newes came to *Rome* that the King had Printed and published the Book, written against the Popes Authority (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it
1534. was not yet kept so close, but a Copy was now come to the Popes hands,) and that there was a Comedy represented at Court, to the no
Concil. Trid. little defamation of certain Cardinalls. By reason whereof the Sentence

tence was so precipitated, that, what according to their usuall formes could not be done in lesse than three Consistories, was now dispatch'd in one. And so by a finall Determination (the Copy whereof is in *Fox*) the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was Pronounced good, and King *Henry* commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in case of refusall Censures were fulminated against him. But two dayes of the six were not past, when the Currier arriv'd with ample Commission and Authority from our King to conclude and confirme all that the Bishop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) That King *Henry* was content to accept the Judgement of that Court, upon condition that the suspected and Imperiall Cardinalls should not intervene, and that indifferent Persons should be sent to *Cambray* to be informed of the merits of the Cause; Giving Authority further for his Proctors to appeare in that Court. At which, the more wise and temperate Cardinalls were so astonish'd, that they became humble suppliants to the Pope, that hee would advise how all things might be repair'd; Whereupon the businesse was again discuss'd. But all Remedies being Judged either late, or impossible, the Sentence stood, and the Emperour was made the Executer of it; The Bishop now returning towards *France* met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne*, and *William Revet*, who was employ'd by our King for solliciting this important businesse. But as they understood by the Bishop, that the first Marriage was pronounced good, and the issue by it Legitimate, so they judg'd it lost labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our King, who became so sensible of the Indignity wherewith hee was us'd in this important Affaire, that he separated himselfe from the Obedience of the Roman Church, but not from the Religion thereof (some few Articles only excepted) as shall appeare hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this present condition found nothing so fitting to be done, as to cherish the good affection of his subjects, who in a Parliamentary way he found did many wayes advance, and second his Designes. I shall for a conclusion, adde only the Censure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this businesse, *Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille Rex, ut eum, si æquiores & prudentiores Pontifices Nactus fuisset, sponte se subjecturum ipsorum potestati fuisse appareret.*

1533

March 23. *Pag.* 632

Concil. Trid. L. 1.

April 7.

The Emperour (now in *Spaine*,) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marseilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at least, the Pope would diswade *Francis* from favouring our King, or assisting the Protestant Princes. Therefore he did not much indeavour to hinder it; For as he knew the Pope was passionatly affected to the advancement of his Kindred, so he Judged it lost labour to oppose him therein; since by ingraffing his Family now in *France*, as well as by his former Alliance with *Spaine*, he might hold himselfe secure on either hand. Neither did he thinke that Terrours could prevaile, at a time, when the Pope must know, there would be use of all the Imperiall Forces, against

1534. against the Turke, who besides that he threatned a generall Invasion, had now particularly besieged *Corron*, taken a yeare since by *Andrea Doria*, which a Spanish Garrison held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the Turke about *April* 1534.

Sandov.

April 1. 1534.

I will come now to the businesse of our Parliament, holden this yeare from *Jan.*15. till 30th of *March* next, wherein the Statutes were Enacted.

*Jan.*15. *Regn.*25.

That the Prices of Victuals should not be inhanced without just ground and reason. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellour (and others, who had Authority given them herein) should tax the said Victuals how they should be sold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Also that no Corne or Cattell bee carried beyond Sea without the Kings Lycence, unlesse either to *Calais*, *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, *&c.*

That no Man Indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment standing mute, to prevent the Processe of the Law against himselfe, shall have Benefit of his Clergy; But Law shall proceed against him for the crime whereof hee is Indicted, as if hee had pleaded to the same, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

Elizabeth Barton (call'd the *Holy-Maid* of *Kent*) and her Complices were attainted of High-Treason, for conspiring to slander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katherine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Because by the greedinesse of some, who have gotten into their hands much Cattell, and many Farmes, which they have turned from Tillage to Pasture (especially for Sheep) old Rents are raysed, prices of things Inhanced, and so, much Poverty and Theft ensued; It was Enacted, that no Man should have in his own or Farmed lands above 2000 sheep (yet that every Temporall Person may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no Man shall take and hold above two Farmes at once, and those to be in the same Parish; upon certain Penalties there set down.

The Statute of *Henry* 4th concerning Heretiques was Repeal'd. And it was Enacted, that Sheriffs in their Turnes, and Stewards in their Leets may make Inquiry and Presentment of Heretiques; Who being by two Lawfull Witnesses accused, may be Cited and Arrested by an Ordinary, and being convict in open Court, shall abjure their Heresies, and refusing so to doe, or relapsing, shall be burnt.

Also the Statute of *Richard* the third permitting free importation of all kind of Bookes, was Repealed. And (for the benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted that no Book-seller should buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any stranger, but by engrosse. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raised above reason, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treasurer, the chiefe

Justice

Juſtice of either Bench, or any two of them ſhall moderate the ſame, upon a certain Penalty. 1534.

Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged that the Convocation is alwayes aſſembled by the Kings Authority, and have promis'd his Majeſty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new Conſtitutions, without his Highneſſe aſſent and Licence; And whereas divers Conſtitutions and Canons Provinciall and Synodall heretofore Enacted, are thought to be Prejudiciall to the Kings Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realme, and enormous to the People; and the ſaid Clergy therefore hath humbly beſought his Majeſty that the ſaid Conſtitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination of thirty two men to be named by his Majeſty, or 16 of both Houſes of Parliament, and ſixteen of the Clergy, who may annull or confirme the ſame, as they find cauſe; It is enacted that all Convocations ſhall be henceforth called by the Kings Writt, and that in them nothing ſhall be promulged or executed without his Highneſſe Licence, under pain of Impriſonment of the Authors, and mulct at the Kings will. And that his Highneſſe ſhall at his pleaſure (ſeeing the time of this Parliament is too ſhort) appoint thirty two men as aforeſaid to ſurvey the ſaid Cannons and Conſtitutions, for the Confirmation or Abolition of the ſame.

And as concerning Appeales, they ſhall be made (according to the Statutes made the laſt yeare) from Inferiour Courts, to the Arch-Biſhops, and for lack of Juſtice there, to the Kings Majeſty in his Court of Chancery.

As concerning *Annates* uſed to be payd to *Rome* by Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, ſince there hath been heretofore an Act paſſed, and the Biſhop of *Rome*, otherwiſe called Pope being Informed thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the Kings Highneſſe for redreſſe of the ſame; his Highneſſe hath now Confirm'd and Ratified the ſame Act, and every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth Enact the ſame, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Biſhop ſhall be commended, preſented or nominated by the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor ſhall ſend thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, *&c.* but that at every vacation of a Biſhopricke, the King ſhall ſend to the Chapter of the Cathedrall a Licence (as of old hath been accuſtomed) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferr'd above twelve dayes next enſuing ſhall belong to the King, but being made within the time limited ſhall be held firme and good, and the Perſon ſo Elected, after certification of his Election to the Kings Highneſſe, and Oath of fealty taken to him, ſhall be ſtyled Biſhop Elect; and ſo by his Majeſty, bee commended to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province, to be Inveſted and Conſecrate. And if the Perſons to whom this Election, or Conſecration belongeth, neglect or refuſe to performe the ſame, or admit, or execute any Cenſures, Interdictions, *&c.* to the contrary, they ſhall incurre the Penalty of the Law of *Præmunire*.

Where-

1534. Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoveriſhed by the uſurped Exactions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, under the titles of *Peter*-pence, Procuration, Expedition of Bulls, Delegacies, Diſpenſations, *&c.* It is enacted that ſuch Impoſitions be no more payd; And that neither the Kings Highneſſe, nor any ſubject of his, ſhall ſue for any Diſpenſation, Faculty, Delegacy, *&c.* to the See of *Rome*, but that any ſuch Diſpenſation, *&c.* for Cauſes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as well to the Kings Highneſſe, as to his ſubjects: but in thoſe things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhall not meddle, without the Kings Licence. Provided, that all Diſpenſations, *&c.* whoſe Expedition at *Rome* came to foure pounds and upwards, ſhall be confirmed by the Kings Seale, and enrolled in Chancery, thoſe below foure pounds paſſing under the Arch-Biſhop's Seale only. That the Fees for theſe Diſpenſations ſhall be limited by the ſayd Arch-Biſhop, and the Lord Chancellour, and a part of the ſame (bee they great or ſmall) ſhall alwayes come to the Kings hands. As for all Monaſteries, Colleges, Hoſpitalls heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Arch-Biſhop ſhould have Authority to viſit them.

Laſtly, upon the ſute of the Parliament to the King for the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion to the Crowne (the uncertainty whereof hath cauſed heretofore great diviſion and bloudſhed in this Realme) It was enacted that the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur* (as was lawfully proved before *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) as contrary to Gods Law, ſhall be held voyd: and ſhe ſtiled no more Queen, but Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and the Matrimony with Queen *Anne* ſhall be taken for firme and good; and the Iſſue thence procreate bee accompted lawfull; the Inheritance of the Crowne to belong to the ſame in manner following, (*viz.*) Firſt to the eldeſt Sonne begotten by the King on Queen *Anne*, and to the Heires of the ſaid Son Lawfully begotten; and for default of ſuch Heire, then to the ſecond Son, *&c.* and if Queene *Anne* Deceaſe without Iſſue Male, then the Crown to deſcend to the Sonne and Heire of the Kings Body lawfully begotten, and the Heires of the ſaid Sonne Lawfully begotten, and for a default of ſuch Iſſue, to the ſecond Sonne in like manner, *&c.* And for default of Sonnes, that then the Crown ſhal belong to the Iſſue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and firſt to the firſt begotten the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, and to the Heirs of her body Lawfully begotten. And for default of ſuch Iſſue, then to the ſecond Daughter in like ſort, *&c.* And for default of all ſuch Iſſue, to the Right Heires of the Kings Highneſſe. It was Ordained that this Act ſhall be proclam'd before *May* next throughout the Kingdome. And all Perſons of age ſhall ſweare to accept and maintain the ſame. They who refuſe the Oath ſtanding guilty of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon; And they who ſpeake or write againſt the Marriage or Succeſſion

Succeſſion here eſtabliſhed, to bee adjudged Traitours. 1534.

Beſides all this, the preſent Statute expreſſed certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; (amongſt which, that between the Brother and the brothers Wife, was one) which being againſt Gods Lawes, could not be Diſpenced with by Man, and therefore no ſuch Marriages ſhall hereafter be made; and thoſe that are made already ſhall bee by the Ordinary diſſolved, and thoſe that are already ſo diſſolved, ſhall bee eſteemed juſtly and Lawfully diſſolved, and the Iſſue thence proceeding Illegitimate.

The Parliament riſing, Commiſſioners were ſent abroad to require the Oath of Succeſſion, which nevertheleſſe *John Eiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, late Chancellour, denyed, yet ſo as they both profeſſed a readineſſe to ſweare to the Succeſſion, but not to the whole Act, (it conteining divers other things. Firſt, the indiſpenſability of the firſt Marriage, as being againſt the Law of God. Secondly, of the Legall proceeding in the Divorce by *Cranmer*. Thirdly, ſome touches againſt the Popes Authority, *&c.*) But which of theſe in particular offended them, they would not diſcover; Therefore though Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* told *Cromwell* it were not amiſſe to accept the Oath as they offer'd it, both for ſatisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperour, (who much relyed on theſe Mens Authority,) they yet refuſing were ſent to the Tower, where they continued till they were brought forth to their tryall and Death, as will appeare hereafter. *March* 30. *April* 17.

The Pope having proceeded in thoſe Rigorous termes with our King (as is formerly mention'd) and for more Authoriſing his Sentence, made the Emperour Executour thereof, hoped now to have his Revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the Emperour did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen *Katherines* ſake, and the hope he had to diſpoſe of the Princeſſe *Mary*, as Inheritrix of the Crowne, yet as he had deeper deſignes, in aſpiring to the Conqueſt of *Italy*, and indeed to an Univerſall Monarchy, Hee was no leſſe glad of the occaſion to take off our King from the Pope; Howſoever each ſide prepared for warre. The Emperour's intention was, to give the Princeſſe *Mary* to ſome one, who upon her Title might pretend to the Crowne, whom therefore he promis'd to ſecond. Our King and *Francis* not ignorant of the Emperours deſignes, agreed on the other ſide, partly to joyn with the Duke of *Gueldres* for invading the adjoyning territories of *France*, and partly to renew the antient Claim to *Navarre*, and aſſaile the Emperour in thoſe quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperour take effect, becauſe there was no means to recover the Perſon of the Princeſſe *Mary*. Nor this of our Kings, becauſe *Francis* employing his thoughts wholly on the Affaires of *Italy*, did not think fit to comply openly with one againſt whom the Pope had Fulminated. Howbeit, our King for defence of his Authority and ſecond Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a confirmation thereof, and of the Succeſſion in that Line (as is mention'd

1534. *May* 11. before) ſending alſo to Queen *Katherine* at *Bugden* neere *Huntingdon*, in ſequence thereof, *Edward* Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, and *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, to ſignifie unto her, that he tooke it ill that ſhe ſtill claimed the title of Queen, *&c.* the paſſages of which Negotiation I have thought fit to tranſcribe out of the Originall Record, as containing many materiall points concerning the whole frame of the buſineſſe.

Their Letter to the King, was this:

PLeaſe it your Highneſſe to underſtand, that this day we repaired to the Princeſſe Dowager, and there I the Arch-Biſhop of *York* for an Introduction to declare to her the effect of our Commiſſion, ſayd to her. Firſt, that your Highneſſe had often ſent to her, divers of your Counſell, and amongſt them mee, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the Marriage, between your Highneſſe and her. Secondly, that Carnall knowledge which is the great key of the matter is ſufficiently proved in the Law, as alſo ſome that were of the Counſell do avow. Thirdly, that upon prooſe ſo ſufficiently made of Carnall knowledge Divorce was made between your Highneſſe and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by Lawfull ſentence, ſhe was admoniſhed to leave the name of a Queen, and not to account or call her ſelfe hereafter your Highneſſe Wife. Fiftly, how that after your Highneſſe was diſcharged of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your deareſt Wife Qeen *Anne*. Sixtly, that for ſo much as (thanked be God) faire Iſſue is already ſprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow, by Gods Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gathered together in Parliament, hath for the ſtabliſhment of this Iſſue, by your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succeſſion comming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances againſt all them that would in word or in deed withſtand them, and that for theſe purpoſes, we were ſent to her Grace, to the intent ſhe might underſtand the true purpoſe of theſe Acts, with the paines; leſt by Ignorance ſhe ſhould fall in any of them, and ſo I declar'd the Act. Which thing being thus declared to her, ſhe being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and alwaies interrupting our words to the aforeſaid points, made theſe Anſwers following. To the firſt, that ſhe took the Matrimonie between your Highneſs and her for good, and ſo alwaies would account her ſelfe to be your Highneſs Lawfull Wife, in which opinion ſhe ſaid ſhe would continually (till Death) perſiſt. To the ſecond, ſhe utterly denied that ever Carnall knowledge was had between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that ſhe would never confeſſe the contrary, and with loud voice when mention was made of this point, ſhe ſaid, they Lyed falſly that ſo ſay'd. To the third, ſhee anſwered, that ſhe is not bound to ſtand to that Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom ſhe called a Shaddow, and that although he had given ſentence againſt her, yet the Pope had given ſentence with her, whom ſhe took for Chriſts Vicar, and therefore would alwaies

obey

obey him, as his faithfull Daughter. To the fourth, ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe would never leave the name of a Queen, and ſhee would alwaies take her ſelfe for your Highneſs Wife. To the fifth, ſhe ſayd, that this Marriage, made after her Appeale, which ſhe made by your Highneſs leave and conſent, is of no value. To the ſixth, ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe is not bound to the Acts of the Parliament, for ſo much as ſhe is your Highneſs Wife, and not ſubject to your Highneſs, and alſo becauſe theſe Acts were made by your Highneſs ſubjects in your favour, your Highneſs being partie in this matter; with divers other unſeeming words. Unto which her Anſwer I the Biſhop of *Dureſme* replying, foraſmuch as ſhe had ſaid in her communication that both I and the reſidue of her Counſell had alwaies ſhewed unto her, that her matter is Juſt and good; I ſayd that all the queſtion whereupon we were conſulted at ſuch time as the Legats were here, depended only upon the validity of the Bull and Breve, albeit I ſayd, that ſith that time divers other queſtions had riſen and been debated by many Univerſities, the chiefe of Chriſtendome, of which one was *Bononia*, the Popes owne Town; and by them concluded, that after the deceaſe of the Brother, who had had carnall knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not Marry the ſaid Wife by any Diſpenſation of the Pope, becauſe it was forbidden by the Law of God. And foraſmuch as the Pope (albeit the ſayd concluſions have been by Learned Men ſent from your Highneſs, declared unto him) never made anſwer to maintain Lawfully his power to the contrary, but rather in confirmation of the opinions of the ſayd Univerſities, at *Marſeilles*, that if your Grace would ſend a *Proxie* thither, hee would give the ſentence for your Highneſs againſt her, becauſe that he knew that your Cauſe was good and Juſt, which his ſaying was according alſo to an Epiſtle Decretall ſent hither by the Legat *Campegius*, whereof the effect was, that if Marriage and carnall knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the Legates ſhould pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto proofes were brought in before the Legates, and alſo ſince, before the Convocations of this Realme, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and by them allowed, and approved as ſufficient and Lawfull: whereby it doth plainly appeare, that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, becauſe it pronounced the Diſpenſation, (which he had no power to grant, ſeeing it was againſt the Law of God) to be good; therefore I had now changed my former opinion, and exhorted her to do the ſemblable, and forbeare to uſurpe any more the Name of a Queen, ſpecially for that the Sentence ſhee ſticketh ſo greatly unto, was given after your Graces Appeale to the Councell Generall, and intimate to the Pope, ſo that it could not bee vailable. And that if ſhe ſhould ſo doe, ſhe might thereby attaine much quietneſſe for her ſelfe, and her friends: and that ſhe being conformable ſo to doe, I doubted not but your Highneſs would ſuffer her to have about her ſuch Perſons as ſhould be to her pleaſure, and intreat her as your Graces moſt deareſt Siſter, with all liberty and plea-

1534. *May* 20.

1534. sure, with divers other things, which by her much enterlacing, I was forced to answer unto. The specialties whereof, and of her obstinacy, that she will in no wise, ne for any perill of her life or goods relinquish the name of a Queen, wee do remit for tediousnesse unto the wisdomes and discretions of my Lord of *Chester*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Master *Redell*, who like as they have very substantially, wisely, and effectually, ordered themselves in the Execution of the premisses, so we doubt not, but that they will sincerely report the circumstances of the same unto your Highnes, whom we beseech Almighty God long to preserve in much honour, to his pleasure, and your hearts desire. At *Huntington* the 21th day of *May*.

By your Highnesse most humble Subjects
Servants and Chaplaines.
Edouard Ebor.
Cuthbert Duresme.

Notwithstanding which answers of the Princesse Dowager, such was the gentlenesse of our King, as betwixt the memory of his former love and pitty on her present condition, contenting himselfe to have
Dec. 18. 1533. *Hall.* dissolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her, all such as would not serve her as Princesse only; hee pass'd them over with much calmnesse. Howbeit he resolved to punish rigorously her adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth Barton* (called the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had almost stirred up more than one Tragedy; for being suborned long since by Monks, to use some strange gesticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned Miracles, accompanied with some Wisardly Unsoothsayings, she drew much credit and concourse to her, insomuch that no mean Persons, and among others *Warham*, late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave some beliefe to her; so that notwithstanding the danger that was to give eare to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry* VIII. should not live one Moneth after his Marriage with Mistris *Bolen*, she was cryed up with many voyces, *Silvester Darius*, and *Antonio Pollioni*, the Popes Agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the Plot being at last discovered, she was attainted of Treason in the Parliament, and executed with her chiefe Complices shortly after. At which time also she confessed their names who had instigated her to these practises, and whom she had acquainted with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* and *Fisher*; whom yet the King Pardoned upon their severall submissions, not suffering the Bills to passe, which were put into the Parliament against them.

Hall. Morisin Apomaxis. Novemb. 1533. *Ia.* 15. $15\frac{34}{35}$. *April* 21

More, March 5. *Fisher, Feb.* 27. $15\frac{34}{35}$.

After many bickerings betwixt the English and Scottish, a Truce first, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King James. On the King of Scots part *March* 23. came to London *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberden*, *Robert Reid* Abbat of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne*, a Lawyer. To treat with these on our Kings behalfe, were appointed *T. Audley*, Chancellour; *Cromwell*, Secretary, and *Edward Fox* Almoner.

1533. *Sept.* 1534. *March* 23.

April 12.

The

The Treaty was for perpetuall Peace, which was concluded *May* 20. during their joynt lives, and a yeare after, and sworne by King *Henry Aug.* 2, and by King *James*, *July* 9. It was also agreed, that King *Henry* shall redeliver to the King of Scots the Fortresse of *Edrington*, lately taken by the English, and the King of Scots shall not impute breach of Peace to King *Henry*, if he entertain *Archibald* Earle of *Anguis* his Brother, or his Uncle, and if the said *Douglasses* should chance to Invade *Scotland*, Redresse should be made according to the Lawes of the Marches, and the Peace remain between the two Kings. Which that it might continue during their lives, as was then agreed, Queen *Margaret* by Letters sollicited Queen *Anne* and *Cromwell* the Secretary. While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was sent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of St. *George*, whereunto hee was also accepted at *Windsor* the next year *July* 28. he had Instructions also to acquaint him, with an Interview intended betwixt our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be present, and for this purpose to passe through his Kingdome, that they both together might go to *Calais*; Which favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was disappointed, so our King who desired much to conferre with his Nephew, invited him to *York*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the businesse to his Counsell, who judging *New-Castle* to be the fitter place, made an excuse for the present, promising yet the yeare following to meet, if he so thought good. Nevertheless, as our King well knew upon what ground this meeting was deferr'd, the Lord *William Howard*, and *William Barlow*, Elect Bishop of St. *Asaph*, were sent to make certaine Overtures and Propositions to that King, whereof in its due place.

1534. *May* 20.

July 4.

This yeare *Charles* the Emperour being in *Spain*, intentive chiefly to the proceedings of the Turke, and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, desirous to govern without home-opposition, such a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and such favourable usage given the Protestant Princes, that the Pope complained openly of *Ferdinands* Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excused all with Reason of State. Which also the Pope accepted the rather, that the Anabaptists (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the Lutherans) did then prevaile in many places, and particularly held *Munster* in *Westphalia*. So that because the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, promised to contribute some Forces to the besieging of that place, hee said hee had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no man knew how farre the Innovations of these times might reach, it was thought to be of much importance, that they had drawn one side to oppose the other. In *France* also about this time, the Evangeliques began to take Root, though so covertly, that few durst openly avow it, yet as they found favour and Protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutchesse *d'Estampes*. So the King himself whether for deciding the Cause, or love of these two Ladies (whereof one

June 29. *Sleid. l.* 9.

Flor. Ramund. l. 7.

1534. was his Sister, and the other his Favourite) refused not to conferre privatly with divers of the reformed, and to give some such tacite Assent to their Doctrines, as thereupon growing audacious, they adventured to set up Papers in the Court and publish Libels against the Church of *Rome* in such manner, as *Francis* being incensed thereat, caused the Authors to be sought out, and burnt. Not yet but that hee could have been content to have had some points reformed, and the Papall Authority diminished a little, but that hee feared it might cause a division in his Realme, as he saw it had done in the Empire. Therefore, following a violent course, and improper to convince those who are well perswaded of their Religion, hee condemned the Professours thereof to the fire. While yet on the other side (as the French Historians confesse) Hee entred into a League with the Turke, to the no little scandall of his own, and all the Christian Religion. But as this was not without some great Designe, so he instituted certain Legionary Souldiers, or Regiments of Foot throughout *France*, to the number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compos'd of two thousand Harquebusiers, and foure thousand Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were Commanded by twelve Captaines (having five hundred a piece) under six Collonels; While to draw the People voluntarily to support this Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the service they owed the Crown, by reason of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Pesant from all Impositions, saving twenty Sols apeice. Many good Ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering this Militia, Neither did the King misdoubt that the putting of Armes into so many of his Subjects hands would redound to his prejudice, or the People feare that their liberty should be oppresst thereby. So that it gave not only security at home, but reputation abroad; All which was done, while the Emperour prepared for a Voyage to *Tunis*, the Relation whereof also, I shall set down in its due place.

Sleid. Com l.7.

Novemb.

Dupleix De Serr.

De Serr.

Sept. 26. This yeare upon the 26th of *September*, Pope *Clement* the VII took his end, For as he had been troubled long, with a weakenesse in his Stomack, which his Physitian *Curtio* advis'd him to Remedy by change of Dyet, so being not able in an infirme State to suffer such an alteration, he sunke under his Disease and dyed. This Pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill Fortune, more than any other of his sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all; Hee was happy in his Interviews, as returning ever with some advantage, without that the committing himselfe to the power of those puissant Princes whom he met, did diminish his Authority, in a time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. Hee was a passionate lover of the advancement of his Family, for which purpose also, hee sometimes chang'd the whole face of the Affairs of *Europe*. His Riches were rather in Jewells than money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. Hee was provident enough in conducting all Affairs where Armes did not Intervene, but withall so timerous

rous, that it was reproached to him. The Hiſtorians of thoſe times beſides Note him to have been of little Faith. Both which properties ſeeme the more credible that he ſo often varied in his Treaties with our King. Inſomuch that he may be thought for more than one Reaſon ro have wilfully loſt him. Into this Place ſucceeded *Aleſſandro* of the houſe of the *Farneſi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately Choſen, neither did his Age being 67. exempt him while every one thus might hope in his turne to ſucceed. Which opinion alſo hee ſo cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have uſed ſome Art to make himſelfe thought ſtill more ſickly than he was. 1534. *Octob.* 12.

Our King who ſtill ſuſpected that the Pope and Emperour had their Deſigns upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and ſtrengthen himſelfe. For which purpoſe alſo this occaſion was given, *Frederic* King of *Denmarke* dying about this time, and leaving the Crown in competition between his Son *Chriſtian* (yet a child) and *Frederic* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothie*, elder Daughter to *Chriſtiern* II, and the Emperours Siſter, the Lubekers and Hamburghers offer'd our King for the ſumme of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country which ſhould be at his devotion, and thereby exclude the Intereſt which the Emperour or his Neece had to that Crowne. Concerning which our King taking advice with his Counſell, It was thought fit to propoſe the buſineſſe to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his affection, (which he had lately found cold) and eaſe himſelfe of the charge, the halfe whereof therefore hee deſir'd *Francis* to ſupport. But what anſwer *Francis* return'd, appears not, only I find by a Dutch Hiſtory, that a great ſumme of money, was lent by our King, whereupon alſo they proceeded in their warre, which yet at laſt being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment. *Bewther.* 1535. *May* 25.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (on the 9th of *July* as our Hiſtorians have it) was Arraigned at *Weſtminſter* of High-Treaſon, but as the principall Witneſſes produced againſt him by his accuſers (Sir *Ralph Fenwick* and one *Muſgrave*) were ſome mean and provoked Scottiſh-men, ſo his Peeres acquitted him, as believing they not only ſpoke maliciouſly, but might be eaſily ſuborned againſt him, who as one (having been Warden of the Marches) by frequent Inroads had done much harme in that Country. And thus eſcaped that Lord to his no little honour, and his Judges, as giving example thereby how Perſons of great quality, brought to their Tryall, are not ſo neceſſarily condemn'd, but that they ſometimes may ſcape, when they obtaine an equall Hearing. The 11th of *Auguſt*, this yeare, our King, as hee was watchfull over the voice and affection of his People, ſo for the finding out how they would take his Deſigne of putting downe Religious Houſes, began with the remove of ſome. And therefore ſuppreſſed at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmont*, and other places the Obſervant Fryars noted to be the moſt clamorous againſt Him, and for them ſubſtituted the Auguſtines, placing the Obſervants again in the Room of the Gray-Fryars, as ſome have it, though others mention *July* 9. *Holinſh.* *Speed.*

not

1534. not this latter Exchange; Which passages though of no great moment, in regard of that which followed, our King was glad to find no worse interpreted, since they served to establish his Authority.

Regn.26. Novemb.3. I shall come now to the Lawes Enacted in the Parliament held *Novemb.3.* this yeare, which were important, and such as testified the great respect and awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The first was to this effect. That albeit the King was Supreme Head of the Church in *England*, and so recognised by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet for more corroboration thereof, as also for extirping all errours, heresies, and abuses of the same; It was Enacted that the King his Heirs and Successours, Kings of *England*, should be accepted and reputed the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England* (called *Ecclesia Anglicana*) And have and injoy united and annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realme aswell the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Preeminences, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the said dignity of Supreme Head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said Soveraigne Lord his Heirs and Successours, Kings of this Realme, shall have full power and Authority from time to time, to visit and Represse, redresse, reforme, order, correct, restrain and amend, all such errours, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spirituall Authority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, represſed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the encrease of Vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conservation of the Peace, Unitie, and tranquility of this Realme, any usage, custome, forreigne Lawes, forreigne Authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. Which Act, though much for the manutention of the Regall Authority, seem'd yet not to be suddenly approved by our King, nor before hee had consulted with his Counsell (who shewed him precedents of Kings of *England*, that had used this power) and with his Bishops, who having discussed the Point in their Convocations, Declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction warranted to him by Gods word in this Kingdome, Which also was seconded by the Universities, and by the subscriptions of the severall Colleges, and Religious-houses so farre as they bound their Successours thereunto. The particulars whereof are to be seen in our Records. How soever, the Businesse was both publiquely controverted in forreigne Countries, and defended here by many at this present, while they produced Arguments for rejecting the Popes Authority, and together maintained it necessary, that such a power should be extant in the Realme for supporting and strengthning of the Religion professed in it, and excluding the Impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of these times. The Arguments of all which, may be seen in the Kings Booke *De vera differentia Regia, & Ecclesiastica Potestatis* (which we have formerly

June 1. Records.

June 27. Sept.11.

formerly mentioned) as being Printed, and Publiſhed on this Occaſion; Whence alſo the learned Biſhop *Andrews* in his *Tortura Torti*, ſeemes to have drawn divers Aſſertions of the Regall Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further recourſe. 1534.

It was alſo declared Treaſon to attempt, Imagine or ſpeake evill againſt the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Alſo, that no Traitor ſhall have benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realme, yet upon Commiſſion given by the King for his Tryall, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law ſhall proceed againſt him, as effectually, as he were preſent.

An Act alſo made the laſt Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the Kings ſubjects for the ſurety of the Succeſſion by Queen *Anne* was now Confirmed, and the Oath preſcribed, for the more validating whereof alſo, it was declared that all former Oaths concerning Succeſſion taken by the Kings ſubjects, ſhould be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the Augmentation, maintenance and defence of the Kings Royall Eſtate and Dignity of Supreme Head, the Firſt-fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, *&c.* Spirituall, ſhall be paid to his Highneſſe. As alſo a yearly Revenue, being the Tenth part of all ſuch Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* not excepted.)

Whereas alſo it was doubted, leſt in theſe troubleſome times ſome Commotion might follow in this Kingdome, and that particularly *Wales*, as being a ſtrong and faſt Country might be a refuge for ill affected Perſons, and the rather that there were ſo many Lordſhips Marches in thoſe parts (the ſeverall Lords whereof having ampler power than they now enjoy, did protect Offenders flying from one place to the other) Divers Lawes were enacted againſt Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in *Wales*; Paſſage over Severne alſo at unlawfull times was prohibited, and Clerkes convict in *Wales*, not to be releaſed till they found Sureties for their good abearing. Notwithſtanding which, the yeare following upon mature deliberation, *Wales* was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of *England*, it being thought better to adopt that People into the ſame forme of Government with the Engliſh, than by keeping them under more ſevere and ſtrict Lawes than others in the Iſland were ſubject unto, to hazard the alienating of their affections.

An Act alſo was made, declaring by whom, and in what manner Biſhops Suffragans ſhould be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Privileges ſhould be.

And thus after a free and Generall Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogued. The Act of Supremacy being thus paſſed, the King proceeded more confidently to aboliſh by Proclamation, the Popes Authority out of his Kingdome, and eſtabliſh his own, the Doctrine whereof hee commanded not only to be often

Preached

1535. Preached in the moſt frequent Auditories, but taught even to little children, injoyning further that the Popes name ſhould be razed out
June 25. of all books, his Reſolution being after this time to treat with him no
1535. otherwiſe than as an ordinary Biſhop, In ſequence whereof alſo, hee not only proceeded with an high hand againſt all the oppoſers of his Supremacy, (as ſhall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or promiſe, under their hands and Seale from his Biſhops, declaring their acknowledgement of the ſame, together with Renunciation of the Popes pretended Authority, and any Oath or promiſe made to him heretofore. The forme of this Oath or promiſe
Feb. 10. given by *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Febr.* 10th, 1535,
1535. may be ſeen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

1535. IN the beginning of this yeare *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, Admirall of *France*, being ſent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Naſſaw* had been on the Emperours part with the King his Maſter, and among other Overtures of agreement, propoſed to him two Marriages; to which yet he would returne no anſwer without our Kings advice. One, was betwixt the *Dolphin* and the Princeſſe *Mary* our Kings Daughter (which alſo *Bellay* mentions, adding that
Mar. Bell. l. 4. notwithſtanding, the inſtances which *Francis* made, the Emperour would not declate his further intentions herein;) the other was betwixt the Emperours Sonne and the French Kings youngeſt Daughter. To which points as alſo ſome others here following, our King
Record. commanded his Agents in *France* to return this anſwer. That he marvaild much at the Emperours malice, in medling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore deſired *Francis* to ſurceaſe this Treaty, ſince hee knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperours reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis* that the Emperours intention (Notwithſtanding all his promiſes) was to divide him firſt from his League with *England*, and afterwards diſappoint him; for though he had underſtood by the ſaid *Bryon*, that the Emperour upon ſome conditions had offer'd to *Francis* (for one of his Sonnes) a Penſion of a hundred thouſand Crownes, payable yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* it ſelfe after the death of *Sforza*, hee deſired him to give no credit to ſuch improbabilities. And, here, I muſt obſerve that *Bellay* who ſpeaks of the Penſion, ſaith nothing of the Dutchy it ſelfe, ſo that it may be that *Bryon* ſtretched this point. And whereas the ſaid *Bryon* had told him theſe things ſhould be Treated of by the two Siſters, Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the *Low-Countries*, who, I find by the Spaniſh Hiſtory did afterwards meet at *Cambray*) Hee thought hee diſparag'd this Buſineſſe, to commit it to Women. After theſe points, and ſome others (which as they followed not, I ſpare to reherſe) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the Cenſures of *Clement* late Pope againſt him. And to tell him, that he would ſend Commiſſioners ſhortly to

treat

treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angouleſme* (his third ſonne) and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* our Kings Daughter, which ſhould bee more advantageous than the Emperours Offer. Whereupon, this year in *May*, our King who knew there was no ſo good way, to prevent the danger on the part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the French, and beſides would have been glad that the Popes Cenſures were retracted, ſent the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to Treat with the French Kings Commiſſioners, being *Philip Chabot* Admirall, and *Guillaume de Poyet* afterwards Chancellour of *France*, to this effect, as I find by their Inſtructions. 1535. *May.*

To require *Francis* together with his Children, as alſo his Spirituall and Temporall Nobility, to enter into bond to revoke the Cenſures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from ſome propoſition which *Francis* made of Reconcilement with the Pope.) That hee, his Nobility and Univerſities ſhould declare the late Marriage to bee good, and bind themſelves to maintain the ſame, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain conditions, whereof theſe are the Principall.

That all former Treaties ſhall ſtand in force. That when the Parties came to ſufficient years they ſhould ratifie the Marriage. That *Monſieur de Angouleſme* ſhould be preſently ſent to our King to bee brought up in *England*. That if hee ſucceeded to the Crowne, the Dutchy of *Angouleſme* ſhould be free from homage to the French Kings. That he ſhould not change the Lawes of the Realme, and that ſufficient ſecurity and caution ſhould be given for this purpoſe. But ſome of theſe being thought to be high demands, our King ſent ſhortly after *George Bolen* Lord *Rochford* with power to modifie and allay ſome points, yet ſo as Hee inſiſted ſtill, *Francis* ſhould bind himſelfe and his three ſons to revoke the Cenſures. And to declare, that it was enough if the Duke of *Angouleſme* came hither when the Eſpouſalls were to be made. At laſt by third Inſtructions our King ſaid, he was content to accept the ſingle Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Cenſures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of *Angouleſme* came ſix Moneths only before the compleat Marriage. To the firſt of which points the French Commiſſioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd, affirming that it was ſufficient, if the young Duke came to conſummate the Marriage. This while Sir *John Wallop* (Ambaſſador in *France*) being commanded to propoſe the ſame Conditions to *Francis*, was ſo ſharply anſwer'd, that our Commiſſioners reſented it. Nevertheleſſe as ſome Articles were agreed on the part of the French Commiſſioners: ſo they again demanded what help our King would give to the King their Maſter towards the recovery of his Mothers Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as alſo about the Penſion uſually paid to our King, ſome wrangling words were interchang'd, while wee demanding that which was in Arreare, they deſired to be exonerated of the whole; And thus the Treaty remained imperfect; yet ſo as I find *June.* *June 6.*

by

1535. *May* 14. by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Revocation with much earneſtneſſe, and not a few threats unto the new Pope. Though as *Paulus* III. was by nature ſlow (as *Caſalis* obſerves) and that the Emperour, beſides, had his deſignes in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that time againſt our King, ſo no effect followed. For which yet none ſuffer'd ſo much as the Pope himſelf, It being certain our King hitherto paſſionatly deſir'd to be, if not reintegrated, yet at leaſt in good termes with the Roman Church, as far as with his dignity he might.

Sandoval. 1533. 1534. This while, *Haradin Barbaroxa* King of *Argel*, that famous Pyrate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth gloried in ſome ſort to be ſuperiour to the Princes thereof) obtained the Kingdome of *Tunis*, ſo true is the antient Verſe, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema.* This man being ſent for, by *Solyman*, and conſtituted Admirall in the Spring 1534, with 100 ſayle of all ſorts; 8800 ſouldiers, and 800000 Duckats, began his expedition for Chriſtendome the ſame day that *Solyman* undertooke his for *Perſia*. His principall deſigne was upon *Genoua*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the Spaniſh Hiſtory hath it; In his way to which, he burnt or took many ſhips in *Sicily* and *Italy*, ſacking divers Towns, and making many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be ſuch a Prize for *Solyman* as the beautifull *Julia Gonzaga*, Hee commanded two thouſand Turks to land by night, and ſeize on her Perſon, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, but ſhe halfe naked eſcaped them. Some difficulties yet appearing about the deſign of *Genoua*, *Barbaroxa* makes for *Tunis*, which at laſt between Stratagem and force hee tooke 22 *Aug.* 2534, and made himſelfe King thereof, *Muley Hazem* the true Prince flying for his more ſecurity unto the Mountaines. Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, hee thought fit to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. As hoping that *Solymans* being in *Perſia*, and the troubles, and confuſions, which are incident to unſetled and uſurped Governments, would make his deſigne eaſie. And as hee was one who knew the uſe of Spies in any great enterpriſe, hee deſcended ſo low, as to give particular Inſtructions to one *Luys Preſendes* a Genoueſe well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large ſet down by *Sandovall*. The effect of which were, That he ſhould have certain moneys given him, wherewith he ſhould buy a ſhip and commodities to Traffique with *Tunis*, and by thoſe meanes inſinuate himſelfe into the acquaintance of the principall Perſons both in the Town, and about *Barbaroxa*, and therupon either to make a Party with the diſcontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might Joyn, or elſe to penetrate the deſigns of *Barbaroxa*; For which purpoſe alſo he had liberty, & Letters of Credence to make himſelf Ambaſſadour and Negotiate with *Barbaroxa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperours ſervice to proceed that way; Giving him Authority further, to promiſe aſſiſtance to *Barbaroxa* for the Conqueſt of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperour. But whether through want of dexterity to uſe ſuch different Inſtructions, or that other-

Sand. *Aug.* 1. 1534. *Aug.* 7. *Aug.* 22. 1534. *Sand.* *Nov.* 14. 1534. *Sandov.*

otherwiſe another who was privy to his Imployment, did diſcover him (which ſome affirme) he was ſeiz'd on by *Barbaroxa* and put to death. Which being related unto the Emperour did but haſten his Expedition, wherein he reſolved to goe in Perſon. 1535. *Sandov.*

This while, *Francis*, who was intire to the Actions of the Emperour, both as himſelfe had his deſignes in *Italy*, at that time, and that he had entred into a ſecret League with the Turke, thought fit to acquaint *Barbaroxa* therewith, by the means of one *Monſieur de Forreſt* a French-man, who from thence was commanded to go to *Conſtantinople*, and procure ſuccours for him; the ſucceſſe whereof wee ſhall tell hereafter; And now the Emperour being aſſiſted by the Pope, and *John* King of *Portugall*, and attended by *Don Luys*, Son to the ſaid *John*, *Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobilitie of *Spaine*, ſet ſayle from *Barcelona*, *May* 13. and come to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence 13 of *June* 1535. with twenty five thouſand Foot, and about two thouſand Horſe, beſides the Nobilitie and Adventurers, and ten thouſand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sayle, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of ſixty paces one way, and ſixty five the other, ſituate on a ſtrait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tuniz* ſtands. Which place, though defended bravely, was at laſt taken, together with a great part of the Fleet of *Barbaroxa*. After which, the Emperour leaving the Lake on the left hand, Marched to *Tuniz* (where *Barbaroxa* was) being a City of about ten thouſand Houſes, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the Moores intended to burne with their Priſon, eſcaping out of it and taking Armes at the ſame time that the Forces which *Barbaroxa* ſent to defend the Paſſage were routed by the Imperialiſts, *Barbaroxa* with about ſeven thouſand men, and much riches, fled out of the Towne, quitting his Raigne ſo, after that hee had enjoyed it not a full yeare; ſome of the Townes-men hereupon comming to the Emperour, and acquainting him Herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Emperour, that two houres ſpace might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alleging for this purpoſe alſo ſome probable inducements; When yet the crafty Moore, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining ſo much time for the Townſ-men to hide their moſt pretious riches, from the rapine of the ſouldiers; To which purpoſe alſo, hee gave them privat warning. The Emperour, at laſt, entering, and together giving Liberty to many Slaves, reſtored it to *Muley Hazem* upon theſe Conditions. That hee ſhould ſuffer him to retaine *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and ſome other places belonging to the Kingdome of *Tunez*. That certaine Churches for Chriſtians ſhould bee allowed. That hee ſhall no more make Chriſtians Slaves, or protect Pyrats, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they tooke. And now *Charles* finding no more to bee done in thoſe parts, the yeare being farre ſpent, and his men ſicke of Calentures, and being not ignorant beſides, of the 1534. *July* 14. *July* 20. *July* 21. *Aug.* 6.

1535. *Aug.28.* designes of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the twentieth of *August* 1535. from whence hee went shortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell sicke, the supposed cause whereof (as I find by our Records) was, a griefe hee tooke, that a servant of *Monsieur de Forrest*, returning with a Dispatch concerning his Negotiation with the Turk, was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbin*, and all the Treaty by this means, discovered to the Emperour; yet, at length taking Heart, and recovering, he sent our King word therof, who *Nov.* thereupon commanded a solemne Procession to be made in *London*.

While the Emperour was at *Tunez*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the Command of *Philip Chabot*, Admirall of *Fraunce*, sent to his Uncle *Charles*, Duke of *Savoy*, for passage through his Country, giving out that he desired it only, to Revenge the death of his Ambassadour *Merveilles* upon *Francesco Sforza*. But the Duke conscious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the *Contado* of *Asti* (belonging to the House of *Orleans*) of the Emperour, and besides, had accepted the Emperours Order, when he refused the French, wanted not occasion to suspect the entrance of so potent an Army into his Country. Therefore he denyed Passage. Whereupon *Francis* incensed, sends to require of the Duke the Inheritance, falling to him by *Louise* of *Savoy* his Mother. Demanding also restitution of a great part of *Piemont*, and the Marquisat of *Salusses* as belonging antiently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. *Dupleix.* The Duke (as being allied to *Charles*, by his Wife *Beatrix*, Sister to *Isabella* the Empresse) sends to him for Ayde, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the Lands, he held on this side the Mountaines in exchange for so much in *Italy*. *G.Bellag.* This being reported to *Francis*, inraged him so much the more against the Duke, so that hee commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*; whereof in his place.

Charles seeing these preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the present to resist them (his Army being return'd sick & much weakned from *Tunez*) for gaining of time, thought fit to renew the Propositions of Allyance and Accord, formerly mention'd to *Francis*. Not omitting the while to Leavy Forces in *Germany*. Neither did hee thinke to find any so strong opposition in *Francis*, as long as he hoped that hee had given our King enough to doe in the parts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But as that of *Scotland* by our Kings industry tooke no effect, so that of *Ireland* was prevented, as by this Narration drawne chiefly out of our Records may appeare.

The Earle of *Kildare* being (as is abovesaid) now restor'd again to his Liberty and Pardoned, return'd into *Ireland*, conducted by Sir *William Skiffington*, Master of the Kings Ordnance, who was also made Deputy there about 1530. and *Ossorey* displac'd. But some stirs arising, which *Skeffington* was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to reinplace *Kildare*, as a man much esteemed by his Country-men. Thus was Hee made Deputy in *Ireland* again about 1532, where hee

1530. *Campion.*

pacified

pacified the Country, and *May* 19. 1533. unger the Title of Deputy to *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerset*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, held a Parliament at *Dublin*. But the old grudges between his family and *Offorei*'s, beginning to break out anew, and himselfe being accused to have invited *ONeale* and others to spoile the Countries of *Offorey*, not without suspition of further designe, he was sent for by our King, with command to substitute at his departure some able Man, who might govern during his absence. This charge was committed to *Thomas* his eldest sonne. Who shortly after (hearing that his Father was convict and to be put to death in *England*) rose up in Armes, and combining with *O Neale*, *O Carol*, *&c.* of the Irish Nobility, committed divers outrages, and particularly *July* 26. 1534. Murder'd Doctor *John Allen* Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, heretofore *Woolsey*'s Chaplain and Commissarie, and forced the Citizens of *Dublin* to take Truce with him till Michaelmas, and in the mean time to admit some Bands of his men, into the City, to lay siege to the Castle; (which was defended against Him,) while himselfe with the rest of his Army depopulated the Country of *Offorey*. The News wherof being brought into *England*, the old Earle then in Prison, died as is thought of griefe, and the King appointed Sir *William Skeffington* by the name of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under the Lieutenant thereof, the Duke of *Richmont*, with a well-provided Army to suppresse the Rebell. For though some of the Irish Nobility stood firme to our King, and particularly the Earle of *Offorey*, and his son *James* Lord *Butler*, whom *Fitz-gerald* had in vain sollicited; yet they were not able to make Head against him. And here it is remarkable how politiquely that Family strove to preserve it selfe. For though three of five Brothers of the late Earl of *Kildare* were against our King, two others offer'd their service to him. Who yet (as it was danger either to receive or refuse them) were but coldly welcomm'd. Michaelmas now approaching, (when the Truce with *Kildare* expired) *Francis Herbert* having been sent from *Dublin* at the beginning of these Stirs, to give notice thereof to King *Henry*, returned with a comfortable promise of Succours, and a command to defend themselves; Whereupon the Citizens suddenly laying hold on the Rebells, who besieged the Castle, shut their gates, and stood upon their guard. Which *Fitz-gerald* understanding, comes, with an Army of 15000, and assailed the City, which yet was stoutly maintained, by the Townsmen, and particularly by *Francis Herbert*, who behaved himselfe so well, that as I find by severall Originall Dispatches of *Finglas*, Chiefe Justice of *Ireland* Dated in *November* 1534, the City by his Politique and manfull defence was preserved; Insomuch, that if he had tarryed three dayes longer, it was said, both it and the Castle had been lost. I find also by their Originall Dispatches, dated in the same Moneth, that he shot and kill'd twenty foure of the Rebells with his own hand, whereof twenty in one day. For which service also, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the Kings Counsell in *Ireland*. Notwithstanding which, as he was single,

1535. Irish Stat. *xxv. H. VIII.*

Iune 11. 1534.

August. Hollinf.

Sept. 24. *Hollinf. Records*

Records.

1535. and the City much preſſed by *Kildare*, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water and Fewell, ſo at laſt they were inforced to Treat upon
October 14. certain Conditions, which were, That the Citizens ſhould ſet at liberty ſuch of his men, as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within ſixteen weeks; And he on the other ſide ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility, during the ſaid ſpace, and redeliver their
Octob. 16. Children. Being thus departed from *Dublin*; two daies after, Sir *William Skeffington* arriving on the coaſt of *Ireland* with his Army, a falſe Report came, that the City was yeelded, whereupon a Counſell of Warre being aſſembled, the reſolution was, that *John Salisbury* and Sir *William Brereton* (two of the Captaines newly come over) ſhould be ſent to *Dublin* with ſome Forces being about five hundred men, to relieve it (if it were poſſible,) and that the Lord Deputy ſhould ſet ſayle for *Waterford*, where, about the ſame time, Sir *John Saintlo*, and Sir *Rice Manſell*, landed with five hundred Souldiers; who, joyning with the Earle of *Oſſorey*, ſpoiled the Country of *Kildare*; While *Brereton* and *Salisbury* comming, during the aforeſaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any difficulty, where alſo they reſolved to proceed hoſtilly againſt *Kildare*, as having during this reſpite, deſtroyed ſome part of the Country adjoyning, contrary to his Promiſe. While Affaires paſſed thus, the Generalls on either ſide made uſe of the time. For as *Kildare* ſent to the Emperour for obtaining ſupplies, (in which buſineſſe a ſervant of the Earle of *Deſmond*, in whom the Emperour had a ſpeciall confidence, was em-
Octob. ploy'd) ſo the Lord Deputy (being now come to *Dublin*) Treated with the Nobility, to diſcover their Affection, as not knowing otherwiſe, how to forme a Party amongſt them, on which he might rely. For which purpoſe alſo he thought it not amiſſe to conclude a Truce with *Kildare*, untill the fifth of *January*. *Kildare* in the meane time
Dec. 14. incouraging his Souldiers with hope of Succours from *Spaine*. The aſſurance whereof being brought him by the Earle of *Deſmond*'s ſervant, He forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our
Records. Kings defection from the Roman Catholique faith, and together deſiring that he might hold the Kingdome of *Ireland* from that See upon payment of a yearly Tribute. In theſe uncertainties, Sir *John Allen* Knight, formerly Secretary to the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, now
Dec. 26. Maſter of the Rolls there, a dexterous Perſon, gave the King this advice; That he ſhould quickly publiſh, whether he would Pardon *Kildare*, and ſo ſave charges, or otherwiſe proſecute warre againſt him; ſince he ſaid, that untill this were declared, the Gentry of *Ireland* durſt not oppoſe *Kildare*; as fearing that when he were reſtored, hee would Revenge himſelfe on all thoſe who oppos'd him. In the mean while, the Earle of *Deſmond* dying, leaves his Eſtate Litigious betwixt his Brother and Grand-child. The Truce now expiring, our Army (which took ſome few places at their firſt landing, and made ſome
Nov. 30. light skirmiſhes,) lay idle for the moſt part. Inſomuch that having gotten *Kildare* Caſtle, they ſuffer'd it to be loſt again. At laſt, being

commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputie in *March* following, took *Maynoth* or *Mynwoh* Castle onely fortified and defended by a hundred of the chiefest servants and souldiers of *Kildare*. Which place our Records say was gotten by Battery & Assault, so that *Hollinshed* seems to be mistaken when he writes it was betrayed by one *Parese*, Foster-Brother to *Fitz-gerald*, the Garrison being by him made drunke, the night preceding, and that for this Treacherie, instead of Reward, the Deputie commanded him to be hanged. And further our Records tell us, that one of the said Garrison deposed, that the Emperour had promis'd to send thither 10000 Men, but that the King of Scots had assured them of Ayd; Armes in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from *Flanders*, and other places. Some defeats also were given to those Troopes of the Rebells which appear'd. Nevertheless as they daily increased, and *Skeffington* was old, weak and slow in all his Enterprises, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, Brother to the Marquis *Dorset*, though allyed to *Kildare*, was (under the Duke of *Richmont*, who dyed shortly after) Authorized to execute the Place of Deputy Lieutenant in *Ireland* to the no little griefe and discontentment of *Skeffington*. Whereof *Kildare* being advertis'd, and for the rest finding himselfe reduced to some necessity, by the delay of the Emperour, and uncertainty he found in some of his Complices, thought fit to yeeld himselfe to the Kings Mercy, yet so as the Lord *Gray* together with the other Commanders promis'd to intercede effectually with the King in his behalfe. Which I find they perform'd, and particularly the Lord *Gray*, whose Sister the old Earle had Married. And thus *Kildare* was brought by the Lord *Gray* to *London*, and his five Uncles not long after, where, upon examination, the businesse being found to merit punishment, they were at last Executed. Notwithstanding the earnest mediation of the Lord *Gray* and others. And now these troubles of *Ireland* being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace with *O Neale* for a yeare or two, and together to summon a Parliament, both for giving order to those grievances whereof the Irish complained, and for settling the Businesse of Supremacy and Succession, in that forme it was establish'd in *England*. Whereupon it was assembled *May* 1. 1536. And in it the Acts of Succession, of Supremacy, of First Fruits, Against Appeals to *Rome*, *&c.* as also an Act for the Attainder of the late Earle of *Kildare* and his Complices were passed. And because the King had spent in this Warre forty thousand pounds, he demanded together with a present satisfaction for his charges, a yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spirituall and Temporall accorded in great part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly Rents, first for ten years following, and at last for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogued till the year following.

1535.
1535. *March* 23.
June 12.
August.
1537. *Feb.* 3.
May 1. 1536. *Feb.* 28.
Irish Stat.

The Supremacy being (as is above-said) Invested in the King, by the Approbation of his Parliament. The Universities and Bishops of this Kingdome did not a little second him; (And particularly

Nov. 3. 1534. *Fox.*

1535. *Stephen Gardener*, whose Latin Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpose, with the Preface of Doctor *Bonner* (Arch-Deacon of *Lichfield*, and about these times Ambassadour with the King of *Denmark*) being yet extant in Print, and by *John Fox* digested to a summe) I shall not mention otherwise; my intention being not (in a History) to discusse Theologicall matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted, as farre as the notice of them is come to me. Notwithstanding, as our King desir'd to give and receive all satisfaction herein, so knowing that the esteem of *Reginald Poole* was great in forreigne Countries, and especially in *Italy*, where he now lived at *Padoua*; Hee sent unto him, desiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few words; Whereupon *Poole* May 23. 1536. Writes, and dispatches to him, his booke *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, inveighing therein against the Kings Supremacy, as also against his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen *Katherine*; exciting the Emperour to Revenge the injury offer'd her, concluding with an advice to *Henry* to reconcile himselfe to the Catholique Church, and the Pope as head thereof. Our King having perused this, and knowing it could not June 14. 1536. long lye hid in *Italy*, (though *Poole* had promis'd not to publish it,) sends for him by Post to come into *England*, to explane some passages thereof. But *Poole* knowing that it was declared Treason there, to July 15. deny the King the Title of Supreme head, which he had principally intended in his Booke, refused, desiring the King nevertheless, as being now freed from her, who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present time, and to reintigrate himselfe with the Pope, and accept the Councill now summon'd, whereby, he might have the honour of being the cause of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwise he would be in great danger. Hee wrote also to *Cuthbert Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresme* to incline the King hereunto. But this Bishop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the bitternesse of his Booke, and counselling him to burn the Originall, denyes that King *Henry* hath separated himselfe from the Roman Church, but only freed himselfe from the unjust usurpations of the Bishops of that See. (And to this purpose, another large Letter joyntly written, after, from the Bishops of *Duresme* and *London* may be seen in *Fox*.) But *Poole* being at this time, invited to *Rome* by 1537. the Pope, and utterly refusing to burn a Catholique Booke (as hee July 26. 1536. said) like an Heretique, our King hastned the publishing at home of a Declaration, called the Bishops Booke, signed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, and Nineteen other Bishops, Wherein is alleged out of Antient Histories and Councills, how many Hundred years had past, before the Pope took on him this superiority over other Bishops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; Which is, that they shall observe and keepe inviolably the first eight Councills, that Decree a limited power to all Bishops, and particularly the first Councill of *Constantinople*, which both excludes forreigne Jurisdiction every where, and allowes

Records.

Bishops

Bishops within their severall Dioceſſes, an absolute power to determine Controversies arising within their Precincts; And together shewes how the Papall Authority was first derived from the Emperours of those times, and not from Christ, whose Kingdome they said was Spirituall and not Carnall; setting forth this doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and some Fathers. But to return to 1535. Neither the Example of others which subscribed, nor the Terrour of the Statute could hinder divers Religious Persons to continue in their former Opinions. Insomuch, that they openly spake against the Kings Supremacy. Which being made known, caused him to advise with his Counsell concerning their punishment, Some indeed thought that Imprisonment, Banishment, or the like, was chastisement enough for those, who confessing the Kings Supreme Authority in all Temporall matters, did out of scrupulosity, rather than Malice impugne the rest. But when it was objected, again, both that the Number was too great for either of those punishments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be death, it was not safe to go lesse, especially when some exemplary Justice might contain the rest in Obedience. Our King who needed now no motive to severity, resolved to proceed Legally against them. Therefore some Priors, and other Ecclesiasticall Persons, that were criminall in this kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this year condemned, as Traitours were executed, being the first that suffered in this kind. This piece of Justice was not yet grown so familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to such violent courses; Therefore hee not only mourned inwardly, but caused his head to be Polld, and his Beard formerly shaven, to be cut round, though others facetiously interpret it to be nothing else, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new countenance; But if hee proceeded thus rigorously against the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no lesse punish the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the Roman Catholique Religion. Therefore, as the last yeare hee had condemned *John Frith* a Sacramentary to the fire, so hee now caused divers Hollanders in *London*, who had devised some different Opinions by themselves, concerning certain Articles of Christian Religion, to be burnt in Smithfield. Shortly after which, again, some others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both sides it grew a bloudy time. Only, as our King found the terrours already given, did not suffice to keep the rest in awe, he resolved to make some great Examples.

1535.

May 4.

Sanders Schism. Angl.

July 22. 1534.

May 25.

June 18.

Therefore, he layd Hand on *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, who having been imprisoned now a years space, for refusing to sweare to the Act of Succession, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urged with the Supremacy; Which hee disallowing (as having not given his voluntary Oath or promise thereunto the last yeare, together with other Bishops) incurr'd the danger of the Law. Which also was taken the worse, that in the Convocation 1530. hee had yeelded

Apr. 1534. *Nov.* 1534.

May 7.

1535. yeelded the Title of *Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Angliæanæ quantum per Christi Legem licet.* Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his
May 21. Opinion, had declared him Cardinall of St. *Vitale* during his said restraint (though he professed that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not stoop to take it up.) So our King understanding thereof was much more incensed, both as the Pope had conferr'd his most eminent honours on a Man kept by him in Prison, and guilty of the highest punishment his Lawes could inflict, and as hee knew of what consequence it would be, if his subjects were thus incourag'd to contemne his Authority: Therefore hee resolved now to deferre his Justice no longer. Whereupon, the said Bishop as publikely convicted and condemned for divers points (the particulars whereof, yet I have not seen) but only that on the seventh of *May* last in the Tower of *London* before divers Persons, Hee had falsly, Maliciously and Traiterously said, That the King is not Supreme head of the Church of *Eng-*
June 22. *land*, was by the Kings command openly beheaded the 22th of *June* 1535. Thus did the Popes favour but precipitate the Bishops Ruine; against whom notwithstanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in singular esteem, for his learning and good parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that hee was Author of King *Henry*'s Book against *Luther* (as *Sanders* and *Bellarmine* will have it) or Sir *Thomas More* (as others say) though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the Kings favour, and where it was needfull also interpose their Judgement. This while, the Pope, who suspected not perchance that the Bishops end was so neere, had for more Testimony of his favour to him, as disaffection to our King, sent him the Cardinalls Hatt, but unseasonably, his head being off. Nevertheless, as he had first desired *Francis* to mediate for him, hee omitted not afterwards publikely to Justifie his Actions, calling him by the name of *Sanctissimus Episcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a Breve subscribed by *Blosius* (as I find it, briefly mentioned in our Records, extracted by *Sanders*, and extant in the *Bullarium*.) Of which hereafter) both that he was Innocent, and our King an Heretique, *&c.* But this again was defended in an Apologie written here in Elegant Latine, Whether by *Stephen Gardiner* (who as I find in our Records wrote a Justification of the King herein) or some other; Which I should have inserted but for the length, and as some would judge it for the vehemency. Though, as the King retained still all the chiefe Articles of the Roman Church, it cannot be wondred if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh against one that had given his Soveraigne that odious Title.

Our King being thus many wayes exasperated against the Pope, neglected no meanes of extirpating his chiefe Agents and Favourours, and, with them, all his Authority in this Country; Therefore he proceeded against Sir *Thomas More*, committed at the same time, and for the same cause, with *Fisher*. For though (as *Sanders* saith) he would by the Bishop of *Rochister*'s exemplary death have brought *More* to a conformity,

conformity, yet finding that it was impossible, hee commanded his Counsell in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir *Thomas More*, (as his Indictment hath it) *malitiosè silebat*, saying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with such matters. Hee was accused also for holding secret intelligence by Letter with the Bishop of *Rochester*, during their Imprisonment; which appear'd both by the confession of the said Bishop, and that they held the same language. It being observ'd that both of them said, in their Examinations, the Act about the Supremacy was like a two edg'd sword, for if one answer one way, it will confound his Soule, and if the other way, it will confound his Body. Yet *Richard Rich* the Kings Sollicitor (made afterwards Lord *Rich*) comes to him again, and having first protested that hee had no Commission to talke with him of that matter, (as believing perchance his former Answer, or silence had sufficiently convinc'd him,) did, as is in the Record, demand then, if it were enacted by Parliament, that *Richard Rich* should be King, and that it should be Treason for any to deny it, what offence it were to contravene this Act? Sir *Thomas More* answer'd, that he should offend if hee said no, because he was bound by the Act; but that this was *Casus levis*; Whereupon, Sir *Thomas More* said hee would propose a higher Case, suppose by Parliament it were enacted *quod Deus non sit Deus*, and that it were Treason to contravene, whether it were an offence to say according to the said Act; *Richard Rich* replied yea; but said withall, I will propose a middle Cale, because yours is too high. The King you know is constitute Supreme head of the Church on Earth, why should not you Master *More* accept him so, as you would mee if I were made King by the supposition aforesaid. Sir *Thomas More* Answer'd, the case was not the same, because (said hee) a Parliament can make a King and Depose him, and that every Parliament-man may give his consent thereunto, but that a Subject cannot be bound so in the case of Supremacy, *Quia Consensum ab eo ad Parlamentum prabere non potest* (for so it is in my Copy if it be not mistaken) *Et quanquam Rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes extera idem non affirmant*. All which being produced together, and added to his refusall of the Oath of Succession, for which in the Parliament of *November* 1534. Hee was attainted of misprision of Treason, as I find by the Parliament Rolls, was thought sufficient to condemne him. So that notwithstanding many subtill defences made by him, while hee contended to have given no offence but in silence, (unlesse it were in comparing the Statute to a two edged sword, which yet he said, he alleged no otherwise, than to shew how dangerous it was to answer,) and Notwithstanding also his denying utterly the Passage between the Sollicitor and himselfe in that Sense (perchance hee meant the Latine) which is above related, the Jury in his Tryall *July* 1. before the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *&c.* declared him guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a Statute

1535.

May 7.

June 28.

June 12.

Jun 12.

1534. *Reg.* 26.

Life of Sir *Tho. More*, by *T. M.*

June 28.

1535. *July 6.* Statute *Regn.26.* was made high Treaſon. This great Perſon hereupon going ſhortly after, to the place of Execution, met among many friends one only Enemy, who openly revil'd him, for a Sentence heretofore given in Chancery, to which, yet, he made no anſwer, but that if it were to doe, he would do ſo again. And, now, being reſolv'd to die, he returned to his wonted facetiouſneſſe. Therefore, being to goe up the Scaffold, he ſaid to one; Friend help me up, and when I go down, again, let me ſhift for my ſelfe as I can. Being now mounted, the Executioner (as the cuſtome is) asked him forgiveneſſe, which he granted, but told him withall, hee ſhould never have honeſty by cutting off his Head, his Neck was ſo ſhort. Then laying down his head on the block, he bid the Executioner ſtay till hee had layd aſide his Beard, for (ſaid he) it never committed Treaſon. After which, comming to ſome private Devotions, hee received his death. Thus ended Sir *Thomas More*, with ſo little conſternation, as even terrours of death could not take off the pleaſure hee had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly though hee fell into the danger of the Law, they thought his intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous anſwers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himſelfe any way. 1534. *March 5.* Beſides, by an Originall of his, (about this time, written to *Cromwell*) it appears that heretofore upon peruſing the Kings Book againſt *Luther*, he diſſwaded him to exalt ſo much the Papall Authority, leſt it diminiſhed his own. Profeſſing nevertheleſſe both out of the reaſons urged in that Book, as well as his private ſtudy of that queſtion afterwards, hee could not deny the Pope a Primacy, However yet hee could not hold it ſuch, as that the Authority derived to him thereby, was to be preferr'd above a Generall Councill.

This while (as I find in our Records,) our King upon the death of *Clement* VII. hoping better of *Paulus* III. gave Sir *Gregory de Caſalis* new Inſtructions to adviſe him, to regard the King of *England*, and to conſult with ſome Learned men in his cauſe, (not imitating *Clement*, who knowing the truth conceal'd it) and theſe learned men to be choſen out of *France*. To this, alſo, the Pope ſeem'd to give ſome eare, untill Newes came to *Rome*, firſt, of the Execution of divers Monkes *June 1.* in *England* for denying the Supremacy, and then of the death of *More* and *Rocheſter*. Whereupon, the Pope reſolving to proceed againſt our King, begins to Minute terrible Bulls, whereof, I find, there were five ſeverall formes. But this which I find in the *Bullarium*, and extracted *Aug.30.* by *Sanders* (dated *Aug.30.*) was that which was approved and made *Sanders.* uſe of, being to this effect. Firſt, objecting to him, aſwell the Divorce of Queen *Katherine*, as the Marrying *Anne*, and making Laws againſt the Popes Authority, and puniſhing thoſe who contradicted (as lately the Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*) He warnes the King, to reforme theſe faults; Or upon refuſall Cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at *Rome* within ninety dayes to anſwer, which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, ſubjects the whole Kingdome

Kingdome to the Interdict; declares the Issue by *Anne*, illegitimate, forbids Allegeance to his subjects, Commerce with other States; dissolves all Leagues of Princes with him; Commands the Clergie to depart out of *England*, the Nobility to take Armes against him, *&c.* Having resolv'd this Censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounced, till he saw all hope past of reclaming King *Henry*, or at least that the Emperour was at leasure to execute it, of which hereafter, 1538. Our King, hearing of this, entertaines friendship with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the rather that intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declared hee would give away his Kingdome to some Roman Catholique Prince of that Country, as being (it seemes) unwilling to greaten *France* or *Spaine* therewith, lest afterwards himselfe should not be so able to sway the ballance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to bee effected, or that our King fear'd any such attempt, as long as hee stood upon good termes with his subjects, but that by strengthning himselfe in *Germany*, hee might the better chastise that Person, who upon the Popes Incouragement durst undertake the Enterprise. I doe find also, that the French King, did concurre in this Treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the death of Pope *Clement*, the chiefe support of the great Designe in *Italy* did fall, and as Hee began to give some eare to the Evangeliques in *Germany*, as appears by his sending for *Melanchton*, and other Passages in *Sleidan*, which I shall hereafter set downe. Howsoever, our King as he found that with no little asperity hee maintained his Authority at home, so hee thought his care should be the greater to Justifie it abroad. Insomuch that hee sent unto all places, (where hee held correspondence) to give, together with an account of his Actions, the reason why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Doctor *William Barlow* the Kings Chaplaine, and Elect Brother of St. *Asaph* being Joyn'd in Commission with *Thomas Holcroft* to *James*, labour'd to give him all manner of Impressions, which might bring him to a conformity; Which *Buchanan* also mentions, saying that *James* was intreated to Read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his Clergie, so (as, the same Author hath it) they together with some learned Men, whom our King offered to send, for further Declaration of this point, were for the present rejected. Which againe, being advertis'd to our King, Hee thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the said Bishop, to *James*, to make him divers advantageous Propositions, and withall to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being pressed by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former Proposition; *James*, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our Ambassadours write) to procure by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhibiting this Journey, so that untill the receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other excuses; by which, yet, I find hee denyed not a meeting with our

1535.

Buch.

1535. our King, but desir'd him, only, it might be in *France*, and the French King present, as hoping, thereby (it seemes) to be lesse constrain'd, then if hee came single into our Kings Dominions; All which, as it did but increase our Kings Jealousie of his Nephewes intentions (for hee expected Warre from many hands, as the Pope had threatned) so hee endeavoured but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what consequence it was, to keepe his Kingdome safe on that part; and therefore, labour'd still, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papall Jurisdiction in his Dominions, but made some other Overtures; both of Creating him for the present, Duke of *Yorke* (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Successor in this Kingdome, in case hee conform'd himselfe for the rest. But his Clergie (however Queen *Margaret* had given hope thereof) being utterly averse, diswaded him; yet some operation I find it seemed to have. For by an Originall Dispatch in *May* following 1536. *James* certified our King, that he had sent to *Rome* to get impetrations for reformation of some enormities, and especially, anent the ordering of great and many possessions, and Temporall Lands given to the Kirke by our noble Predecessours. To which as our King not only gave credit, but a safe conduct to the Messenger, as was desired, so Hee seem'd to receive some satisfaction, and together hoped, hee would not, at least, so soone bee drawne to assist his enemies, and, therefore, forboreawhile to sollicite this point, pursuing, nevertheless, the proposed Interview, but more slackly then before, but *James* had other Designes, as shall be told the yeare following.

May 2. 1536.

Our King finding thus, that businesses were safe on this part, proceeded more confidently in his Intentions of suppressing, together with the Popes Authority; all those who chiefly supported it. And, because hee thought Monasteries, did furnish more able Men to contest with him in this point, then any part else, hee advised how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one said thus.

SIR,

IF in all Affaires, betwixt your Highnesse, and any else, at home, or abroad, it be the part of a Counsellour to give a free and impartiall advise: I shall, under favour, crave the same liberty in those things that intervene betwixt God and your Highnesse, both because the duty wee owe unto that supreme Majesty is transcendent, and that generall and publike Errours committed against him, are of a more pernicious consequence then any else. In confidence of Pardon, therfore, I shall presume to opine concerning the businesse of Monasteries now in question. SIR, if it were first propos'd now, whether it were fit to erect them, I must confesse I should give my Assent, not yet that I should allow any excessive number, or perchance approve all the rules observed in them. But wholly to exclude so pious a retrait for men unapt for Secular businesse, or otherwise retir'd from the World, were, in my conceit, to leave those unprovided for, who of

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all other were most proper in a devout life, to serve and glorifie their Creator. There is in my opinion, therefore, a due place left for Monasteries; yet, when they grow to that multitude, that either the just proportion they should beare in a State, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they should become a Receptacle only for lazie and idle Persons, I should think fit to apply some convenient remedy. But Sir, who shall give it? for if wee referre all unto the Pope, how could we ever hope of a moderation, especially while they are but Retraits for so many servants entertaind for him at other Mens costs. And if your Highnesse (especially since you have taken upon you the Supremacy) should suppresse them, what a scandall would follow? for who would think Sir, at home or abroad, that your Highnesse exercis'd your new charge therein, as you ought, or complyed with your place? Againe Sir, what a wrong would it be to the Founders of them, who had as much right to give some of their lands to that use, as their Heirs have to enjoy the rest? would they not say this were to trench on the publikely right, and to frustrate whatsoever either Divine or Humane Lawes have establish'd? Therefore, Sir, be pleas'd not to thinke so much of their overthrow, as Reformation, Or if there be occasion to suppresse some, as being supernumerary, yet since they are houses dedicated to God, be pleas'd, by all means, to convert the profit arising thence, to some other pious use, and howsoever, to reserve a sufficient number in every Shire for either Sex; and so shall your Highnesse both excuse all Obloquie, and together manifest the care you have to keep up those antient Monuments of Devotion. 1535.

To which another, who better understood the Kings Mind, First, Answered thus.

IF it be true, that they speak enviously (that I may say nothing else) who would reduce all Reason of State to the sober Principles and Doctrines of Faith, it is no lesse certain, that they speak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In State, there is use of all: Only as it is a Simmetricall Body, nothing in it must passe proportion. Insomuch, as neither the Secular Magistrate or Clergie, on the one side, nor the Souldier, Merchant, Artificer and Husbandman on the other, should exceed a just quantity. The due composition of it, being such as there may be those who may labour and fight, as well as Pray for it. Else, who would not change our Generalls and Captains to Bishops and Deans, and our Shipping and Forts, to Chappels and Religious houses? but what a Proportion Sir doth the Clergie now hold, when the fourth part of the Revenues of the Kingdome is employed that way. For Sir, when the Tenth wee pay them in one kind, and the Lands they hold in another, are estimated, they amount to this rate or more, as I am inform'd. I shall not yet bee hasty to suppresse them. I confesse all true which was now said, And doe not only admit the piety of their Institution, but the use that may be made of some few, as two or three in every Shire. Neither, shall I ever consent that more should be suppresst then were needfull, and yet the money employ'd for your Highnesse most urgent Occasions only. The

1535. Supernumerary part of them and your Forrests being by me held like Jewels of your State, which though they yeeld not ready coine, may ever be converted to it. I should for this reason (when there were no other) conserve them as much as were possible. But Sir, when I consider again, how the Pope or Bishop of *Rome* (as your Highnesse commands him to be call'd) hath threatned to joyne all Christian Princes against your Highnesse, and that in these Monasteries, he nourishes a Seminary of factious Persons that oppose your Supremacy. And what Instruments they may be of stirring sedition in your Highnesse Kingdome, at the same time that some forreigne Power should invade it, I cannot but wish some good order were given. I should thinke fit therefore they were instantly Visited, and those who were unable to keep the Vowes they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to some more Active life, and the vices of the rest, not only chastised, but care taken to punish those who henceforth speak or behave themselves licentiously. And, so farre forth, your Highnesse will but make lawfull use of your Supremacy. As for the suppression of any, not I, but some violent and inexcusable necessity must bee the Counsellour. If your Highnesse have any other way to defend your selfe against the threatned Invasions, I shall never advise you to this; And yet that, no further then to bring your Estate to a just temper.

Our King considering the reasons on both sides, said, hee would cause the Monasteries to be severely visited, and the enormous Crimes of them, (having been formerly rather subject to Pecuniary Mulcts, then corrected as they ought) to be examplarily punished, and a reformation given to all abuses, Protesting nevertheless, that hee would suppresse none, without the consent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politiquely foresee, that some for conscience sake, (the Roman Religion being now, much cryed down) and others for avoyding the Charges of the warre (then menaced) would sooner lay the burden on those Monasteries, then take it on themselves; whereof in its due place. And now *Cromwell* the Secretary, a man so disaffected to those houses, as He was thought a favourer of the Reformers, being made General Visitor, employed *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Legh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of the Law, Doctor *John London*, Deane of *Wallingford*, with others giving them Instructions in 86 Articles, for Visiting Monasteries every where; by which, they were to enquire into the Government, behaviour, and education of the persons of both Sexes. To find out all their Offences, and to this purpose given them incouragements to accuse both their Governours and each other. To command them to exhibite their Mortmains Evidences, and conveyances of their Lands; To produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be observed, some tending to the establishing of his Supremacy, some touching the good Government of the houses; As that no Brother go out of the Precinct; That there be but one entrance; That no Woman frequent the Monkes, nor any Man the Nunnes, *&c.* And some for education, as, That a Divinity Lecture, be every

Records.

day

day Read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound some part of the Rule of their Order, Shewing yet that these Ceremonies, are but Introductions to Religion, which consisteth not in Apparell, shaven heads, *&c.* but in purity of mind. That none shall professe or weare the habit till twenty foure years of age. That no feigned Reliques nor Miracles be shewed. No offrings to Images, *&c.* 1535.

Upon these and other Injunctions, Joyned to the Inquisition aforesaid, the Commissioners found means to make divers Monasteries obnoxious, for upon the Petition of divers Monkes who were weary of their Habit, some alleging for their excuse, that they were professed before they came to the years of discretion; Others, that the late Injunctions were too strict to bee observed; the King seizing on the House, commanded that they who were professed under twenty foure should be set at liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty foure, when they made their Vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time, the men, if in Orders, should have a Priests Habit given them, and forty shillings in money; the Nunnes should have only a Gown, such as secular Women ware, and liberty to goe whither they would. The condition yet of some, being better, who for surrendering their Houses to the King (to which by threats and faire words they were induced) got small Pensions during their Lives. Others, by paying great summes to the King and *Cromwell*, redeemed their Monasteries from the present calamity; Yet so, as even from these also, divers Jewells and Church-Ornaments were taken away to the Kings use. Which being done, *Legh* and the rest at their return, gave that accompt of their employment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Reliques, aswell as sinfull and sluggish life of the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwell* with much violence said, their houses should be thrown down to the foundation, but the whole body of the Kingdome, when it was published to them (which I find industriously procur'd) became so scandaliz'd thereat, as they resolv'd if the King ever put it into their hands, to give remedy thereunto, yet were not all alike Criminall; For some Societies behav'd themselves so well, as their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like exercises, their Visitors became Intercessors for them. But of those as I find not many mention'd, so they were involv'd at last in the Common Fate, it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the fault of Manners (which might bee corrected) should be taken by the People as the sole cause of their dissolution; and as it was pretended that the Revenues should be employ'd to some better uses. Not long after which, again the King caused all Colleges, Cantries, and Hospitalls to be Visited, not omitting to take a particular survey of all the Revenues and Dignities Ecclesiasticall within his Kingdome, which was return'd to him in a Book, to be kept in the Exchequer.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or

1535. *Octob.4.* *Dec.6.* *Sleid.l.6.* *Decemb.21.* *Sleid.l.9.*

fruſtrate their deſignes who were moſt able to offend him. thought it his part now, to aſſure thoſe who might be of moſt uſe. Therefore he ſends *Fox*, Biſhop of *Hereford* to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, aſſembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an unitie in Doctrine, wherein he offered his beſt aſſiſtance by conference with their Divines, as being the only ground of eſtabliſhing, either Peace at home, or correſpondence abroad; That unleſſe this were done, it would bee a great prejudice to them in the Councill now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Invention and Artifice of the Popes to entertain time, and in the mean while to ſow diviſion among them, as he doth now incite Chriſtian Princes againſt *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore, they were not to expect a free Councell how much ſoever promiſed, yet if they deſired Counſell they ſhould attend till all Chriſtian Princes were at Peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent place, it being impoſſible otherwiſe, but that it ſhould be partiall and factious. That this being done, as he had expelled the Popes Authority out of his Dominions, ſo he would Joyn with them to reſtore Gods true Worſhip. And ſo the Biſhop concluded, deſiring only ſome might be appointed to whom he might ſpeak of theſe buſineſſes privatly. To which after due thankes, they anſwer'd, that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not ſtand to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion: That they tooke well his Highneſſe Admonition about the Councill Generall, now promis'd at *Mantoua*. But that, (as they had anſwered *Vergerius* the Popes Legat) they did not think either that the place was fit, or that the Pope had the ſole right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the Emperour and other Princes. For the reſt, they ſaid, they would appoint ſome who might communicate privatly with the Biſhop, as was required, of which wee ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more deſired to heare of Peace in the Empire, than Schoole-Arguments how well ſoever diſputed, confirmed the Treaty made 1532. Of which the Duke of *Sax* (who came from him to *Smalcald*) advertis'd the Proteſtants, who *Decemb.* 24.) Decreed, That the League betwixt them, made 1530. for mutuall defence in the cauſe of Religion, now ſhortly expiring, ſhould continue ten years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who received the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. To this Diet *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* (employ'd from *Francis*) came likewiſe. But his adviſes, though for the moſt part conformable to our Kings, were not ſo acceptable. For as *Francis* by Confederating himſelfe with the Turke (that formidable Enemy of *Germany*) had diſoblig'd the whole Nation on the one ſide, ſo by burning divers Evangeliques in *France*, he had on the other ſide much incenſed them all againſt him; which diſpleaſure, being fomented many wayes by *Ferdinand*, had intercluded almoſt all correſpondence betwixt them, till by *Monſieur de Langeys* induſtry it was revived, Who to appeaſe them, alleged not only ſome Excuſatory Letters formerly ſent, but ſaid his

Maſter

Maſter could not make any Allyance, nor lend any Ayd to any Prince againſt them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenents of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſſe they were both Authors of diſſention in his Kingdome, and deſpighted the Antient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in private Conference with their Divines, he declared that the King his Maſter was not averſe to moſt of their Tenents ſet down in *Melanchthons Loci Comunes*; And Particularly that hee did not hold the Popes Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *humano*; though *Henry* VIIIth (he ſaid) denyed it either way. That Purgatory, being the ground of the Maſſe, and all their gainfull doctrine, Hee had required by what place in the Scripture they proved it: To which all the anſwer they made, after divers Moneths ſpace, was, that they would not give their Adverſaries Weapons which might afterwards be returned or retorted on themſelves. As for Monaſteries, hee ſaid, that he thought it might be obtained of the Pope, that none who were not of ſome ripe age, ſhould Vow themſelves to that life. Or if they did, they might leave it and Marry if they would. But by no means, that his Maſter would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather employed towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for Marriage of Prieſts, hee thought this the beſt expedient, that Men already Married, might (notwithſtanding their wives) be admitted to Execute the Prieſthood; But for others, they ſhould not Marry, or if they would, they ſhould relinquiſh the Prieſthood. As for Communion under both kinds, that the King had heretofore ſpoken with *Clement* VII at *Marſeilles*, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this Pope, that free uſe of both might be granted according to the Conſcience of him that tooke it, Alleging for this purpoſe from the King his Maſter, how he had heard from Antient men, that about 120 years agoe, it was the manner to communicate in both kinds, in the Chappels or Oratories, but not in the Body or middle of the Church. Nevertheleſſe, that the Kings of *France* received it ever in both kinds. Which when his ſaid Maſter urged, the Prieſts did anſwer him, that Kings were Annointed and therfore might Communicate in both kinds aſwell as they. For the Scriptures ſpake of the Royal Prieſthood, but it was not lawful for others to do ſo. That in the cõmon and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things ſhould be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was heretofore committed by *Clement* to the Cardinall *de la Creuz*, though not with any good ſucceſſe. In concluſion he exhorted them to ſend ſome of their chiefe Divines to conferre with thoſe he had in *Paris*; And that he would make ſuch a choyce, as if ſome that were appointed, were vehement, and eager, he would alſo joyn others that were mild and temperate Perſons to Treat with them, to the intent that all parts being diſcuſſed, the truth might appeare. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give eare, or agree to any Councill untill they knew his mind and the King of *Englands*, who both were reſolv'd to do nothing but by a mutuall conſent. As for thoſe who had power to call it, that his Predeceſ-

1535.

Sleidan.

ſor

1535. for *Louis* was of opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperours and Kings, and that the King of *Navarre* was of the same mind, but that pope *Julius* Prescribing or Excommunicating them both. *Ferdinand* of *Spain* took that occasion to Conquer *Navarre*. Nevertheless that the King his Master confest no Councill was Authenticall, unless it were both assembled in so safe a Place, and held in so free a manner as no man might suffer for speaking his conscience. After all which, the said *Monsieur de Langey* did sollicite them much, to enter into a strict League with the King his Master. But they, whether out of favour from *Ferdinand* and the Emperour, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwise they were not sufficiently satisfied of the French Kings proceedings, formerly mention'd, refused this. So that *Monsieur de Langey*, (though professing on the present Popes part, that if matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common good and Peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what mistaking or obstinacy, this great overture for bringing all the differences in Religion, to a moderate and uniforme accord, was interrupted and broken off; It being probable that *Francis* would have subscribed to the Tenents of Religion which himselfe propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the rest. But as *Monsieur de Langey* told them, they might afterwards repent their neglect of so great an offer, so it prov'd true, as by the sequence will appear. For *Francis* who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope usurped over Kings were something diminished, and the abovesaid Articles in Religion established, finding there was now no probility of an Union, thought it safer to rule by his Antient Maximes, then to run the trouble and hazard of a Re-
Sept. 7. formation. Yet I find by an Originall from *Christopher Mount* a German, and Agent of our Kings, then in *France*, that *Monsieur de Langey* did once receive from the Protestants certain Articles concerning Pacification in religion, which he delivered the King his Master, which thereupon being perused, mitigated and changed by the *Sorbon* or *Parisian* Divines were again returned to the Protestants, who likewise advising of them, said they would tolerate this change, *Modo spes Concordiæ hinc accessura sit*. But this was before *Langey*'s Oration above mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the French Kings Actions formerly delivered. I find also by the same Originall, that *Mount* was commanded by our King to hasten to *Germany*, and to dehort *Melanchthon* from going to *France*, whether he was invited by that King, and to perswade him hither. For as about this time the German Protestants desired both friendship and Accommodation in Religion with King *Henry* and *Francis*, into whose hands they put the Arbitrement of their differences, so both Princes sought to make use of *Melanchthon*; especially our King; having, as I find in the Instructions to *Mount*, a great opinion of his Vertue, Learning, Temperance and gravity, and therefore desired his presence here, both for framing an accord with the Germans, and (when that succeeded not) for appeasing the Differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being

ing thought a fit work for that Pious & Modeſt man, how ever he be branded by ſome, *tanquam de omni Religione ſecurus.* But if *Mounts* Relation of his Conference with *Monſieur de Langey* may be intirely believed, or (if you will) *Monſieur de Langey* himſelf; One of the points the ſaid Proteſtants would have agreed to was, *Se ferre poſſe primatum Epiſcopi Romani, ad ſervandam Doctrinæ Conſenſum in Eccleſia, modo ſecundum Dei verbum omnia judicet. Langey* himſelfe confeſſing *Impoſſibile eſſe prollare Primatum Epiſcopi Romani ex Dei verbo,* And that this point was ſo far acknowledged by *Clement* VIIth, that he ſaid he was content, *ut Primatus hic poſitius jure deferatur,* and that the more learn'd Cardinals in *Rome* were of this Opinion. But theſe things I leave to the credit of *Mount*, the diſcreet and diligent *Sleidan* not mentioning any ſuch moderation on either ſide, and *Mount* himſelf giving indeed no other Authority for this, but *Monſieur de Langey*'s word by way of diſcourſe, who yet when he was demanded for a ſight of the Articles and Cenſure above related, excuſed himſelfe. 1535. probare.

This year ſome Letters from *Sevill* in *Spain* extant among our Records, advertis'd our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperour from *Peru*, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the ſpoiles of the Country than otherwiſe. No rich Mines being then found. Nevertheleſſe, that the Inhabitants of *Andalauzia* flock'd thither in ſo great numbers, that the Country was almoſt left empty. Which Intelligence though of great conſideration was yet paſs'd over; the King being intentive wholly to the ſetling of Religion, and the right of Succeſſion, which I find he did with all induſtry procure.

It appears by our Hiſtories that this yeare great Braſſe Ordnance, as Cannon and Culverins were firſt caſt in *England*, by one *John Owen*, they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and farre from the perfection of which they are at this preſent, as may be ſeen in *Tartaglia*, and ſome other Antient Authors.

Queen *Katherine*, or, as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princeſſe Dowager, finding now no aſſiſtance but ſpirituall from the Pope, nor reparation procur'd by the Emperour but incertain and ſlow, and for the reſt grieving at the proſperity and fruitfulneſſe of Queen *Anne* (now with child again, wherof yet ſhe aborted) fell into her laſt ſicknes at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdon*-ſhire in the fiftieth year of her age, & the xxxiii ſince her comming into *England*, during which time, though comforted by the King and *Euſtachio Chapuys*, Doctor of both Laws, and Ambaſſadour reſident from *Charles*, ſhe fel ſo deſperatly ill, as finding death now comming. She cauſed a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect. January 29 1536.

My moſt Dear Lord, King and Husband.

THe houre of my death now approaching I cannot chooſe, but out of the love I beare you, adviſe you of your Soules health, which you ought to prefer before all conſiderations of the world or fleſh whatſoever. For which yet you have caſt me into many Calamities, and your ſelfe into many troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to doe ſo likewiſe. For the reſt I commend unto you Mary *our Daughter, beſeeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore deſired. I muſt intreat you alſo, to reſpect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three, and to all my other ſervants a years pay beſides their due, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for; Laſtly I make this Vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things.* Farewell. Polyd. Virg.

Beſides,

1535. Besides which Letter she dictated another to *Eustachius*, desiring him to procure that the Emperour might put our King in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it.

1536. Jan. 8. The King having received her Letter, became so compassionate, that he wept; But her death being related shortly after, he caused her goods (which I find estimated to 5000 Marks) to be employ'd toward the Funeral chiefly, and after to those that deserved recompence; and her Body to be buried with due solemnity in the Monastery at *Peterborough*, which for the honour of her memory, King *Henry* reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a Bishops See. The News whereof, not long after, being brought to the Emperour, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in singular esteem. But as he considered, that in her death all causes of Hostility were ceased, and that besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the Turk then to pursue the Execution of the Popes Banne (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more then to close handsomly with our King; Nevertheless, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himself till he had sounded first our Kings disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in the Instructions of our King to Doctor *Richard Pate*) *Charles* (by his Resident Ambassadour here) propos'd a Renovation of the antient Amity, upon these Conditions. First, that our King would be Reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offered his mediation. Secondly, that our King would ayd him against the Turk. Thirdly, that (according to the Treaty 1518) hee would help him against the French, who now threatned *Milan*. To which our King answerd; That the first breach of amity proceeded from the Emperour, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King *Henry* is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely; As for the Conditions proposed. First touching the Bishop of *Rome*, the Proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the Parliament of *England*, that it cannot be revok'd. Therfore, though the Bishop himself hath made means to him for Reconciliation, yet it hath been refused. Secondly for ayd against the Turk, when Christian Princes shall be at Peace, then King *Henry* will do therin as to a Christian Prince belongeth. Thirdly, for ayd against *France*, he cannot resolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperour, that so being indifferent friend to both, he may freely travaile, either to keep Peace between them, or ayd the Injur'd party. And these answers of the Kings, *Pate* was to signifie to the Emperour then at *Rome*, and to urge him to renew the Amity without any such Conditions; But, as the Emperour hearkned not thereunto, so King *Henry*, thinking of nothing lesse then embracing his friendship on those termes, employed his care chiefly how to defend his Kingdom against the threatned Invasions. And therfore as he had often experimented the Love and Obedience of his subjects, so in his important occasions at this time, he resolved to make use of them, Commanding therupon, the Parliament, which had been prorogued, to sit the fourth of *February*. In which many Acts pass'd, the most materiall whereof, I have set down briefly, not alwayes according to the order observed in the Stature-Book, but rather according to the matters handled, remitting the Reader for the rest to the Statutes themselves. My intention being not to make an abstract of them otherwise then may serve for the illustration of the times, and my History.

Holinsh.

Records.

January 29. 1535.

April

Feb. 4. Regn. 27.

Whereas

Whereas the tryall and puniſhment of Pirats was heretofore according to the forms of the Civil Law, It was now ordered, That it ſhould be determined by the Kings Commiſſion, in like form as offences done upon Land, no benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to thoſe who were convicted: Nevertheleſſe, diſtinction to be made between Pirates, and thoſe who took ſomething at ſea out of neceſſity: As is to be ſeen in the Statute more largely.

Order alſo was taken upon penalty, That all they who had Parks, ſhould keep two or more Mares, according to the greatneſſe of the Parks, of thirteen handfuls high, for breed of ſtrong Horſes; and that the Stallions ſhould be fourteen handfuls high at leaſt: and this was much to the increaſe of good horſes.

The Courts of ſuing forth Gifts and Grants made under the Kings Signet Manuell, and the Clerks of the Signets Fees alſo was ſet down.

Alſo becauſe many men by Will made Feoffements of their Lands to ſecret uſes, whereby the King and the Lords loſt their Wards &c. It was ordered, That the poſſeſſion of Lands ſhall be adjudged to be in him that hath the uſe thereof.

Order alſo was taken, That no Land ſhould paſſe by bargain and ſale, unleſſe it be by Writing indented, ſealed and inrolled. And this prevented many miſtakes, and took away much deceit.

And now becauſe ſome Statutes following give me occaſion to ſpeak of *Wales*, it will not be diſpleaſing to the Reader (I hope) to ſet down thoſe reaſons which, I conceive, were the true motives of them.

Wales and the Marches thereof now having been for a long time ſo diſtinguiſhed, as the more Maritime parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient *Brittains*, or Natives of this Iſland, the other by thoſe who had got ground upon them, much diverſity of Government was uſed. For as the Kings of *Englaud* heretofore had many times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a ſtout People, without yet reducing them to a finall and intire obedience; ſo they reſolved at laſt to give all that could be gained there to thoſe who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much land from the Welſh: which, as gotten by force, was by permiſſion of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages in that abſolute manner, as *Jura Regalia* were exerciſed in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in thoſe parts which were gotten at the Kings only charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was obſerved. Howſoever, the generall Government was not onely ſevere, but various in many parts: Inſomuch, that in about ſome 141 Lordſhips Marchers which were now gotten, many

1536 — 35 Reg. 27.

ſtrange and diſcrepant Cuſtomes were practiſed (as will appear hereafter). Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the Kings, and particularly thoſe in the Eaſt-, Weſt- and North-*Wales*, being about this time adminiſtred by my great Grand-father Sir *Richard Herbert* (Son of Sir *Richard Herbert*, renowned for that alone he paſſed and returned twice thorow an hoſtile Army at the Battell in *Banbury*-Field, 8. *Edw.* IIII.) ſuch Juſtice was uſed, as I finde him in our Records highly commended to the Kings Counſell by *Rowland Lee* Preſident of *Wales*. So that they were governed in generall according to the Laws of *England*; the Lord Marchers (who conquered at their own coſt) ruling yet by their own Lawes and Cuſtomes, and ſubſtituting Officers at their pleaſure, who again committed ſuch rapines, as nothing almoſt was ſafe or quiet in thoſe parts: whereupon this Statute was made.

Hall, *Grafi.* } 8. E. 4. Records.

c. 5. Whereas manifold Robberies, Murders, and other Malefacts be daily practiſed and committed in the County-Palatine of *Cheſter*, and *Flintſhire* in *Wales*, and alſo in *Angleſea*, *Caernarvan*, *Merioneth*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembrook* and *Glamorgan*, becauſe Juſtice is not miniſtred there in ſuch form as in other places of this Realm. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, That the Lord Chancellour of *England*, or Keeper of the Great Seal ſhall nominate and appoint Juſtices of Peace, Juſtices of the *Quorum*, and Juſtices of the Gaole-delivery in the ſaid Counties, and that they ſhall have like Power and Authority as thoſe in *England*, &c. And by this means one kinde of Juſtice was eſtabliſhed in the ſaid County-Palatine of *Cheſter*, and the Shires aforeſaid: So that offenders now were kept in awe, being not able, as before, to eſcape and fly from one Lordſhip Marcher to another. Another Act alſo was made to this purpoſe:

c. 7. Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches, there were divers and many Forreſts belonging either to the King or the Lords Marchers, wherein ſundry exactions had been uſed a long time, contrary to the Law of God and man; Inſomuch, that if any entered the ſaid Forreſts without a token given (by ſome of the Forreſters or Walkers of it) to let him paſſe, or unleſſe he were a yeerly Tributer or Chenſer, hee was forced to pay a grievous Fine: but if he were found 24 foot out of the Highway, then to forfeit all the gold or money about him, and a joynt of one of his hands, unleſſe he fined for it at the diſcretion of the Forreſter, or Farmer of the ſame. And whereas likewiſe, if any cattell ſtrayed into the ſaid Forreſts, it was the cuſtome of the Forreſters to mark him for their own with the mark of the Forreſt; Order was now given, that people ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe freely, as in other places, and eſtrayed cattel within a yeer and a day to be reſtored again, the owners paying for the herbage.

That

1536

35 *Regn.* 27 *c.* 24.

That whereas by the gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, divers of the moſt ancient Prerogatives and Authorities of juſtice appertaining to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, have been ſever'd and taken from the ſame, it was now enacted that no perſon from the firſt of *July* 1536 ſhould have power and authority to pardon or remit, Treaſons, Murthers, Man-ſlaughters, or any Felonies, or their acceſſaries in any part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the ſame. That likewiſe none ſhould make Juſtices of Oyer, Juſtices of Aſſize, Juſtices of Peace, or Juſtices of Goal delivery, but they ſhould be made by the Kings Letters Patents: And that all originall writs, and judiciall writs, and all manner of Inditements of Treaſon, Felony, and Treſpaſſe, and all manner of Proceſſe ſhould be made in the Kings name; and things done againſt the Kings Peace, ſhould be ſuppoſed as done againſt the Kings Peace, and not againſt the peace of any other perſon. Notwithſtanding which, divers Priviledges were permitted, as is to be ſeen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vaſt power inveſted anciently in thoſe who had County Palatines, and *jura Regalia* in Lordſhip Marchers may appear; ſo we may obſerve how the reſtoring of them to the Crown, hath eſtabliſhed an uniform juſtice, and taken away the occaſions of many miſchiefs done within the juriſdictions and precincts of the ſaid Counties Palatine, and Lordſhips Marchers, as is before recited; which though a great benefit and eaſe to the *Welſh*, yet as they were under many conſtraints, they hoped his Highneſſe would further extend his goodneſs to them: And thus ſome (as in their name) ſpake to this effect,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

WE, on the part of your Highneſs Subjects, inhabiting that portion of the Iſland which our Invadors firſt called *Wales*, moſt humbly proſtrate at your Highneſs feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the ſame Lawes and Priviledges which your other Subjects enjoy: Neither ſhall it hinder us (we hope) that we have lived ſo long under our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient Lawgivers, and obeyed for many ſucceſſions of Ages, we truſt your Highneſs will pardon us, if we thought it neither eaſie nor ſafe ſo ſuddenly to relinquiſh them. We ſhall not preſume yet to compare them with theſe now uſed, and leſſe ſhall we conteſt how good and equall in themſelves they are. Only if the defence of them and our liberty againſt the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for ſo many hundred yeares, and laſtly, againſt the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the ſword, was thought juſt and honourable; we preſume it will not be infamous now; And that all the marks of rebel-

1536 35 Reg. 27.

lion and falſhood, which our revilers would faſten on us, will fall on any, ſooner then thoſe who fought for ſo many years, and with ſo different Nations for our juſt defence: Which alſo is ſo true, that our beſt Hiſtories affirm the Chriſtian Religion to have been preſerved only by us for many yeares, that the *Saxons* (being Heathen) either attempted or poſſeſſed this Country. May your Highneſs then graciouſly interpret our actions, while we did but that duty which your Highneſs would have now done by all your Subjects on like occaſion; For when any ſhould invade this Country henceforth, wee know your Highneſs would have us to behave our ſelves no otherwiſe. Beſides, had not the Aſſailers found ſome to reſiſt, they might have deſpiſed a Country, that brought none forth able enough to aſſert it: So that we crave pardon Sir, if we ſay it was fit for the honour of your Dominions that ſome part of it ſhould never be conquered. We then in the name of whatſoever in your Highneſs poſſeſſion hath in any age held out againſt all Invaders, do here voluntarily reſign, and humble our ſelves to that Soveraignty, which we acknowledge ſo well inveſted in your Highneſs. Nor is this the firſt time; we have alwaies attended an occaſion to unite our ſelves to the greater and better parts of the Iſland.

But as the Kings of this Realm weary of their attempts in perſon againſt us, did formerly give not only our Country to thoſe who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura Regalia*, within their ſeverall Precincts; ſo it was impoſſible to come to an agreement, while ſo many that undertook this work, uſurped Martiall and abſolute power and juridiction in all they acquired, without eſtabliſhing any equall juſtice. And that all Offenders, for the reſt, flying from one Lordſhip Marcher (for ſo they were termed) to another, did both avoid the puniſhment of the Law, and eaſily commit thoſe robberies, which have formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that untill the rigorous Laws not only of the ſeverall Conquerors of *England*, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equall moderation, no union, how much ſoever affected by us, could enſue.

Therefore, and not ſooner we ſubmitted our ſelves to *Edward* the firſt, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws then any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the ſecond, when not only the *Engliſh* forſook him, but our ſelves might have recovered our former liberty, had we deſired it. Therefore we got victories for *Edward* the third, and ſtood firm during all the diſſentions of this Realme to his grand-child and Succeſſor *Richard* the ſecond. Only if ſome amongſt us reſiſted *Henry* the fourth, your Highneſs may better ſuppoſe the reaſon then we tell it, though divers forreigners

openly

openly refuſing to treat with him as a Soveraigne and lawfull Prince, have ſufficiently publiſhed it. Wee did not yet decline a due obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtfull times, we cannot deny, but many refractory perſons have appear'd: Howſoever, wee never joyned our ſelves with the Engliſh Rebels, or took occaſion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaſter* and *York* much occaſion was given. For adhering to the Houſe of *York*, which we conceived the better Title, we conſerved our devotion ſtill to the Crown, untill your Highneſſe Fathers time (who bearing his name and blood from us) was the more cheerfully aſſiſted by our Predeceſſours in his Title to the Crown, which your Highneſſe doth preſently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our Laws and Country, wee have given no leſſe proof of a loyall fidelity ſince we firſt rendered our ſelves. Inſomuch, that wee may truly affirm, That after our acceptance of the conditions given us by *Edward* the Firſt, wee have omitted no occaſion of performing the duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more then that all thoſe controverſies about Succeſſion (which ſo long waſted this Land) are determined in your Highneſſe Perſon; in whom we acknowledge both Houſes to be happily united. To your Highneſſe therefore we offer all obedience, deſiring onely that wee may be defended againſt the inſulting of our malignant Cenſurers: For we are not the off-ſpring of the *Run-away Brittains* (as they term us); but Natives of a Country, which, beſides defending it ſelf, received all thoſe who came to us for ſuccours. Give us then (Sir) permiſſion to ſay, That they wrong us much, who pretend our Country was not inhabited before then, or that it failed in a due Piety, when it was ſo hoſpitall to all that fled thither for refuge: which alſo will be more credible, when it ſhall be remembred, that even our higheſt Mountains furniſh good Beef and Mutton, not onely to all the Inhabitants, but ſupply *England* in great quantity. Wee humbly beſeech your Highneſſe therefore, That this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it ſeem harſh, it is that yet which was ſpoken anciently, not onely in this Iſland, but in *France*: ſome Dialects whereof therefore remain ſtill amongſt the *Bas Bretons* there, and here in *Cornwall*. Neither will any man doubt it, when he ſhall finde thoſe words of the ancient Gauliſh Language repeated by the Latine Authors, to ſignifie the ſame thing amongſt us at this day: Nor ſhall it be a diſparagement (wee hope) that it is ſpoken ſo much in the throat; ſince the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this kinde of pronunciation, as beleeving words that ſound ſo deep, proceed from the heart. So that if wee have retained this Language

longer

1536 35 Regn. 27

longer then the more Northern inhabitants of this Iſland (whoſe Speech appears manifeſtly to be a kinde of *Engliſh*) and conſequently introduced by the *Saxons*, wee hope it will be no imputation to us; your Highneſſe will have but the more Tongues to ſerve you: It ſhall not hinder us to ſtudy Engliſh, when it were but to learn how wee might the better ſerve and obey your Highneſſe: To whoſe Laws we moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted; and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other part, ours alſo by your Highneſſe good favour and imployment may receive that eſteem.

The King now conſidering that it was but reaſonable to unite this part of the Kingdome to the reſt, and that their Loyalty beſides had deſerved as much as they were Suters for, cauſed an Act to be paſt for executing juſtice in *Wales*, in manner as is in *England*, and reduced the Lordſhip Marchers to their ground. The Statute is to this effect:

c. 26. That albeit the Dominion, Principality and Country of *Wales* be a member and part of the Temporall Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler; yet as it hath divers Rights, Uſages, Laws and Cuſtomes diſcrepant from the Laws and Cuſtomes of this Realm, and becauſe their Language is different from that which is ſpoken here, and that many rude people hereupon have made diſtinction and diverſity betwixt his Highneſſe other Subjects, and them, to the cauſing of much diſcord and ſedition; his Highneſſe therefore, out of his love and favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by the advice and conſent of his Parliament ordain and enact, That *Wales* ſhould be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England*; and that his Subjects ſhould enjoy and inherit all and ſingular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Priviledges and Laws which his Highneſſe Subjects elſewhere injoy and inherit. And therefore that Inheritances ſhould deſcend after the manner of *England*, without diviſion or partition, and not after any Tenure or form of *Welſh* Lawes or Cuſtomes. And foraſmuch as there are divers Lordſhips Marchers within the ſaid Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no parcell of any other Shires where the Laws and due correction is uſed and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoyning manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies and the like, have been done, contrary to the Law and Juſtice, becauſe the offenders, making their refuge from one Lordſhip Marcher to another, were continued without puniſhment and correction: Therefore it was enacted that the ſaid Lordſhips Marchers ſhould be united, annexed and joyned to divers Shires ſpecified in the ſaid Act.

Whereupon four and twenty Lordſhip Marchers were united

1536

35 *Regn.* 27 Clun.

ted to *Monmouth-ſhire*, and the Lawes of *England* injoyned in in them: Sixteen to *Brecknock-ſhire*; ſixteen to *Radnor-ſhire*; eleven to *Montgomery-ſhire*; and ten to *Denbigh-ſhire*; ſeven to *Shrop-ſhire*, which were reduced again to certain hundreds as *Down* to *Cherbury*, *&c.* ten to *Hereford-ſhire*, and they likewiſe reduced to hundreds three; and all the Lordſhips *&c.* betwixt *Chepſtow* bridge and *Gloceſter-ſhire*, to *Gloceſter-ſhire*; and they again reduced to one hundred; ſeventeen to *Glamorgan-ſhire*; eight to *Carmarthen-ſhire*; thirteen to *Pembroke-ſhire*; four to *Cardigan-ſhire*; one to *Merioneth-ſhire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lord Marchers. After this again, many Priviledges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the ſervice their Anceſtors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering thoſe parts at their own coſt, concerning which Hiſtories, Records, *&c.* may be ſeen, to which I refer my ſelf.

Alſo power was given to the King to alter any thing in this Act, within the ſpace of three yeers next enſuing, whereof we ſhall ſpeak again 34 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 26. More alſo is extant hereof 1 *Edw.* 6. 10. and 21. *Jacobi* 10. where through that Kings goodneſs all power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repealed.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning Eccleſiaſticall matters, of which kind there are found chiefly: The firſt, having relation to one formerly recited out of 26. *Henry* 8. 3. whereby the Firſt-fruits and Tenths were given for more augmentation of maintenance of the Kings royall dignity, of the ſupream head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, That no Tenth ſhall be exacted that year wherein Firſt-fruits are paid. 1534.

Secondly, whereas 25. *Henry* 8. it was enacted, That the Clergy in their Convocations ſhall make no Conſtitutions without the Kings aſſent, as alſo that the King ſhould have authority to nominate 16 Spirituall, and 16 Temporall perſons to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions aforeſaid, the ſaid Acts were now confirmed.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary men, that they ſhould wear Badges to be known by, and no weapons; That they ſhould not goe abroad but at due houres, and not reſiſt their Governours, *&c.*

Fourthly, A Court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the Religious houſes that were ſurrendred or ſuppreſſed; and how the Kings Revenue ſhould be increaſed thereby, and Officers for this purpoſe appointed.

Theſe marks of the Kings Soveraignty being thus premiſed, I ſhall come to the Act of ſuppreſſion of Religious houſes under 200 l. yearly. Which though lamented by many, and no waies ſo excuſed that I know, as by the Kings neceſſities,

1536

35 *Regn.* 27 Parl. Rolls 27. *Hen.*8.

ſities, had yet theſe motives. The vitious and incorrigible life of *Monaſticall* Perſons, confeſſed by the whole Parliament: The lands not imployed according to the intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superſtitions and forgings of Miracles practized amongſt them: That when thoſe under 200 l. yeerly were taken away, there remained yet many great & religious houſes: That they were the Seminary of thoſe that oppoſ'd the Regal Authority in Eccleſiaſtical matters; to which ſome have thought the reaſon formerly touched might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the burthen of furniſhing the Kings neceſſities from themſelves. And the rather, that the King promiſ'd to imploy ſome of the Revenues to other Religious uſes: As founding of Biſhopricks, Deaneries, and Chapiters and the like. Which indeed followed, though not mentioned in the *Statute*. Howſoever, the *Statute* without any formall Preamble in the publiſhed Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majeſtie ſhall have and enjoy to Him and his Heires for ever, all *Monaſteries*, *Priories*, and other Religious houſes of *Monks*, *Canons*, and *Nuns* of what Habit, Order, or Rule ſoever, which have not in lands and Revenue above the cleare yeerly value of 200 l. as alſo all ſuch Religious houſes which at any time within one yeers ſpace proceeding, have been given up & granted by any *Abbot*, *Prior*, *Abbeſſe*, or *Prioreſſe* under their Covent ſeal; (reſerving yet all Right to others by Leaſe and otherwiſe, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Succeſſours of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Poſſeſſion, Rent, Fee, or Office according to the true intention:) As alſo all Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, belonging to the ſaid Religious houſes: Nevertheleſſe, that Hoſpitality and Husbandry ſhould be kept by the Farmers of the ſaid Religious houſes, and the lands belonging to them; upon the Penalty of paying every moneth ſix Pound thirteen Shillings and four pence. The King alſo (as I find in the Parliament Rolls) allowed the Governors of theſe houſes Penſions during their lives, and tranſlated ſome of the Religious Perſons into other great Foundations.

And thus were the leſſer *Monaſteries* diſſolv'd, with care yet that Hoſpitality ſhould be preſerved; for which reaſon alſo our King did paſſe them away at ſuch eaſie rates. Nevertheleſſe, as the Penalty being not ordinarily required, due Hoſpitality was for the moſt part neglected: ſo the forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parl. 21 *Jacobi* 28. wholly aboliſhed, at length, by the indulgence of that King. Notwithſtanding, it is probable, that not on this occaſion only, the *Abbey*-lands were ſcattered and diſtributed into ſo many hands, ſince *Cromwell* forgot not to tell his King, that the more had intereſt in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatſoever the reaſons were, it is certaine, that uſe was not made of them

which

1536

35 *Regn.* 27

which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was so little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the profits of those which were dissolv'd, had been imployed for a setled entertaining and payment of a Royall Army at land, and a great Fleet at Sea, (which as they were the third or fourth of the Revenues of the land, might have been easily done) our King without having recourse to any other meanes, might (besides securing his Realm) have given the Law in great part to all his Neighbours. And now of these antient Monuments of devotion, 376 being dissolved, a Revenue of about Thirty or Thirty two Thousand pound yeerly, fell into the Kings hand, besides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at 100000 pound. The people (especially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being grieved to see the Monks and Nunnes wandring abroad, and the Churches and Chappels perverted to secular and prophane uses; so that they began to murmure; which being again fomented by some Religious Persons turned to Rebellion, as shal be told hereafter. The respect also given to the Reliques there, and some pretended Miracles fell; Insomuch as I find by our Records that a piece of St *Andrewes* finger, (cover'd onely with an Ounce of Silver) being laid to pledge by a Monastery for Forty pound, was left unredeem'd at the Dissolution of the said house; the Kings Commissioners (who upon surrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay the debts thereof) refusing to returne the price again.

Stow.

This fall of Abbeys yet did but set forward the Kings Design with the Confederate Princes and Towns in *Germany*; who understanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papistry, and knowing besides that Queen *Anne* was disaffected to their Adverse Party, as her greatest Enemies, thought fit to make our Kings Orators (yet at *Smalcald*) these Propositions, as our Records shew.

Decemb. 25. 1535.

I. That he should approve and embrace the *Augustan* Confession, unless some things shall be altered therein by Common consent according to the Scripture.

II. And Secondly in a free Councell, if any be, shall defend it with them.

III. That neither part should admit any Summons for a Councell, or agree upon a place for the fitting of it without the others Consent; yet that if such a Councell were offered as *Vergetius* the *Popes* Legat now proposed, that is to say, free and pious, that it should not be refused.

IV. That if the *Pope* proceeded otherwise, that they should oppose and protest publiquely against him.

V. That the King should joyn himself, as to their Doctrine, so to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.

1536

35 Regn. 27

VI. That the vulgar opinion *de Primatu Pontificis* ſhould be rejected for ever.

VII. That if either of the Contrahents be Invaded for Religion, the other ſhall give no Aid againſt him.

VIII. That the King ſhall pay 100000 Crowns towards the defence of the League, and if the war be long, 200000 Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining ſhould be reſtored when the war was ended.

IX. That when the King hath declared his mind herein, they will ſend an Ambaſſage of Learned men to him.

Records. Theſe Propoſitions being Communicated by *Cromwell* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* then in *France*; the Biſhop returned this advice: That if the firſt Article were accorded, the King ſhall do nothing without their conſent, though otherwiſe he be bound in Conſcience to reform his Church. To the reſt, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with thoſe Inferior Princes for Religion without the Emperor, whom the King muſt allow to be Supream head of *Germany*, as His Majeſty is of *England*. Again, that they could give King *Henry* no Reciproke, as lying at that diſtance: Finally, he admoniſhed, that they be moved to approve the Kings Title, ſince he had underſtood in *France*, that they would not agree thereto, leaſt they ſhould thereby grant the Emperor the ſame Authority over their Perſons. In ſequence whereof, on the twelfth of March following (1536) the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and the other Orators now at *Wittemberg* returned the Preteſtants this anſwer: That the King their Soveraign liked their Propoſitions with ſome corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no cauſe why he ſhould fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the death of the late Queen; yet for reſtoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to disburſe the ſumme required, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would Treat at large with their Commiſſioners, whom they promiſ'd to ſend; as for the Honour they did him, in conſtituting him Patron and Defendor of the League, that he render'd them due thanks, and acknowledg'd their good will. And though he underſtood well, to how much envy this Charge was expoſ'd, yet that for the Publique good he would not refuſe it, when they could agree among themſelves concerning the Firſt and Second Article. For unleſſe there were an Union and conſent in Doctrine, that he ſhould get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he deſir'd their learned men and his ſhould concur; for untill ſome places of their confeſſion and Apology were mollifyed by private Conference, that there was ſmall hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he deſired much that they would ſend ſome Commiſſioners for this purpoſe, and among them, ſome one eminent for his learning,

March 12.

Sleid.

1536

35 *Regn.* 27

ning who might confer with his Divines of the doctrine and eſſentiall part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That ſince he was ſo liberall to them, he hoped they would not refuſe, if any made war againſt him, to furniſh for 4. Moneths, 500 Foot, or ten ſhips equipped at their coſt; and at his coſt 2000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, or in lieu of theſe Foot 12. Ships equipped; which the King ſhall keep and maintain as long as his occaſions require. Laſtly, that they ſhould approve the ſentence given by the Divines of *Wittenberg* in favour of his Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, and if any Councell Generall were holden, ſhould there defend it.

To all which the Duke of *Saxony* replying, that hee would adviſe hereof with the other Confederates, this Anſwer finally at a meeting at *Francfort* on the 24 of *April* 1536 was return'd, That although divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a diſtance from home, had no Commiſſion for giving any definitive ſentence: Notwithſtanding, that in this meeting it ſhould be reſolv'd concerning an Ambaſſadour to be ſent his Highneſſe, and they who could not reſolve for the preſent, ſhould declare themſelves within the ſpace of one moneth. And that there was no queſtion but they would conforme themſelves to the opinion of the major part. Whereupon Inſtructions were given for certain Orators to be ſent to *England*; in which yet it was (ſaith *Sleidan*) eſpecially provided, that nothing ſhould be treated of to the prejudice of the Emperour or Empire. And thus in the name of the Confederate Cities *Jacobus Sturmius* was appointed; the Divines being *Melanchthon*, *Bucerus*, and *Georgius Draco*. But as ſhortly after the the death of Queen *Anne* followed: ſo all their proceeding (as *Sleidan* notes) was ſtopt, untill upon occaſion given, it was revived. As for the approbation of the Divorce propoſed to the German Divines, *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Philip* and others, the King was judiciouſly adviſed by his Agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant; The King having attained his principall intent concerning the Councell and Pope, and the Princes being then in ſuch terms with the Emperour and *Ferdinand*, as they deſired not to offend them without an urgent neceſſity.

April 24.

Sleidan.

James King of *Scotland* having the yeer before been inſtalled of the *Garter*, and in ſequence thereof inſtructed with the cauſes of thoſe changes which had followed in Religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an eye to the troubles that might enſue in *England* concerning Succeſſion, as long as the Iſſue of both Queens ſurvived; ſo hee deſired to ſtrengthen himſelf by the advice and aſſiſtance of *Francis*: yet being deſirous withall to conſerve our Kings affection; and knowing alſo his deſignes on that part could

1536 35 Regn. 27

not be long concealed, hee thought fit to advertiſe our King thereof; diſcovering himſelf no farther yet, then that he intended to Match in that Country: who alſo approving this, rather then that hee ſhould beſtow himſelf in the Emperours Family (which he ſtill ſuſpected) gave his conſent thereunto, as I finde by our Records; yet ſo as he deſired the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, rather then of *Francis*; upon condition ſtill that the Enterview might proceed. But King *James*, who had no diſpoſition thereunto (though I finde in our Records, the Queen his Mother once perſwaded him) reſolves to go ſecretly and in diſguiſed habit to *France*. Whereupon alſo, commanding ſome Ships to
July 26. be made ready, he ſet ſail from *Leeth*, not acquainting any yet with his journey; ſo that divers thought he purpoſed to land in ſome part of our Kings Dominions. But contrary winds ariſing, he being demanded what courſe his Pilots ſhould hold, anſwer'd, To any place but *England*; wherewith falling aſleep, he was ere he wakened, by the advice of one of the *Hamiltons* (as *Buchanan* hath it) carried back. But at laſt, opening his eyes, and finding himſelf at home, hee was much offended with the Authour of this Counſel, and the rather, that hee was thought ſecretly to oppoſe the match: So that hee commanded to ſet
Aug. 31. ſail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of *Vendoſm's*, and his Daughter not pleaſing him (or rather, the Daughter of *Francis* liking him better) he arrives at *Paris*, and poſting thence to the *Lionnois*, where *Francis* was raiſing an Army againſt the Emperour (as ſhall be told hereafter) he obtained the conſent of *Francis* (though not without ſome reluctancy on his part, and wholly againſt our Kings will) for his Daughter *Magdalen*, whom hee married *Jan.* 1, 1537. The news whereof being brought to our King, troubled him ſo much, that hee writ to *Francis*, (whom he perfectly loved at that time) That his late Enterview with the Pope, and Allyance with the Scottiſh King vexed him no leſſe then it would do a perfect Lover. *De veoir ſa Dame entretenir ſon mortel Enemy*: whereof more at large in its due place. But as *Francis* excuſe (alledging it was better he match'd there then with his Adverſaries) did in ſome part ſatisfie our
July 7. 1537. King; ſo the new married Lady falling to a Hectick Fever, and dying the yeer following, they both ſoon return'd to ſome part of their former correſpondence.

Our King now, thought by ſome to be various in his appetite of Wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found occaſion to cut off Queen *Anne*; I ſhall not yet determine whether Princes ſecret actions be beyond any ſcrutiny. I will onely lay down the particulars, as far as by Records, or otherwiſe I could gather them, remitting the reſt to the equall Reader.

Queen

1536

35 *Regn.* 27 *c.* 24.

Queen *Anne* being now without competitrix for her Title, thought her self secure. But prosperity is a dangerous estate to those that use it not reverently. Again beauty is not alwaies the best keeper of it self. It may be doubted yet whether either of those did concern her; since she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to make her capable of being trusted with her own perfections, having lived in the French Court first, and after in this, with the reputation of a vertuous Lady; insomuch that the whisperings of her Enemies could not divert the Kings good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous then to be satisfied easily. I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her Honour in those times they staid in *France*; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath Condemned her; and that whether She, or any elsewere in fault, is not now to be discussed. This is certain, that the King had cast his Affection already on *Jane Seymor*, (daughter to Sir *John Seymor* Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which followed, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloudy, but where Law, or at least pretexts drawn from thence did countenance his Actions. But suspition in great and obnoxious minds, is other then in the Milde and Temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it tosse all that comes thereon. So that I dare say nothing hath been Author of so much confusion; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the Mind without Remedy; how far yet suspition wrought on our King, is not for me to define.

May 1. *Stow.*

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on May-day there being a solemne Justs at *Greenwich* (wherein *George Vicount Rochford* the Queens Brother was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norreis* Principall Defendant) the King suddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, especially the Queen. No cause hereof is related yet, unless (as *Sanders* hath it) she let fall a Handkercheif, wherewith some one (supposed her Favorite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceived by the King. But our Histories mention not this passage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires her self. He again hasting to *Westminster*, takes order to Commit the next morning *George* Lord *Rochford* and *Henry Norreis* to the Tower: After which, her self comming to *London* in her Barge, was Apprehended by some of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her offence, she exclaimed that she was wronged, and that she desired to see the King onely before she went; but

May 2.

May 2.

1536 but in vain, they having no ſuch Commiſſion. When ſhe entred the Tower, ſhe is ſaid to have faln on her knees, beſeeching God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed. This was about Five in the afternoon on the Second of May. After which, one *William Brereton* Eſquire, and Sir *Francis Weſton* of the Kings privy Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton* a Muſitian were Committed on the ſame occaſion. The Queen being thus in the Charge of Sir *William Kingſton*, Conſtable of the Tower, much ſpeech paſt betwixt them, as appears by an Originall of his: Yet as her Language was broken and diſtreſſed betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for ſhe uſed both) little can be inferred thence, only, ſhe ſeem'd to exclaim on *Norreis*, as if he had accuſ'd her; when yet ſhe ſaid, they both ſhould die together. She named others alſo, and thereupon confeſſed, though not enough to Condemn her, yet ſuch Paſſages as might argue She took the utmoſt Liberty, that could be honeſtly allowed her: But whether ſhe extended it to any further Act, is not there declared. For amidſt all her Diſcourſes ſhe ſtill proteſted her ſelf Innocent. By other Originals alſo of *Kingſtons*, it appears that he had made ſome difficulty to carry a letter from her to Mr Secretary, and that ſhe wiſh'd her Biſhops were there: For they (ſhe ſaid) would go to the King for her, and that the moſt part of *England* would pray for her; and that if ſhe died, a puniſhment will fall on the Land; and in effect I find divers Biſhops and learned men did much Honour her, and particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who in a Conſolatory Letter to the King, (which I have ſeen) written as much in her behalf as he durſt; yet ſo as he made no Apology for her, but rather confeſſeth that diverſe of the Lords had told him of ſuch Faults as he was ſorry to hear of, deſiring howſoever, that he would continue his Love to the Goſpell, leſt it ſhould be thought it was for her ſake onely, he had ſo favoured it. After which another Letter in her name, but no Originall coming to my hand, from more then one good part, I thought fit to Tranſcribe here, without other Credit yet then that it is ſaid to be found among the Papers of *Cromwell* then Secretary, and for the reſt ſeems antient and conſonant to the matter in queſtion.

Records

May 3.

SIR

May 6. YOur Graces diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, (willing me to confeſſe a truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine antient profeſſed Enemy, I no ſooner receiv'd this Meſſage by him, then I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you ſay, Confeſſing a truth indeed, may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſſe and duty perform your Command. But

1536

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to ſpeak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyall in all duty, and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bolen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God and your Graces pleaſure, had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I alwaies looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation then your Graces fancy, the leaſt alteration I know was fit and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire; if then you found me worthy of ſuch honour; Good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad Counſel of mine enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyall heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutifull Wife, and the Infant Princeſſe your daughter: Try me good King, but let me have a lawfull tryall; and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea let me receive an open tryall, for my truth ſhall fear no open ſhames. Then ſhal you ſee either mine innocency cleared, your ſuſpition and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open cenſure, and mine offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as an unfaithfull Wife, but to follow your affection already ſetled on that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpition therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs: then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and likewiſe mine enemies the Inſtruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruell uſage of me at his generall judgement Seat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgement I doubt not (whatſoever the world may thinke of me) mine innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that my ſelf may only bear the burthen of your Graces diſpleaſure; and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, whom (as I underſtand

ſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of *Anne Bolen* hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let mee obtain this requeſt; And I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. *From my dolefull priſon in the Tower, this 6 of May.*

Your moſt Loyall
and ever faithfull Wife,

ANNE BOLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any elſe heretofore, I know as little, as what Anſwer might be made thereunto: Onely I cannot omit to tell, that the King was ſo little ſatisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to death, he would further be divorced from her; which alſo by due Order and Proceſſe of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28. *Hen.* 8. 7.) was performed by *Cranmer*. The cauſes being not yet ſet down otherwiſe then that they were declared juſt, true and lawfull impediments of Marriage: I know not how to ſatisfie the Reader therein; eſpecially, ſince the Lady *Eliſabeth* their Daughter is thereby pronounced illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I finde by an Original Letter of the Earl of *Northumberland* (who it ſeems, might moſt be ſuſpected) that hee diſavows it on his part. So that unleſſe he retracted this Proteſtation, or that the contrary were proved, I cannot ſo much as imagine a reaſon. The Letter is thus to *Cromwel*.

May 13. Records. I Perceive that there is ſuppoſed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not onely heretofore examined upon mine Oath before the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; but alſo received the bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame, before the Duke of *Norfolk* and others the Kings Counſel learned in the Spiritual Law; Aſſuring you (Mr Secretary) by the ſaid Oath and bleſſed Body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the ſame may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promiſe of Marriage between her and me. ¶ But if this were not ſufficient, I beleeve ſuch other cauſe was produced for the Divorce, as might ſatisfie the people, ſince the Act was publick. Neither is it much materiall which *Hall* ſaith, that the validity of this Marriage was queſtioned, becauſe the King married this ſecond Wife before he was divorced from his firſt: for it ſeems contrary to the Act of Parliament, which ſaith, That the impedi-

ments

ments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which ſhee was arraigned the 15 of *May* 1536, before the Duke of *Norfolk* high Steward of *England* for the day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk* and others of the Peers: And there notwithſtanding her diſcreet Anſwers, (as our Hiſtorians term them) found guilty, and judgement pronounced accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord *Rochfort* her brother was arraigned and condemned, as alſo *Henry Norreis* Eſquire, *Mark Smeton* Groom of the Kings Privie-Chamber, *William Brereton* Eſquire, and Sir *Francis Weſton* Knight, Gentlemen of it, (the Lord Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being preſent) and the 17 of *May* beheaded: The Queen's death yet was reſpited till the 19 of the ſame. About which time order being taken that all ſtrangers in the Tower ſhould be removed, *Kingſton* in an Originall to *Cromwell* writ theſe words: *viz.*

1536
May 15.
May 17.
May 19.

Sir,

IF we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in *London*, I think here will be but few: And I think a reaſonable number were beſt; for I ſuppoſe ſhee will declare her ſelf to be a good woman for all men, but for the King, at the hour of her death: for this morning ſhe ſent for me, and proteſted her innocency; and now again, and ſaid unto me, M. *Kingſton*, I heard ſay, I ſhall not die afore noon, and I am ſorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and paſt my pain. I told her it ſhould be no pain, it was ſo *ſotell* (for ſo is his word). And then ſhe ſaid ſhe heard ſay the Executioner was very good, and I have a little neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily: I have ſeen many men and women executed, and they have been in great ſorrow; and to my knowledge, this Lady hath much joy and pleaſure in death.

The 19 of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the expreſſe order given, was brought to a ſcaffold erected upon the Green in the Tower of *London*, where our Hiſtorians ſay, ſhe ſpake before a great company there aſſembled to this effect.

Good Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to die, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed, and condemned to die. But I pray God ſave the King, and ſend him long to reigne over you; for a gentler nor a more mercifull Prince was there never; and to me hee was ever a good, a gentle, and a Soverain Lord. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to judge the beſt. And thus I take my leave of the World, and of you all; And I heartily deſire you all to pray for me.

After which coming to her Devotions, her head was ſtricken off with a ſword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as ſhe

1536 was desirous to advance Learned men, in which number *Hugh Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Nicholas Saxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* are recounted; and as she was a great Almes-giver; in so much, as she is said in three quarters of a yeer to have bestowed 14 or fifteen thousand pounds in this kinde, besides moneys intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realme. *Sanders* saith her Father died shortly after for grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two yeers after 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and silence, I finde by our Records, that the Princesse *Mary* did about those times much endeavour to be restored to the King her Fathers good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princesse *Elizabeth* was declared illegitimate, shee should be received as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earnest Letters written with her owne hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the King to write to her, or send some token as a signe of Reconciliation. Upon which submission, our King, by the Duke of *Norfolk* sent certain Articles for her to subscribe; which were,

Records. First, whether she doth Recognize the Kings Highnesse for her Soveraign Lord, and King, and will submit her self unto his Highnesse and all Laws of the Realm.

Secondly, whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.

Thirdly, whether she wil Recognize the Kings Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, and utterly refuse the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby.

Fourthly, whether she doth freely Recognize and knowledge both by Gods Law and mans law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawfull.

Fiftly, for what causes, and by whose motion and meanes she hath remained in her obstinacy so long.

Sixtly, what is the cause she now at time above all others submitteth, and who did move her hereunto.

In satisfaction to which she returned a subscription, signing with her own name the four first Articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd; some Persons being Interested therein, whom she would not discover.

What effect followed hereupon apeares not otherwise, then that notwithstanding this and other Submissions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage; which also he so hastned, as some say, the day following Queen *Anne*'s death; others not til three dayes after, he caus'd it to be Solemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law had declared Criminall; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the

1536

the opinion held in these times of the different perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I shall out of our Records produce the censure of Sir *John Russell* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) who having been at Church, observed the King to be the goodliest Person there; but of the Queens gave this note, that the Richer Queen *Jane* was in Clothes, the fairer she appeared, but that the other, the Richer she was apparel'd, the worse she look'd; but this Queen certainly deserv'd all the Favour done her, as being reputed the Discreeteſt, Faireſt, and Humbleſt of the Kings wives; though both Queen *Katherine* in her younger dayes, and the late Queen were not easily Parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto Forraign businesses now a long time intermitted.

Businesses betwixt our King and the Romane See were not so desperate, but that divers overtures on either side were made for an accommodation; for while the Pope feared, lest our King together with renouncing the Roman Churches Authority, would relinquish the Religion, he not only covered his inward and deep Displeasure, but secretly permitted Treaties in divers kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a war against the Turk; who also gladly entertained the motion, as hoping the Pope would not so soon joyn Christian Princes against him. Insomuch that Sir *Gregory Casalis* now residing Agent at *Rome*, the Pope about May 20th sent for him, and told him that he heard of the Queens Imprisonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequall Matrimony, had offered his Majesty occasion of gaining eternall Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and French King; which might be now done by joyning with the Roman See. As for himself, that he never did him but good Offices, as having urged *Clement* VII. to right him in his divorce, & at *Benonia*, (being then Cardinall) perswaded the Emperor to suffer it with Patience. As for *Rochester*, that he made him Cardinall only to use him in the ensuing Councell; and when his death was related, being sollicited and compelled to revenge it, he could not but yeeld for the time to do those things *quæ tamen nunquam in animo habuit ad exitum perducere*. Wherefore that he purposed to send a *Nuntio* into *England* to Treat of a Peace in Christendome, when our King would hearken thereunto; whence shall follow a Generall Councell, and a war against the Turk: And all this he wish'd Sir *Gregory* to write (as of himself) to our King; as appears by the Original May 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinall *Campegius* sending hither his Brother *Marco Antonio* about other Businesse, as regaining his Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and the place of English Protector in the next Councel, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the terms proposed pleased not, so the Pope conceiving now all further Trea-

May 27.
June 6.

1536

tie, to be vain, laboured to unite all Christian Princes in a War against him, as a detester of all Papal Authority, and an Heritique. Therefore he both gained *Charles* (who had long solicited a Councel) by Summoning one to begin at *Mantua* the yeer following, May 23. and to oblige *James* V, He sent him a rich Consecrated Sword. He found not yet in *France* that disposition he hoped for, the overtures of War being thought unseasonable, in a time when a general Reformation was expected on the Roman Churches part. Therefore I find by an Original dispatch of *Mount's*, how the Bishop of *Chaalons* in *Campagne* told him, upon notice taken in *France* of the Brevy of the Pope, whereby (as aforesaid) he Excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdome, and absolved his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unlesse he return to that See, and abrogated those Lawes were made against the Papal Authority, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would warn the Pope, and advise him not to be so bold with princes, unless he would become a laughing-stock to the world, (for these are *Mount's* words); yet did not *Francis* fully comply with our King, but held a middle way: For as he approved not the Popes harsh proceeding, so when our King by his Ambassador gave him account of his actions, expecting his Approbation, he returned this answer: That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and Condescend never so much to the Right and Title of Succession in the Issue of his second Marriage, yet when Forraign parts shall conceive any other, and contrary Opinion thereof, great troubles might ensue. Whereupon *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* then resident in *France*, was commanded by our King to tell *Francis*, that he marvelled much the King his Brother, being a wise Prince, should so long insist upon these points, since it was ever the manner of lawful Kings to pursue their Right without demanding the Approbation of others. For proof whereof, he said he could give particular instances in *Francis* his Predecessours, who had done many things contrary to the advice of the Popes, (when they were beneficiall to the Kingdome,) and that notwithstanding all opposition they had been happily atcheived. Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep *Francis* in good Correspondency, as knowing the desire he had to recover *Milan* (for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*) was so vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtained. And in effect I find by *Bellay*, that the Treaty hereof begun the last yeer, as aforesaid, was stil prosecuted; insomuch that *Charles* gave hope of restoring *Milan* now upon *Sforza's* death (who being thought the last of the Line of *Æneas* and *Mutius Scævola*, dyed about the end of October precedent) to the Duke of *Angoulesme* the third Son of *Francis*, when he would send the Duke of *Orleans* his

June. 2.

1535.

Fox. p. 358.

second

1536

second Sonne to assist him in an intended expedition against *Algere*, and help to reduce the Protestant Princes in *Germany* and the King of *England* to an vnion with the Church; but *Francis* replyed, that to give *Milan* from his second Son to his third, was to cause a perpetuall War betwixt two Brothers. Therefore that he desired it for the Duke of *Orleans*; in which case also the said Duke should renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Florence*, *Urbin &c.* That to send him to the Emperor, upon what pretence soever, was in effect to do nothing but put an Hostage into his hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of those who had any way separated themselves from the Church, he should be glad to second him as well in *Germany* as in *England*. And that for *Henry* the 8. in particular, he thought fit the Emperor should summon all Christian Princes and Potentates to assist him, and as *Bellay* hath it *Donner forte* to constrain the said King to obey the sentence and determination of the Church. Bellay Jan.

During these Treaties, the French Army under the *Comte de S. Paul* advanced so far in *Savoy*, as they had taken all but *Montmelian*, which yet at last yeelded: while those of *Geneve*, thinking the occasion fair, shook off their obedience to the Duke, and by the help of the Protestant *Swisse*, asserted themselves into the liberty they now enjoy: expelling together their Bishop, and changing the form of both their Civil and Ecclesiasticall Policy. Of all which the Emperour being advertised, thought how to gain time, especially till he had reinforced his Army, not yet fully made up since his late voyage to *Tunis*, and assured himself of the Pope: Therefore he promised the Dutchie of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, so that the Dutchesse, being the Relict of *Sforza*, might be provided for, intending thereby (as my Authour hath it) that shee might be given the Scottish King: yet in the manner of performing thereof, so much caution and delay was proposed, as their former jealousies did but increase. And indeed, neither was the overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperour to presse the Pope against our King, more then device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Proposition of the Emperour for restoring *Milan* other then an invention to gain time, hee being resolv'd to succour *Savoy* at what price soever: and the rather, that (as is beforesaid) there was a project of giving all that Country to the Emperour for some other Lands in *Italy*; whereby also the Emperour should have wholly invironed *France*: so that all was but dissimulation on either part. For while these things were treating, the Emperour (though injoyning silence to the French, and promising it himself) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers passages, and together made him jealous of the intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the Venetians to his side, and made sundry Propositions of Allyance and Friendship Bellay

Bellay l. 5.

with

1536

Bellay. Records.

March

April 5.

April.

with our King, (ſome whereof we have before ſhewed) and raiſed great forces by Sea and Land, upon pretence of imploying them againſt Infidels: While *Francis* on the other part, being well inform'd thereof, reſolv'd ſo to proceed in his War, as hee neglected nothing which might ſtrengthen himſelf, or weaken his enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand under the command of *Chabot* Admiral of *France*, taken the chief places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piemont*, which was rendred to him, as alſo divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have entered and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Government unſetled; ſo there wanted all things which might ſerve to defend the Country. Nevertheleſs, out of I know not what ſcrupuloſity or preſumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to ſtay until he had ſent to demand again the inveſtiture thereof from the Emperour in the name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not ignorant yet, that ſome French Writers ſay, that *Francis* checkt this command by private Inſtructions: But *Chabot* thought it ſafer to follow thoſe directions hee had under the hand and ſeal of *Francis*, then to comply with an intimated and contradictory advice. Howbeit, the overtures of Peace continued ſtill (at *Naples*, where the Emperour then was) betwixt both Princes, the French Ambaſſadour Monſieur *de Velly* alledging, that the buſineſſe of *Savoy* was but a particular difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it ſhould not hinder the Generall Treaty. To which the Emperour ſeem'd to give ear alſo; not omitting yet to raiſe Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: having for the more enlarging his entry to that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace built by the Romans: And indeed, the Pope's deſire was hee ſhould never put up his ſword, till hee had reduced our King, and the Proteſtants to their former devotion, and afterwards invaded the Turk. Of which our King being well informed, (for no Prince had better intelligence) commanded *Richard Pate* his Ambaſſadour, to treat with the Emperour, though not with intention to joyn with him, ſo much as to diſcover his deſignes. For I finde by *Bellay*, that our King had acquainted *Francis* (by means of his Ambaſſadour then reſident here) with a Letter of the Emperours, about this time ſent him, wherein the ſaid Emperour advertiſed, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would ſay and do there; Requeſting our King further to interpoſe offices with *Francis* for reſtoring all hee had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the reſt, deſiring our King to forget not onely what diſcontentment ſoever had paſt betwixt them by reaſon of the Divorce with Queen *Katherine* (ſince ſhe being dead, all cauſe of offence

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1536

was ceaſed) but to renew their antient Treaties of Confederation and Amity ; and together to aſſiſt him againſt the Turk. So that by this free communication of the Emperours Letters, as well as by an Advertiſement which I finde *Francis* gave our King of certain following paſſages at *Rome*, one may perceive what ſtrait correſpondence was then held betwixt them. Howſoever, *Pate* in his Negotiation found that the Emperour took nothing ſo ill as the illegitimation of the Princeſſe *Mary* : for though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* againſt his Neece, and encouraged the Princes in Germany to take Arms againſt him ; yet theſe affronts the Emperour ſaid might be paſſed over, but not the Princeſſe *Mary's* Illegitimation ; whom therefore he deſired our King to reſtore, giving hope (as *Pate* writes from *Rome*) on that condition to procure a generall Councell which might give the King contentment in his deſires ; or if he would referre all things to the Pope's Authority, to make his peace with him, to validate his laſt Marriage, and together eſtabliſh his Succeſſion, Honour and Conſcience in all he could wiſh. Theſe were indeed thought great offers : But our King conſidering that they were little more then ſollicitations and diſcourſes of *Granvele*, and that to legitimate the Princeſſe *Mary*, was in effect no leſſe then to declare her his Heir, what diſguiſe ſoever the Emperour would put on it, and deſiring, for the reſt, nothing ſo much, as to ſettle the ſucceſſion in his future Iſſue, (which he hoped would be maſculine) gave no good audience hereunto. The Emperour having now at *Rome* ſaluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his reaſons in private, Monſieur *de Velly* was referred again to them for an Anſwer concerning his demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the Emperour had no ſuch intention ; and when hee ſhould aſſent, the Venetians would not, who had entered a League defenſive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperour, requiring performance from him : But the Emperour demanded whether he had Commiſſion to treat thereof : but *Velly* ſaying he had none, the Emperour would hear him no more. Nevertheleſſe, to ſhew a deſire to come to a ſolid peace with *Francis*, and avoid effuſion of their Subjects blood : The Emperour in the preſence of the Pope, the Cardinals & the Ambaſſadours of *France*, of *Venice* and many great Prelates and Noblemen aſſembled, made a long Oration in Spaniſh, his hat in his hand ; declaring firſt the cauſes of quarrel and unkindneſſe betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis* XII, deducing them after to his times, with much particularity ; and ſhewing ſtill the fault was on the French ſide : After which, in the preſence of this great Aſſembly, he made three offers to *Francis*, That if a ſure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of *Milan* to one

Records. Aprill 12.

Bellay.

Aprill 17.

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1536 of the Kings children, (but not to the Duke of *Orleans*) ſince he knew *Francis* did not demand it ſo much to fix there, as to ſerve himſelf thereof as a ſtep to paſſe further to the State of *Florence*, and *Urbin*, in the right of the ſaid Dukes Wife: neither would hee accept any diſclaim thereof, ſince he knew it would prevail no more, then that *Francis* had already made of the Dutchie of *Burgundy*. Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of *Angouleſme* his third ſon, when *Francis* would declare in what manner he would aſſiſt him towards the celebration of a Councel, a Reformation of Chriſtendome, and War againſt Hereticks and Infidels: Which becauſe it would not be done except all offences were removed, hee required firſt that his Army ſhould be withdrawn out of *Piemont*: ſecondly, if within twenty days *Francis* did not approve this, he offered to end the buſineſſe in a Duel betwixt their two Perſons; not out of bravery yet, but for avoyding the effuſion of blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been ſhed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in aſſigning a fit place for this Combat, then for an enterview, and that it might be in ſome Ile, or on ſome Bridge or Boat on the River: And for Arms, hee thought them all good, whether they were Sword, or Poignard, in their ſhirts; onely in this caſe, that whoſoever overcame, ſhould give his Forces to the Pope, for the more ſtrengthening him to ſummon a Councel, and reduce all diſobedient perſons to the Church, and reſiſt the Turk: for which purpoſes he did there ingage himſelf to the Pope and Apoſtolick See; requiring beſides, that the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy* ſhould be depoſitated in ſome good hands, and the Victor have both. The third offer was Warre; to which yet hee proteſted not to come without neceſſity; though yet hee had ſufficient cauſe, *Francis* having taken Arms againſt him while he talk'd of a Peace by the entremiſe of one who had no power to treat thereof: Onely if he were conſtrain'd to this courſe, nothing ſhould make him leave it, till one of them both remained the pooreſt Gentleman in their Country. Thus bowing his head to look upon a ſcroul lapt about his finger, he made a pauſe: after which the Pope began to ſpeak; but the Emperour interrupting him, ſaid he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referred all to his Holineſſe, whom he deſired to beſtow his favour on him who had moſt reaſon and equity on his ſide. This being done, the Pope commended the Emperour's Propoſitions, as tending to a Peace, and hoped the French King would be no leſſe inclined thereunto. After which the Biſhop of *Maſcon* ſtep'd forth, and ſaid, the Proteſtation being in Spaniſh, he underſtood it not well: But for the point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Maſter would be inclinable to it; reſerving the further

further declaration thereof to Monſieur *de Velly*, who drawing neer, and deſiring to be heard, the Emperour ſtopt him, and ſaid he had already ſpoken to him too often of Peace, and that he deſired deeds and not words; and that hee would grant him no other Audience at that time: onely what he had there publickly ſaid, ſhould be given in writing, and therewith aroſe: So that though *Velly* deſired to anſwer for his Maſter, yet the Emperour ſtill laid the fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Maſſe. But that evening the Pope, who knew of what conſequence a War betwixt theſe Princes was, ſent for the French Ambaſſadours, deſiring them to do good offices in their Diſpatches to *Francis*, proteſting that he was ſurpriz'd on his part: And that whatſoever he ſaid, he would keep neutrality betwixt them. The Emperour being now ready to take his leave of the Pope, the French Ambaſſadour deſired Audience, and thereupon told the Emperour in the Popes preſence, That whereas he had ſpoken of a Combat with his King in caſe no Peace were made, without declaring other cauſe then to ſpare effuſion of their Subjects bloud; he deſired to know whether his Majeſty had made a Challenge to fight: and that if it were ſo, he durſt anſwer on the part of his King, that it ſhould not be refus'd. And that the Emperour might well remember that heretofore there was queſtion hereof, but not now that he knew; the King his Maſter deſiring to have *Milan* by treaty, and having given expreſſe command to his Generall in *Piedmont*, not to invade any thing in the Emperours poſſeſſion: As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was ſet down in writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would ſay no more of it, but know onely whether the Emperour would charge the King his Maſter, as having fail'd in his word or honour, and whether he had defied him. There were not many preſent when this paſſed; which the Emperour obſerving, call'd all thoſe in the *Sala* and Chamber of Audience, and ſaid, as he ſpake publickly before, ſo he would again: Many hereupon repairing to him, he ſaid in Italian, That hee indeed did moſt deſire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think beſt that they two in perſon ſhould end the buſineſs; which yet he ſpake by way of advice, and not as a Challenge; eſpecially ſince it was in the Pope's preſence, without whoſe permiſſion he would do nothing. And therefore that hee propos'd it only to avoyd a greater inconvenience, as thinking it better to do ſo, then ſuffer a War in Chriſtendome: which was the reaſon alſo why he appointed him twenty dayes time to retire his Army out of *Piedmont*. But theſe ſharp words (at the Pope's requeſt) were not openly advertiz'd to *Francis*, nor ſome others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldareſque of that Nation in compariſon of his, (as *Bellay* hath it); who re-

1536

April 18.

Bellay.

1536 lates the buſineſs ſomewhat more in favour of his Nation, and Monſieur *de Velly*, then *Sandoval* doth, or indeed our Records; amongſt which I finde divers of theſe paſſages certified by *Richard Pate*. But though the French Ambaſſadors (at the Pope's intreaty) were ſparing in their relation of the Emperors words, which (if wee may beleeve *Sandoval*) were very high, yet order was given to his Ambaſſadours in *France* (as *Sandoval* hath it) to acquaint *Francis* with them; adding only four days more to the term of twenty formerly prefixed: Though *Bellay* doth not acknowledge this particular.

While theſe things paſt thus at *Rome*, the Cardinall of *Lorrain* was imployed by *Francis* to the Emperour: Who in his
April 18. way coming to the French Army, charged *Chabot* not to march further, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperour both rais'd great forces, and drew neer him). After which he went to *Antonio de Leyva* and the Spaniſh Army, requiring the ſame of them, at leaſt till he had ſpoken with the Emperour; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his anſwers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the French King; who having in the mean while underſtood by the Emperours Ambaſſadors reſident with him, the effect of his Maſters Oration at *Rome* (though yet he would give no copy of it) ſent to the Pope a Juſtification, (ſet down at large in *Bellay*) in the concluſion whereof he returned this Anſwer to the Emperours offer of a Combat, That if ever they came neer each other (as might well be if they led their Armies in Perſon) and the Emperor then ſent a Challenge, he would fight with him. But the Pope, who had more uſe of their ſwords then to imploy them one againſt the other, endeavoured ſtill to procure all good amity and correſpondence betwixt them: Therefore he ſent (upon the requeſt of the Cardinall of *Lorain*) the Cardinal *de Carpi*, and the Cardinal *Trivulzio* to mediate an end; for which purpoſe they were to go joyntly to the Emperour firſt, and then one of them to the French King, according to the occaſion.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperour from going into *France*, where in ſequence of a Proteſtation (as *Sandoval* hath it) to attend the French King thirty dayes to ſee whether he would come in perſon to fight, he reſolved to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about ſixty thouſand men, and an hundred pieces of Artillery, hee came to *Aſti*
June 22. the 22 of *June* 1536: while his Siſter *Mary* (Governeſſe of the Low-Countries) by his order had raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* to invade *France* on that part: It was yet adviſed whether in his way he ſhould take the places in *Savoy*, and *Peidmont*, which the French held, or go ſtrait to *France*, *Antonio*

tonio de Leyva ſaid, that wilde Beaſts were to be ſought in their dens; And therefore wiſh'd the Emperour not to ſpend his men in Sieges, but march on; which counſell being followed (and the rather, that the Emperour deſired perſonally to be in *France* to acquit himſelf of his promiſe,) the Army having firſt taken ſome Towns, came neer *Marſeilles*: where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonio de Leyva* (a valiant, but covetous and cruell Commander) dying there, and about thirty thouſand more of ſickneſſe and diſorder, the Emperour, who had now ſtayed 33 dayes (as *Sandovall* hath it) in the French Kings Dominions, returned to *Genoua*, and (not long after to *Spain*) leaving order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Peidmont*. But whatſoever retarded *Francis*, it was not want of courage: though I finde by *Bellay*, he was reſolv'd by his Counſel rather to weary and famiſh the Emperors Army, then to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a conſiderable Army in thoſe parts under the command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maiſtre* of *France*, he was not unprovided to reſiſt him; beſides which, he had another under his own command at *Valence*, not far off; which he yet left at laſt to come to his other Army. But the Emperour, as having (even by the confeſſion of *Bellay*) loſt half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behinde him ſo many dead ſouldiers unburied, that they infected the air. Hereupon *Francis* took advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperour into *Italy*, or to return and raiſe the ſiege from *Peronne*, being then in ſome danger; the later pleas'd him, his affairs in *Italy* at that time ſucceeding well, and Winter beſides drawing on: Onely before he return'd, he thought good to viſit *Marſeilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the ruines of *Aix*, where the Emperour had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going home-wards, the glad news was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was raiſed; which (as *Sandovall* hath it) hap'ned the ſame day the Emperour diſlodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*. And thus did thoſe vaſte Preparatives of the Emperour come to nothing; (great Armies as well as little ones having their inconveniencies, eſpecially where ſickneſſe and diſorder doth intervene).

Francis being yet upon his way home (as *Bellay* hath it) received Letters from his Ambaſſadour in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the French Court, that the Emperors retreat was out of ſtratagem, that the French might follow him, and ſo be taken at an advantage: And that this Rumour of his mens death, was raiſ'd only to draw them on the ſooner; but that in effect he had not loſt 2000 men ſince his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which falſe advertiſements alſo, our King forbare to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other ſide eſtranged himſelf a little from King *Henry*, inſo-

1536

Auguſt 15.
Septemb. 15.
October.
November.
Septemb. 10.

1536

much, as he began to cherish and love the King of *Scotland* more then before; who also had promised him assistance in his Wars, (which our King had neglected contrary to *Francis* his expectation) and was now in *France*; for which reasons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalene* (as is before related:) Nevertheless, that he might proceed formally, we sent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King, First, the true cause of the Emperors retreat: Secondly, the cause of his accepting the Scottish King for his Son in law: Thirdly, to propose a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (his Son) and the Princesse *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the excuse for it was produced, our King was in that passion, that he would not hear him again for four dayes space; though yet he forgot not by his Councell to shew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray* without almost daring to speak of the Marriage with the Princesse *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, that our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while since propos'd it to *Francis*, onely to sow dissention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this coldness on the French Kings part, began to think how he might fortifie himself by the Emperors friendship; for which purpose also, (as is aforesaid) several overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princesse *Mary* to be Illegitimate (which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be perswaded to revoke) hinder'd all; though he professed himself much inclin'd to return to his antient friendship with *Charles*; so that till after the death of Queen *Jane*, being the yeer following, all things remained in suspence. In which terms also, he thought fit they should be continued till he saw the event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and French King, with more ardor then ever (as shal be told hereafter) of which occasion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himself, for giving order to his businesses at home: Which that he might do by the advice and consent of his Parliament, he Commanded it to sit 8th of *Junii* 1536.

Bellay.

Regn 28.

June 8.

The Principal Act was touching the succession of the Crown, in which after a rehearsal of the Statute 25 *Henry* 8. 22. touching the Kings Marriages, and limitation of succession to the Crown; And another of 26 *Henry* 8 2. It is declared, that whereas a Marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the Kings Highnesse and the Lady *Anne Bolen*, that sithence that time, certain just, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the said Acts, were confessed by the said Lady *Anne* before *Thomas* Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the said Marriage betwixt his Highnesse and the said Lady *Anne* was never good nor consonant to the Lawes: And therefore his Highnesse was lawfully Divorced from the said Lady *Anne*. Moreover, that she and her Complices before

1536

fore mentioned, were convict by due course of Law, and have suffer'd according to their merits.

And whereas it hath pleas'd his Highnesse notwithstanding the great perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katherine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the most humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for Conservation of the same, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Lawes of the Church; and that there is hope she may conceive by his Highnesse; That it is the most humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for extinguishments of all Ambiguities and doubts, it may be enacted in manner and form as followeth. And first, that the Marriage betwixt the King and Queen *Katherine* should be void and of no effect, as being grounded on a dispensation, in a case not dispensable by humane Authority; and so determined by the whole Clergy, and both Universities of this Realm; as also by the Universities of *Benonia*, *Padoua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse*, *Anjou* and divers others, in regard, she being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was cranally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and therefore, that any Dispensation to the contrary hereof should be to all intents void, and of no effect; and the issue procreated under the same unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highnesse, and the said Lady *Katherine*, to be Illegitimate, and bari'd from claiming any inheritance from his Highnesse by Lineall descent; and that the Marriage also, betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Anne* is of no value, ne effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highnesse and her, is good and effectuall, and the Issue illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highnesse, by Lineall descent; any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many inconveniences have fallen by Marrying within degrees prohibited by Gods Law; which Marriages yet have been often dispenced with by some usurped Power; when yet no man hath Power to dispence with Gods Law. Therefore it was inacted, that if any were Marryed within the said degrees, or took to Wife the Sister or Daughter &c. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definitive sentence of the Arch-bishops, and other Ministers of the Church of *England*: And their said sentence to be good and effectuall, without suing any appeal to or from the Court of *Rome*.

Further, it was enacted, that the Issue betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Jane* should be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the course of Inheritance of the Lawes of this Realm, the Imperiall Crown of the same, with all Dignities, Honours, Preeminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and

Juris-

1536 Jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging.

But if it should happen that Queen *Jane* should decease without Issue-male of the Body of her Highnesse to be begotten, then the same Imperiall Crown and all other the premisses to be to his Majesty, and to his Heirs Males by any other lawfull Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the same Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten; and so from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, & to the Heirs of every such Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten according to the course of inheritance, as is aboveſaid. And for default of such Issue Male, then the said Imperiall Crown and premises should be to the Issue Female, betwixt his Majesty and Queen *Jane* begotten, and so again to the Issue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to say, to the eldest Issue of the Issue Female and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and so from Issue Female to Issue Female and to their Heirs of their Bodies, one after another by course of inheritance according to their ages, as the Crown of *England* hath been accustomed and ought to succeed and go, in case when there is Heir Female inheritable to the same. And forasmuch as it stands in the only will and pleasure of Almighty God, whether his Highness shall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no provision be made in his life who should Govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his transitory life should be destitute of a lawful Governour, or incumbred with such a Person that would covet to aspire to the same, that in this case, his Highnesse might limit the Crown to any Person or Persons in possession and remainder by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; or else by his last Will assigned with his hand, after such manner as should be expressed in his said Letters Patents; and that such Person and Persons should have and enjoy the same after his decease in as large and ample manner as the lawfull Heirs of his Body should have done.

After which, order was taken to prevent usurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treason impos'd on usurpers, as on those also who believed either the Marriage of his Highness with the Lady *Katharine*, or the Lady *Anne*, to be good; and did call the Lady *Mary*, or the Lady *Elizabeth* legitimate, and who used certain words and actions tending to this purpose: As is to be seen more largely in the said Statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted that if his Majesty should decease before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realme should be of the age of 18 yeers, or any Heir Female which should be inheritable as aforesaid, should be Married, or be of the age of 16 yeers, that then they, or any of them, shal be and remain until they came unto the said severall ages, at and in the Governance of their natural Mother, and such other his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his High-

1536

Highneſs ſhould name and appoint by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his hand, ſhould limit and appoint, or otherwiſe to be at and in the Governance of ſuch his Counſellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highneſs ſhould name and appoint, by his laſt Will in writing, and ſigned with his hand (as is aforeſaid) and that an Oath ſhould be adminiſtred for performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treaſon inflicted on thoſe that ſhall refuſe it.

Furthermore, It was enacted, that the King ſhould have Power by his Letters Patents or laſt Will, as aforeſaid, to advance any Perſon or Perſons of his moſt Royal Blood to any Title, Stile, or name of any Eſtate, Dignity or Honour, and to give to them or any of them any Caſtles, Honours, Lands &c. in Fee-ſimple, Fee-tayle, or for terme of lives, or the life of any of them, ſaving the Rights and Eſtates of all others, in and to the ſame.

Finally, it was enacted, that every Clauſe, Article, and Sentence therein, ſhould be taken and accepted according to the plain words thereof. How yet this Act was altered 35 *Hen:* 8. 1. ſhall be declared by me, God willing, in this Hiſtory; referring the Reader to 1 *Mary* 1. when it was repeal'd.

Howſoever, I thought fit to ſet it down with much particularity, both as it is Relative to many precedent points touched in this Hiſtory, and as it leads the way to ſome that follow; by which alſo it may appear unto the Reader, with how high a hand the King did authorize his Actions, while each part juſtified the other, and all his Subjects voices being comprehended in his Parliament, no man could accuſe him, who did not in ſome ſort firſt condemn himſelf; ſo that if in thoſe two Divorces he had not reaſon, the chief of his Kingdome ſeem'd to erre with him: Unleſſe ill Arts with the Nobility, and undue election of the Knights and Burgeſſes be ſuppoſ'd; which though poſſible in many, and (for that I have ſeen) there be cauſe to ſuſpect it, in ſome; yet to believe a Generall corruption in the prime Perſons of a Kingdome, or to allow an Argument drawn from thence only, as concluſive, what is it elſe but to overthrow and ſubvert the Columnes and Foundations of Laws? And then what Statute can ſtand? what decree wil be in force? I wil not yet take on me every where to defend the actions of a Prince, whom ſo many have bitterly cenſur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at home in his firſt times, or depreſſd afterwards abroad. But thus much I cannot but obſerve of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many Complices; where he did well, he had almoſt the Glory alone; as being ſo active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both: Only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his ſingular perfections of Nature, ſo all things almoſt fell to the worſe;

1536 worse; while divers of those ill accidents which befel him, were reveng'd sometimes with so severe a justice, as might be called *Summum Jus*; sometimes repaired with furnishing his wants in that large manner and extent, both on the Spiritualty and Temporalty, as little else remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he lost much of his former love and esteem, yet he kept himself still upon the high steps of Authority, without stooping either to fear or necessity; so that his most irregular actions represented such a Type of greatnesse, as crooked lines drawn every way, which though not so Compendious and direct as the strait, seem yet to have in them somwhat more of the infinite; but as these things are set down by way of description, and not of Apology; so I will leave them to come to my History, which for being free and impartiall, will speak him better to the judicious Reader then my Annotations can.

This yeer *Thomas Howard*, youngest son to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to the present Duke (but by an other mother) had so obtain'd the favour of the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, Daughter to the Queen of Scots (then living in the Kings Court) that some affiancing or privie Contract past betwixt them: whereof the King being informed, was much incensed; as conceiving that one so joyned in bloud to him and his Nephew the Scottish King, should not be given nor taken without his consent, especially when she lived so neer him: Wherefore he was committed first to the Tower, and shee not long after. The businesse thus being in *July* brought to the Parliament, and certain suspicions and accusations alledged of aspiring to the Crown (some circumstances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of high-Treason: and in sequence thereof a Statute made, That none should marry in the next degrees of the Bloud Royall, without the Kings licence first had, &c. Which yet being repealed 1 *Edw.* 6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1. I mention no otherwise. The news hereof being brought with speed to *Margaret* Queen of Scots, afflicted her much: so that it retarded her journey into *England*, whither she was coming; being desirous also to be reconciled to her former Husband *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Anguis*. Nevertheless, she thought fit to write to the King, That whereas she heard he was displeased with her Daughter for promising marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to punish her for the same, she desired his Majestie to pardon her; and if he so pleased, to send her into *Scotland*, that she come no more in his presence; and not to be extreme to his own Blood. Notwithstanding which, both shee and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were committed to the Tower, without suffering other punishment; where also she remain'd till the death of the said *Thomas Howard*: but then released

Parl. Rolls.

August 12.

1536

leased to be a Mother of that great Off-spring which after followed.

Besides these two Statutes formerly mentioned, I finde some others concerning State-Government enacted this Session, which therefore I shall insert here.

Whereas in the 19 *Hen.* 7. 7. a Law was made, That no Masters, Wardens, and Fellowship of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds & Fraternities should take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made in disheritance or diminution of the Kings Prerogative, nor of other, nor against the common profit of the people, except the same Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or chief Justice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Justices of Assise in their Circuit or Progresse, in the Shire where such Acts or Ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, &c. Sith which time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the meaning of the said Act have been made; it was now ordered that Apprentises should pay but little fees at their entry, and that no other should be given to restrain them from keeping shops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of those who would learn and set up Trades and occupations, so it was thought by some it would be much more, when the mysteries of the said Trades (as far as could be expressed by words) might be Commanded to be published in Print; to the end that all men (who would) might learn them, and an honest emulation (who should do best) might quicken industry, and bring down the prizes of things: Or if this were not permitted, that at least due order were taken, that the Masters in all Trades might be restrained from packing together to inhance Wares and Commodities, but by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer &c. as being to that common profit of the Subject, (mentioned in the Statute) which is more to be esteemed then any mans particular gaine.

In sequence whereof, also another Act was made concerning the prices of Wine, to this effect; that no French Wine should be sold by retaile above two pence a quart, and no Malmeseys, Ramneys (being Wines of Romania as I take it) Sacks or sweet Wines, should be above three pence the quart. Provided alwaies that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two chief Justices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them should have Power and Authority by their directions to set the prices of Wines; the said prices to be publish'd in Chancery, in the Terme time, or in such Cities, Towns and places where Wines are sold in gross; the contents or quantity of Liquor also, to be held in every vessell, was expressed in the said Statute; and Re-

1536 medy for loſs ſuſtain'd in thoſe which wanted meaſure: ¶ And though this prevented much couſenage, yet order being not taken to puniſh thoſe who falſified and corrupted Wines, much abuſe in this kind followed.

Order alſo was taken how Pirates at Sea ſhould be puniſhed.

All Buls, Breves and diſpenſations alſo from the Biſhop, or See of *Rome* were declared void; nevertheleſs, that all marriages Solemniz'd before the third of November 26th of the Kings Reign, and not contrary to Gods Lawes, ſhould be good and effectuall. And alſo that Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and all Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and orders of this Realm, might keep and retaine their Arch-biſhop-ricks Biſhop-ricks &c. and exerciſe all things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures &c. And that the effect and contents of all Buls, Breves, Faculties &c. purchaſed of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterb*: by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould be confirmed under the great Seal, at the humble ſuit of the Petitioners for the ſame.

1534. Alſo, for the more confirmation of the Kings Supremacy (enacted two yeers ſince) it was now ordained, that every Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Officer, ſhal be ſworn to renounce the ſaid Biſhop and his Authority, and to reſiſt it to his Power; reputing any Oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the ſame) to be void. And the refuſall of this Oath ſhal be adjudged High Treaſon.

Some Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions alſo were made, during this ſhort Seſſions of Parliament, (beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following.) But to leave the leſſe important to be ſeen in their places, I ſhall here briefly ſet down the Reſultance of certain Articles concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. Theſe Articles (as I gather out of our Records) were deviſed by the King himſelf, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation houſe by *Cromwell*, who was lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and

July 9. then Vicegerent General of the Kings authority in Eccleſiaſtical affaires, gave much Subject of diſcourſe. For though the King ſubſtituted him for due Adminiſtration of Juſtice in all Cauſes and Caſes concerning Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as well as for Godly Information, and redreſs of all errours, Hereſies and abuſes of the Church, as the Act of Parliament hath it, 31 *Hen.* 8. 10. yet becauſe there was no example, either of King of *Iſrael*, they ſaid (though lawfully in their own Perſon, enjoying this mixt Power of Spiritual and Temporal) or of Popes that derive their whole Eccleſiaſtical Power immediately on any elſe, eſpecially a ſecular Perſon, they thought it ſtrange: But that I may paſſe by thoſe things whereof no Publick reaſon that

1536

I have ſeen, is extant, I ſhall in theſe Articles obſerve rather the chief variation they had from the former Doctrines, then repeat the Doctrines themſelves, as being ſufficiently known.

After eſtabliſhing (therefore) the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four firſt Councels, as the grounds of Religion. He made, according to his definition of Sacraments, three onely. Firſt, Baptiſme for waſhing away of ſins. Secondly, Penance for ſatisfaction of faults afterwards committed both towards God and our neighbour. Thirdly, the Euchariſt, changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary (as I conceive) unleſſe Auricular confeſſion ſeem not there altogether ſo ſtrictly commanded as before; nor otherwiſe much then in caſe of mortall ſin. And that Prayer, Faſting, Almes-deeds as being *Fructus digni Penitentiæ*, are not to be held as means of our Salvation by way of merit, but of mercy only. For Juſtification, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other inward and Spirituall motions and Graces, and outward good works.

Concerning Images, That they had been uſed in the Old Teſtament, and ſometimes (for the abuſe of them) taken away; and allowed in the New (as good Authors declare), Therefore that the true uſe of them ſhould be taught by Biſhops and Preachers every where; they being permitted to ſtand in Churches no otherwiſe then as Repreſentors of Vertue and ſtirrers of Devotion; And not that rude people ſhould take ſuperſtition thence, as in times paſt, or that Idolatry ſhould enſue; and that the cenſing of them, kneeling before them, and all other honours ſhould be done as in the honour of God onely, although they be done before the Images of Chriſt, the Croſſe, or of our Lady, or any Saint beſides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we ſhould not truſt to obtain at their hands that which is to be had onely of God: yet that they were to be honour'd becauſe they reigned in glory, and were examples of vertue, as not fearing to die for Chriſt; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Chriſt, but not to be had in other reverence and honour.

Concerning praying to them; That it is very laudable to uſe theſe words, *All holy Angels and Saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his deer Son Jeſu Chriſts ſake wee may have grace of him, and remiſsion of ſins, with an earneſt purpoſe (not wanting Ghoſtly ſtrength) to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the ſame again unto our lives end.* And that in this manner we ſhould pray to our bleſſed Lady, Saint *John Baptiſt*, and other Apoſtles, ſo that it be done without any vain ſuperſtition, as to think that any Saint is more mer-

1536 cifull, or will hear us ſooner then Chriſt, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one thing more then another, or is Patron of the ſame. And that we ſhould keep Holidayes in memory of him, and his Saints upon ſuch dayes as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the aſſent or commandment of the ſupreme Head; in which caſe the Subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as uſing certain veſtments in Gods ſervice, ſprinkling of holy water, giving of holy Bread, bearing of Candles on Candle-maſſe day, giving of aſhes on Aſhwedneſday, bearing of Palms on Palm-ſunday, creeping to the Croſs on Good-Fryday, and offering there unto Chriſt before the ſame, and kiſſing of it, ſetting up of the Sepulchre of Chriſt, the hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Miniſters of Gods Church; As alſo all other laudable Cuſtomes, Rites and Ceremonies, that they were not to be contemn'd and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpirituall things that they do ſignifie, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time: but that none of thoſe Ceremonies have power to remit ſins; but onely to ſtir and lift up our mindes unto God, by whom onely our ſins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory; Foraſmuch as according to due order of Charity, and the Book of *Macchabees*, and divers antient Writers, It is a very good and charitable deed to pray for ſouls departed: And foraſmuch as ſuch uſes have continued in the Church even from the beginning, That all Biſhops and Preachers ſhould inſtruct and teach the people not to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame: But foraſmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and the kinde of pains there alſo be to us uncertain by Scripture; That therefore this and all other ſuch things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whoſe mercy it is meet & convenient to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our prayers for them; referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their ſtate and condition. And therefore that it was neceſſary that ſuch abuſes ſhould be cleerly put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced; As to make men beleeve, That through the Biſhop of *Rome's* Pardons Souls might be cleerly delivered out of Purgatory and all the pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtrait to Heaven; and other like abuſes. This was ſubſcribed by *Thomas Cromwell*, *Thomas Cantuarienſis*, *Johannes London*, and ſixteen Biſhops more (*Rowland* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* being comprized by his Proxie) and *William* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, with

with 39 Abbots and Priors; and by the Lower Houſe conſiſting of 50 Arch-deacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original I finde two Italians, *Polidore Virgil* Arch-deacon of *Wels*, and *Peter Vannes* Arch-deacon of *Worceſter*, who not long before was made co-adjutor to *Richard Pace* Dean of *Salisbury*, being then thought commonly diſtracted and out of his wits. 1536 May 8.

And thus the King having taken on him the title of *Supreme Head* in his Dominions, would ſhew how capable he was of it: Though yet he publiſhed not theſe Articles without much conſultation with his Biſhops and Divines, who ſtood divided in opinion; ſome leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, *S. David* and the reſt: others cleaving to the old Doctrine and Rites, as *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, and *Carlile*; whoſe Arguments on either ſide the King himſelf took pains to peruſe and moderate, adding Animadverſions with his own hand, which are to be ſeen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the Romiſh Party, becauſe it took away much of their Authority and Revennue: nor by the Lutheran and Zuinglian, (then beginning to appear in theſe parts) becauſe it differ'd from theirs. But whatſoever any of the Reformed might ſay for their onely two Sacaments, it was thought by ſome, that according to the Kings Inſtauration, Penance might have been retained ſtill upon ſome terms as a third; both as there is no other generall way then Averſion from ſin, and Converſion to God known to all mankinde for making their peace with him, and obtaining pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites onely of the Chriſtian Church, are in their explication ſubject to ſo much difficulty and diſputes, as no leſſe then a mans whole age is required to ſtudie them; whenas this other, being an uncontroverted ſigne of the operation of Gods Spirit in our hearts, produceth ſuch holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledged not onely as a particular Sacrament of grace, but an univerſall of the reaſonable Nature of mankinde, whereſoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where abuſes in Abſolution were taken away: for performing whereof, they ſaid the Prieſt ſhould never pronounce it but in caſe of ſuch a ſerious repentance as might totally efface the fault, and make the ſinner a new man; without which therefore he ſhould be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to ſin and puniſhment, as if no ſuch abſolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Abſolution of Prieſts, extending (for the moſt part) no farther then to require Attrition, or ſorrow for their offences paſt, and to command, for the reſt, ſome formal Prayers, eaſie Faſts, or ordinary Pilgrimages, not onely made men beleeve Records

1536 beleeve they were quit of their ſins at ſo eaſie a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but uſurped on the power of God, while they brought the forgiveneſſe of ſins within their own particular Juriſdiction, and together put off heaven and everlaſting happineſſe at a cheaper price then either they could juſtly promiſe, or frail man expect. So that they concluded, that Prieſts ſhould be allowed indeed to abſolve, But ſo as men might not think their ſins paſt, as much pardoned as if they had not been committed, unleſſe they never do the ſame offence again; leſt greater occaſion and liberty of ſin ſhould thereby be given.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly ſeen the Reformation *Francis* would have ſtood to, when it might have been imbraced in *Germany*; ſo here he may perceive what our King required in *England*: Neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious Schoolmen on all ſides would have rather diſturb'd the peace of the whole World, then relinquiſhed or retracted one particle of thoſe opinions they had publickly taught their Auditours and Diſciples. For which obſtinacy alſo, as the Reformers being the weaker, ſuffered moſt, they being uſually burnt in theſe times; and among them one *William Tyndall*, who had tranſlated into Engliſh a great part of the Bible (a witty, but violent and ſometimes railing Diſputant) at a Town neer *Bruſſels*: ſo on the other ſide, theſe cruelties made the Romiſh party ſo odious, as their differences grew almoſt irreconcileable.

September.

Our King having thus begun to rectifie the frame of Religion, endeavoured now to prevent forraign oppoſition: And becauſe he knew of what conſequence the Generall Councel now appointed at *Mantoua* was, he obtain'd this Decree to be ſigned by the Biſhops while their Synod laſted.

Record.

AS concerning Generall Councels, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſts people unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, then by the having of General Councels, ſo that the ſame be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conform and agreeable, aſwell concerning the ſurety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholeſome and godly Inſtitution and uſage for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church. Even ſo on the other ſide, taught

by

1536

by like experience, we esteem, repute and judge, That there is, ne can be any thing in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth of Gods Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced and subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord, and other divelish effects, then when such General Councels have or shall be assembled nor Christenly, nor charitably; but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnall respects and considerations, according to the saying of *Gregory Nazianzenus* in his Epistle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this sentence following: *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam Cupiditates Contentionum, & gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem*, that is to say; I think this, if I should 'write truly, that all general Councels be to be eschewed. For 'I never saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor 'that any provision or remedy, but rather increase of mischiefes 'proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of mens o-'pinions and Ambition of Glory, (but reckon not that I write 'this of malice) hath alwaies in them overcom'd reason. Wherefore we think that Christian Princes especially and above all things ought and must, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foresee and provide *Ne sanctissima hac in parte Majorum instituta ad improbissimos Ambitionis aut Malitiæ effectus explendos diversissimo suo fine & sceleratissimo pervertantur. Neve ad alium prætextum possint valere & longe diversum effectum Orbi producere, quam Sanctiss-'sima Rei facies præ se ferat.* That is to say: Lest the most noble 'wholsome Institutions of our Elders in this behalfe, be perver-'ted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect. That is 'to say, to fulfil and satisfie the wicked affections of mens Ambi-'tion and Malice; or lest they might prevail for any other colour 'or bring forth any other effect, then their most vertuous & lau-'dable countenance doth outwardly to the world shew or pretend. And first of all, we think that they ought Principally to consider who hath the authority to cal together a general Councel. Secondly, whether the causes alledged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a general Councel, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the general Councel. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, And how the opinions or Judgements of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fiftly, what Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in general Councels ought of reason & equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, ne any one Prince of what Estate, Degree, or Preheminence soever

1536 ſoever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or ſummon any general Councel without the expreſſe Conſent, Aſſent, and Agreement of the reſidue of Chriſtian Princes; and eſpecially, ſuch as have within their own Realms and Seignories *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole intire and Supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or Recognizing of any other Supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and ſundry, as well examples as great reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be overlong, and tedious to expreſſe here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in witneſſe that this is our plain and determinate ſentence, opinion, and judgement touching the premiſes, we the Prelates and Clergy underwritten, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, have to theſe preſents ſubſcribed our names the 20th of *July* in the yeer of our Lord 1536, 28 *Hen.* 8.

Thomas Cromwell. Thomas Cantuarienſis. Iohannes London.
with 13 Biſhops, and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-deacons, Deanes, Proctors, Clerks and other Miniſters, 49.

Fox. After which, he ſet forth an injunction to reſtrain the number of Holy-dayes, now grown to that exceſſe, that there was ſcarce time to gather in Harveſt, or hold the ſeats of Juſtice in Term time; which as it was inconvenient, ſo again the abuſe of Holy-dayes in drinking and other vices and idleneſſe was ſo great, as many Riots and diſorders were committed; for which reaſon, though the number was limited, yet Prieſts were ſuffered to do their dutyes in Churches on theſe dayes, and all who would to hear them. And now as the poorer ſort were at liberty to work for their living on thoſe dayes, ſo they approved well this Reformation. Whereby it came to paſſe that the Reverence of ſuppoſed Saints (whereupon much of the Romane Religion was built) growing to an exceſſe, became one of the firſt degrees to the Ruine thereof in this Kingdome. In ſequence of which, the ſame yeer he commanded (under the name Fox. of *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent) theſe injunctions following to be obſerved of the Deanes, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries reſident, or having care of Souls each where.

1. And Firſt, that in all Pariſhes and places of Preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a yeer together, the Doctrine of Supremacy ſhould be taught, and the Laws to that purpoſe read, and that the Biſhop of *Rome's* Authority having no eſtabliſhment by the Law of God was juſtly taken away.

2. That in the Kings Articles, lately ſet forth, the Real Doctrine of Salvation ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and ſo taught the people as they might

1536

might know, what was neceſſary in Religion, and what was Inſtituted for the decent and Politique order of the Church, according to ſuch a Commandment given heretofore in that point.

3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain Superſtitious Holy-dayes ſhould be read to the people, and they perſwaded to keep it.

4. That they ſhould not extoll or ſet forth Images, Reliques, or Miracles, or allure people to Pilgrimages otherwiſe then as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep Gods Commandements, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to beſtow it rather on the poor, then upon the ſaid Images or Reliques.

5. That in their Sermons they admoniſh Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater noſter*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which alſo ſhould be often repeated by the ſaid youth, and to bring them up in learning or ſome honeſt Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid idleneſs, and get their living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and Reverently adminiſtred by the Parſons, Vicars, and Curats; and if any be abſent from their Benefices by Licence, that Learned Curats be left in their place.

7. That every Parſon or Proprietary of a Church ſhould provide a Bible in Latine and Engliſh, and lay the ſame in the Quire for every man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withall to avoid Controverſie amongſt themſelves in the places they underſtood not, but to refer themſelves therein to the better learned.

8. That the ſaid Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curats ſhould not haunt Taverns nor Ale-houſes, or uſe Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their leaſure that they ſhould read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of life.

9. That becauſe the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor, and yet the needy in theſe dayes not ſuſtained with the ſame, therefore all Perſons, Vicars, and Prebendaries, and other Beneficed men, which may diſpend twenty pounds yeerly, or above, ſhould diſtribute amongſt the poor Pariſhioners in the preſence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth part of the Revenue of their Benifices, leſt they ſhould be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving 39 parts, and yet not vouchſafing to beſtow the fortieth.

10. That every Parſon, Vicar, Clark, or Beneficed man, being able to diſpend in Benefices or Promotions of the Church 100l. yeerly, or more, ſhall for one, or every of the ſaid 100l. yeerly, give a competent Exhibition to maintain one Scholler, or more,

1536 either in Grammer-Schools, or the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in learning, may be Partners in their Patrons Cure and charge, in Preaching and otherwise, or else profit the Common-wealth with their Councell and Wisdome.

11. That all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions shall bestow yeerly upon the said Mansions or Chancels of their Churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their Benefices, till they had fully repaired the same.

That all these Injunctions should be observed, under pain of suspension and Sequestration of the Benefices untill they were done.

Other Injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in *Fox*. But as the people were not generally satisfied with the Kings alterations, and proceedings in Religion and Lawes: So certain fifteens, granted by Act of Parliament, which were demanded of them (about these times) being more then for their poverty and former Taxes they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmure; but if this were a Crime in them, *Cromwell* was not altogether free from errour; since to charge the Purse at the same time, he would make a Reformation plausible, could be no safe Counsell; And in effect, it proved so. For the people did rise in many places, though as they agreed not alike in the causes of their discontentments, they neither took Armes at once, nor altogether for the same Pretexts. The *Lincoln-shire* men set on by one Doctor *Mackrell* (Prior of *Barlings* in the said County, but calling himself Captain Cobler) began first, though the moderatest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary motive united them.

The Grievances they sent the King in the quality of most humble Suppliants, were, the suppression of so many Religious houses: The Act of Uses, as restraining the Subjects liberty in the Declaration of their wils: The fifteenths for which yet poverty is only pleaded: That his Grace had ill Counsellours, and of mean Birth about him, (among which *Cromwell* was no forgotten;) That divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they feared the Jewels and Plate of their Parish Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious houses. For Reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly desired his Gratious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such order and directions concerning the premisses given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governour and Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which they did acknowledge to be his Graces true inheritance and Right: And that his Grace should have the tenth,

and

and First- fruits of ſpirituall Promotion of the value of twenty pound and above, and of all other under the ſaid value, which do not keep Reſidence and Hoſpitality. 1536

And now theſe Articles being publiſhed in the Neighbourhood, and thence voyced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they ſwore to be true to God, the King, and Common-weal. Nevertheleſſe, as they reſerv'd the interpretation of the Oath to themſelves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertiſed to our vigilant King, cauſed him immediately to diſpatch *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* againſt them about the 7 of *October* (as I finde by an Originall) with Commiſſion to raiſe Forces: together with which he writ a Letter to them in ſuch a ſtile, as though he might promiſe juſtice, he yet required many things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels ſhould be delivered to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen who were aſſociated with theſe Rebels, wrote to the Duke of *Suffolk*, how ill the people were ſatisfied with the Kings Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cryed they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along, or elſe deſtroy them. And that for this cauſe they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as alſo that by policy they might the better ſtay them: which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the people roſe in ſo many other parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and perſwaded them to petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no wayes to appeaſe them but a generall Pardon. This Letter made it ſelf conſiderable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its pretext, though not ſufficient to excuſe the Gentlemen: and when not, it was cunningly remonſtrated; for it ſerved both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of *Suffolk* finding that the end thereof, at worſt, was to obtain a generall Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, ſollicited on their behalf: yet ſo as he offered withall to go againſt the Rebels with the Forces he had there aſſembled, if the King gave him leave. In the mean while, he ordered the buſineſſe in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the Kings Anſwer were returned. But the King, who was informed already from divers parts (but chiefly from *York-ſhire*) that the people began there alſo to take Arms; and knowing of what great conſequence it might be, if the great perſons in thoſe parts (though the Rumour were falſe) ſhould be ſaid to joyn with him, had commanded *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington* to make a Proclamation to the *Lincoln-ſhire* men, ſummoning and commanding them under their Allegeance and perill of their lives to return: Which

October 10.

1536 as it much disheartned them; so many stole away, while the rest (being assured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) scattered themselves to divers parts; the more stubborn and poorer sort yet retiring to the *York-shire* men. Besides, they had heard, that (notwithstanding the foul ways of this Country, and the Winter season approaching) the great Ordnance was coming on, and the King in person following: All which considerations, together with the danger that divers of the principall Ring-leaders found themselves in, as being men of good Fortunes, and sure to suffer most, caused them to perswade those who remained, to make their submission as the King required; which was, That they should acknowledge their fault, deliver up their Armour, and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made since the Kings Reign.

And so this business ended: though not that of *York-shire*, which passed in this manner: While the *Lincoln-shire* commotion was on foot, the *York-shire* men made an Insurrection under the command of one *Robert Aske*; They would have it call'd yet only a Pilgrimage of Grace; while, for giving it reputation, certain Priests with Crosses led the way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five wounds, and the Chalice. And because they desired to draw in as many good Persons as they could, they attempted first *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, advising him (as being of late wrongfully accused, and in danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to joyn with them, but he refused: Then they sent to invite divers others, using threats, where perswasions served not; insomuch, that at last they made sundry persons of quality swear to be faithfull to them: for they pretended onely the good of the King and Common-wealth, the Church and Religion, and the depressing of Hereticks.

1534. July.

They being now assembled in great number, the dispossessed and discontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aske* for remedy; who I finde also re-established them in divers places, wishing them to pray for the King, and to take up victuals of the Farmours of the said Monasteries upon Bill, till their suit were granted. Which being advertised to the King on the one side, and (presently after) that the Commons of *Richmont*, *Lanca-shire*, *Durham*, *Westmerland*, &c. were up in another place, and had fired the Beacons, made him think what hee had to do: Yet was not his service neglected by some of the Nobility there, especially *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who raising many men before he received the Kings Commission for it, did by this dangerous discretion much advance his service. For though his zeal for the welfare of the State were above scruples, and that some learned men in the Law besides had

Hollingsh.

told

told him, That his intention being good, his action could not be conſtrued ill: He yet ſaid, he knew his danger ſo well, as he had ſent to the King for a Pardon; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the ſatisfying many, who otherwiſe might have ſuſpected him, hee gave an Oath to his men to be true unto the King; proteſting further, that according to the ancient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a ſtake, he would have liv'd and dyed in defence of it. And now the firſt order the King gave was to command the Duke of *Suffolk*'s ſtay in *Lincoln-ſhire*, leſt they ſhould riſe again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewsbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Canon, againſt the Northern men: he writ alſo to *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby* to raiſe what Forces he could, promiſing to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* alſo Marqueſſe of *Exceter* Couſin-german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland* offered themſelves to the Kings ſervice. And becauſe now divers Monks in thoſe parts were reſtored to their Monaſteries by the Rebels (as I finde particularly thoſe of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton* and *Hexam*) hee commanded them to be taken out, and Martiall Law to be uſed againſt them. Yet as the noyſe of this Inſurrection was by continuall Courriers augmented, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* about the twentieth of *October* was diſpatch'd with Forces to aſſiſt the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: who writ to the King, That the *York-ſhire* men, as being uſed to Arms, were more conſiderable then thoſe of *Lincoln-ſhire*; yet that they could not long continue together, both for lack of means to provide victuals otherwiſe then by rapine; and the ſeaſon of the yeer: And that the beſt way was to perſwade them to lay down their Arms, or ſow ſedition among them.

1536

October 17.

This while *Aske* and his Company advancing forward, forced *Edward Lee* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* to ſurrender to them *Pomfret* Caſtle, and take the Oath; which was, That they ſhould enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preſervation of the Kings Perſon and Iſſue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expulſing all Villan blood, and evill Counſellours; and for no particular profit for themſelves, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to ſlay nor murder any for envie; but to put away all fears, and take afore them the Croſſe of Chriſt, his Faith, and the reſtitution of the Church, the ſuppreſſion of Hereticks and their opinions. But as this Caſtle was ſtrong, the Arch-Biſhop and Lord *Darcy* (though pretending want of furniture and proviſion to hold out) were ſuſpected to have render'd it in favour of the Rebels. They ſtayed not yet ſo, but took the City of *York* and *Hull*; and betwixt force and intreaty drew moſt of the great Perſons in thoſe parts unto them. While not content to have a pre-

1536 a pretext of Religion, they by falſe tales got many Partizans: therefore they gave out as before they had done in *Lincolnſhire*, That all the gold in *England* ſhould be brought to the Tower to be touch'd; and that the King claim'd all the Cattel unmark'd as his: as alſo all the goods and ornaments of Pariſh Churches; that they ſhould pay fines for Chriſtenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat white bread, and the daintier ſorts of meats, &c. and this again ſtirred rancor in the peoples hearts.

Octob. 20. *Aske* and his followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaſter* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aske* ſitting in ſtate, and having the Arch-Biſhop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, deſired firſt to know the contents; which being told, he ſaid it ſhould not be proclaimed. Nevertheleſſe, he gave the Herald a ſafe conduct, as long as he ware his coat.

Octob. 26. But the Rebels not contented thus, required *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (being then in his Caſtle of *Skipton*) to joyn with them: But he by Letter aſſures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen (retain'd at his coſt) had forſaken him, he would yet continue the Kings true Subject, and defend his Caſtle (in which he had great Ordnance) againſt them all. Sir *Ralf Evers* alſo kept *Scarborough* Caſtle with no leſſe courage againſt the Rebels; he and his company having no ſuſtenance but bread and water for the ſpace of twenty dayes that they beſieged him.

Octob. 22. The King being now in *Windſor*, intends in perſon to go againſt the Rebels, commanding his Nobles for this purpoſe to meet him at *Northampton Novemb.* 7. And it was time to take ſome good order, for they were now grown to be thirty thouſand men; in which number (being divided into three Battels)

Octob. 26. they preſented themſelves before *Doncaſter*: neer which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Marqueſſe of *Exceter* were encamped with an Army, though little in number (as being but five thouſand) yet better furniſhed. And two wayes they had to paſſe the River *Don* to the Town; a Bridge, and a Foord: The Bridge the Duke took on him to defend; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces: The Foord was undertaken by the reſt of the Army. This alone yet could not have ſtayed the Rebels; but a great Rain falling that night, ſo increaſed the water, that it was not paſſable the next day: Beſides, by the coming of ſome ſhot, the Bridge was ſo fortified, that it was now defenſible. This hindered not the Treaty; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the reſt knowing of what importance it was to gain time till all the Kings Forces were aſſembled; and having intelligence beſides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them

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1536

to be delivered to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elesker* and *Robert Bowes* ſhould carry, (who though manfully defending *Hull* againſt the Rebels, were at laſt forced to joyn and take the Oath.) The Duke himſelf alſo promiſed to go with them, upon condition that there might be a ceſſation from hoſtility in the mean time; which was condeſcended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being firſt heard (who acquainted the King with the State of all things) the aforeſaid Commiſſioners preſented the intruſted Petition with many excuſes on their own part. But the King, who deſir'd ſtill to gain more time, would return no preſent anſwer; and the rather, becauſe he was informed by the Duke that the Rebels began to disband; for the Treaty diſheartned and divided them, while Rumours were diſperſed every where, that ſome of the Chiefs would Compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Gallowes. Inſomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, eſpecially the poorer ſort, who had neither meanes to ſubſiſt, nor might have leave from their Captain to take any thing by force; which being advertiſ'd to the King, made him both give private order to diſcharge thoſe Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon pretext that ſome Innovation had been attempted by the *York-ſhire* men ſince their comming up: Nevertheleſſe, at laſt for clearing all ſuſpition (ſince the Commons took this detention of their Meſſengers ſo ill; that they encourag'd one another to be in Armes again at an hours warning) the King thought fit to ſend his anſwer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with a ſafe conduct (under the Great Seal) for three hundred Perſons to meet in the Town of *Doncaſter* for concluding all things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only leſs agree among themſelvs, but that ſome would be wonne to his Party. After which the ſaid *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their diſpatch too, as being commanded to ſay, that his Majeſty took it marvelous unkindly at their hands, that knowing his Benignity, they would rather riſe in Armes then Petition his Majeſty, and that they had left their Countrey open to the Scots, who prepared to invade them: Referring the reſt to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought (as I gather out of thoſe Originals I have ſeen) the offer of a Pardon to all except ſix named, and four unnamed, when the reſt would ſubmit. But as the four unnamed concern'd every body, ſo it was declined. Nevertheleſſe, certain Books the King ſent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion, deviſed by himſelf, being received by them, took much miſunderſtanding and ill impreſſion which their diſcontented Prieſts had given, while for accompanying hereof, expreſſe order was ſent to the Biſhops in their ſeverall Dioceſſes, not to neglect the uſuall Ceremonies of the Church.

Novemb.

dated Novem. 14.

dated Novem. 13.

Kings Letter, dated Novem. 19.

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1536

Hereupon the Clergy of those parts met at *Pomfret*, and agreed on certain Articles of Religion, to be propos'd in the following Treaty. The Arch-bishop of *York* being present, and taking occasion to tell them, that though Pilgrimages were good, yet an Armed Pilgrimage could not be lawfull. After this, a day of meeting at *Doncaster* was appointed, in which *John* Lord *Scroope*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Aske*, and about 300 persons, were to Treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William Fitz-william* Admirall of *England* and the rest: But concerning *Aske*, there was some difficulty, the Rebels demanding Hostages for his safe return. But the King inform'd hereof, answered, that he knew no Gentleman or other, whom he esteemed so little, as to put him in pledge for such a villain; therefore he wished the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest, to assure the passages over the River *Don*, and to secure *Doncaster*: And whereas the Rebels had demanded an abstinence from War for fourteen dayes, in case no agreement should be made, not to grant it, as being time given them to fortifie themselves, whereas he should rather win it from them by Policy for his own advantage. But the Duke of *Norfolk* supposing that a generall Pardon and a Parliament in those parts (which they required) might quiet all, had by Letter to our King perswaded him to accord it, or else to March towards the Rebels with an Army of Gentlemen and houshold servants, and not to trust the Commons; since the Rebels though they had laid down Armes, they had yet (upon firing of Beacons and other Signals) agreed among themselves to resume them again on all occasions. And now on December the 6. the 300 on the part of the Commons came to *Doncaster* to the Kings Lieutenants, where their first demand was a generall Pardon, then a Parliament to be held in those parts, and a Court of justice, that none beyond Trent might be cited to *London* in Law Suits. After which, they desir'd a repeal of the Act of Parliament for the last Subsidy, for Uses, for Mis-prizion of Treason for words, for Tenths and first fruits; then that the Lady *Mary* might be restored to her Legitimation, the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the late expulsed Monks to their houses; The Lutherans to be punished, the Lord Privy-seal and Lord Chancellor to be excluded from the next Parliament; and the Doctors, *Leigh* and *Layton* to be imprison'd for Bribery and Extortion. But as these demands were more insolent then those of the *Lincoln shire* men, and howsoever such as the King would not accord, the Lords rejected them; whereupon the Rebels assembled in great numbers, divers others also, desirous to know the successe, appearing among them. Which caused the Duke of *Norfolk* to write again to the King what a multitude was gotten together, and if no agreement followed, his Highnesse Army

November. 26.

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1536

was in ill eſtate to reſiſt. Therefore, he and his Aſſociates deſired his Grace to ſend them inſtructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the laſt might be for gaining of time, in caſe they came to no agreement.

The King finding theſe difficulties, and ſuſpecting beſides that the Emperor had or would have a hand therein, and that the Rebels might have aſſiſtance from *Scotland*; And for the reſt, believing that all was but miſ-underſtanding in the ſimpler ſort, which yet he hoped his Book of Articles, and other good orders would in time Rectifie, ſent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a generall Pardon for the Rebels, and promiſe of a Parliament, with directions yet to the Duke that he ſhould not make uſe thereof, but in caſe of extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding ſo many gathered together, as their number was very great; and being not able to diſtinguiſh thoſe who came on the Rebels part, from ſuch as curioſity onely brought thither; and conſidering that the firſt deniall of their demands had ſo inflamed them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of *Doncaſter*, (had not the River this ſecond time ſwelling by rain, the night preceding prevented their attempt) made uſe of the Kings generall Pardon and promiſe of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and returned home. The contents of this Pardon, dated December 9. at *Richmont*, and ſealed with the Great Seal, was as our Records ſhew, that the King granted them all a generall and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treaſons, Fellonies, and Treſpaſſes, unto the day of the date thereof; provided that they make their ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* (the Kings Lieutenant,) and that they Rebell no more. I find alſo by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mentioned) ſent by *Ellesker* and *Bowes*, the King ſent a reply pen'd by himſelf; which I doubt not gave much ſatisfaction (as another had before done to this effect ſent to the *Lincoln-ſhire* men.) It was this:

Firſt as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes be ſo generall, that it would be very hard to make certain anſwer to the ſame; but if they mean the Faith of Chriſt, to the which, all Chriſtian men be only bound, we declare and proteſt our ſelf to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath alwaies minded to live and die in the maintenance, defence and obſervation of the purity of the ſame. And that no man can or dare ſet his foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marveling therefore much, that ignorant people would go about to take upon them to inſtruct and teach us (which hath been noted ſomething learned) what the Faith ſhould be. And alſo, that they being ignorant people, be ſo preſumptuous (ſeeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles declared it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be ſo

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1536 ingrate and unnaturall towards their moſt Rightfull King, and Naturall Soveraign Lord, without any our deſert, upon falſe reports or ſurmiſes to ſuſpect us of the ſame, and give rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very Truth by us theſe 28 yeers uſed, and by our deeds approved.

The ſecond which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the ſame; we ſay it is ſo generall a Propoſition, that without diſtinctions no man with troth can anſwer; neither by Gods Laws nor by the lawes of the Realm. For firſt, the Church which they mean, muſt be known. Secondly, whether thoſe things which they call Liberties, and ſay they would maintain, be things lawfull and beneficiall to the Prince and Common-wealth, or otherwiſe. And theſe known, we doubt not but they ſhall be anſwered according to Gods Law, Equity, and Juſtice. Nevertheleſſe, for all their generality this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they liſt) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by Gods Lawes and mans Lawes, or that is prejudiciall to our Common-wealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently conſidered. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the Supream Head on Earth, we have done nothing ſo onerous and chargable to them, as many of our Predeceſſours have done upon much leſſer grounds. Wherefore, ſithence this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great unkindneſſe and unnaturalneſſe in them, which had leaver a Churl or twain ſhould enjoy thoſe profits of their Monaſteries for the ſupportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince ſhould receive the ſame, towards our extream Charges done, and dayly ſuſtain'd for their defence againſt forraign Enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things, the Firſt is the Lawes, the Second is the Common-wealth, the Third the directors of the Lawes under us. Touching the Lawes, as it becometh not blind men to judge any Colours, ne to take upon them to be Judges of the ſame; ſo we dare expreſly and boldly affirme, as a thing that may be eaſily and duly proved; that there were never in any one of our Predeceſſors dayes, ſo many wholſome commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the Common-wealth, as have been made in our time; and ſithence ſome of them had credit and doing in our affaires, that would now perchance pick them thank without deſert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Councell ſhould have loſt ſo much time, as not to know better now, then we did in the beginning of our Reign, what were a Common-wealth, and what were againſt the good and commodity of the ſame, ſeeing we have been a King theſe twenty eight yeers, and by experience learned the perfectneſſe thereof. And although the folly and unkindneſſe of

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1536

ſome will not perchance let them ſo knowledge it, yet we truſt and doubt not but the moſt part of our loving Subjects, eſpecially, thoſe which be not ſeduced by falſe report, do both think it, accept it, and find it ſo. Now touching the Common-wealth, what King hath kept his ſo long in Wealth and Peace, ſo long without taking or doing wrong one to another, ſo indifferently miniſtred juſtice to all Eſtates both high and low, ſo defended them from all outward Enemies, ſo fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner ineſtimable Charges, and all for their wealths and ſuerties? What King hath given among his Subjects more generall and freer pardons? What King hath been loather to puniſh his Subjects, or ſhewed more mercy among them? Theſe things being ſo true as no true man can deny them; it is an unnaturall and an unkind demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whoſe report ſoever it ſhould be ſet forth againſt us. And the beginning of our Reign where it is ſaid, that ſo many Noble-men were Counſellors; we do not forget who were then Counſellors; for of the Temporalty, there were but two worthy to be called Noble, the one the Treaſurer of *England*, the other the high Steward of our houſhold. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy* but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by us, and ſo made Knights and Lords; the reſt were Lawyers and Prieſts, ſaving the two Biſhops of *Canterbury*, and *Wincheſter*. If theſe be then the great number of Noble-men that is ſpoken of, and that our Subjects ſeemed then contented withall, why then be they not much better contented with us which have ſo many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and condition of our Councell. For firſt of the Temporalty in our Privy Councell, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, the Lord *Steward*, (when he is preſent) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall Treaſurer of our Houſe, Sir *William Paulet*, Comptroller of our Houſe. And of the Spiritualty, the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*; and for becauſe it is more then neceſſary to have ſome in our Privy Councell learned in our Lawes and Pacts of the World: We by the advice of our whole Councel aforenamed, did elect and chuſe into our Privy Councell, and alſo in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy Seal, thinking them men in all our opinion moſt meet for the ſame Rooms; and we with our whole Councell think it right ſtrange, that yee which be but Brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Councell and who be not. Mark therefore now, how theſe ſeditious perſons, which thus wrongfully have borne you thus in hand, have falſly abuſed you; that reckon there were then more Noble men in our Privy Councell then

1536 be now: But yet though of our great clemency and Princely goodneſſe we declare now the truth to pull our Subjects from that errour and blindneſſe they were led and trained to by falſe and untrue ſurmiſe and report; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to preſume to take upon him the appointment of his King and Soveraign Lord's Councell, ne for our part will wee take any ſuch thing at any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they ſhould better remember the duties of good ſubjects to their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further with thoſe or ſuch like things as they have nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Councell to be ſubverters both of Gods Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as juſt, and true Executors both of Gods Lawes and ours, as far as their Commiſſion under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we ſhall proceed againſt them, and all other offendors therein, according to Juſtice, as to our eſtate and dignity Royall doth appertain. And in caſe it be but a falſe and an untrue report, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet, and ſtandeth as well with juſtice, that they ſhould have the ſelf-ſame puniſhment which wrongfully have objected this to them, that they ſhould have had if they had deſerved it. And one thing among others cauſeth us to think that this ſlander ſhould be untrue, becauſe it proceedeth from that place which is both far diſtant from that where they inhabit, and alſo from thoſe people which never heard them preach, nor yet know any part of their converſation. Wherfore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more ſo light of credit in the beleeving of evill things ſpoke of us your naturall Prince and Soveraign Lord; nor of any of our Prelats and Counſellors; but to think that your King, having ſo long reigned over you with the advice of his Councell, hath as good diſcretion to elect and chuſe his Counſellors, as thoſe, whoſoever they be that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant people, and out of all experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this finall point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Richmond-ſhire*, *Craven*, *Dent*, *Sedbane*, and all other places that have been ſeduced to this Inſurrection do deſire, and alſo in the matter of the whole diſcourſe of your Petitions; we verily think that the reſt of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an handfull, will greatly diſdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to ſet order to Us and them, and eſpecially to Us, being Soveraign Lord to you

you both. And that (you being Rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your miſchief, willing them to take pardon for Inſurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded; but like true Subjects to the contrary, have both with heart and deed been ready at our call to defend both Us and themſelves. And now for our part, as to your demands, We let you wit, that pardon of ſuch things as you demand, lyeth onely in the will and pleaſure of the Prince: But it ſeemeth by your lewd Proclamations and ſafe Conducts, that there be among you which take upon them both the parts of Kings and Counſellors, which neither by Us, nor by the generall conſent of our Realm hath been admitted to any ſuch room. What arrogance is then in thoſe wretches, being alſo of none experience, to preſume to raiſe you our Subjects without Commiſſion or Authority; yea and againſt Us, under a cloaked colour of your wealth, and in our name, and as the ſucceſs and end would declare, if we ſhould not be more merciful unto you, then you have deſerved, to your own utter confuſions? Wherefore, we let all your our ſaid Subjects again wit, That were it not that our Princely heart cannot reckon this your ſhamefull Inſurrection, and moſt ingrate and unnaturall Rebellion to be done of malice or rancor, but rather by a lightneſſe given in manner by a naughty Nature to a Communalty, and a wondrous ſudden ſurreption of Gentlemen: Wee muſt needs have executed another manner of puniſhment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and ſubmit your ſelves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be informed.) 1536

And now this great Company being diſperſed, began to take Books of controverſies in hand, and inform themſelves concerning the Kings Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in generall wholly oppoſing the Kings Reformation, kept the Rebellion ſtill on foot, though outwardly ſmothered for a while (as will appear in his place).

I ſhall come now to forrain Hiſtory.

Barbaroſſa being driven from *Tunis* repairs to the Turk, newly return'd from the Expedition to *Perſia*; and perſwades him to take Arms againſt the Emperour; who wanted (hee ſaid) onely *Algiere* to command intirely all that Coaſt of *Affrica*. The counſell pleas'd him; and the rather that *Monſieur de Forreſt* the French Ambaſſadour concurred therein, and one *Pignaſelo* a Renegado of *Naples*. Aſſembling thus an Army of 200000 men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the command of *Lutſi Baſſa*, He appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues diſtant from *Otranto* in *Italy*; From whence a ſmall part of the Fleet being Sandoy.

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1536 sent to enter that Continent, they chose rather to fall on *Castro*, then *Otranto*, or *Brindisi*, being stronger then that they could be gotten easily. This great Preparative; yet at last, came to nothing: for those of *Apuglia* not rising in favour of the French (which was hoped) nor *Francis* having any Army neer to second him, and *Doria* (besides that) having taken some of their Gallies from them, the *Bassa* having gotten *Castro*, and gotten store of Captives, neglected the enterprise, and return'd; while *Forrest* the French Ambassador died at *Velona*.

1537 June 6. Sandovall. About this time *Alexandro de Medicis* first Duke of *Florence* was betray'd by his kinsman *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who promising to help him to a Lady much desired by the Duke, entised him to his house in the night: but in stead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Assasins came in and kill'd him; which yet was revenged by *Cozimo de Medicis* his Successor.

Though the Emperour were now retir'd to *Spain*, (as is told before,) he yet continued his Wars against the French in the Low-Countries (and the rather, that our King had promised to be Neuter betwixt them) giving order thereupon for to besiege *Theroüenne*; which being advertised to *Francis*, caused him to raise an Army of 25000 men under *Anne Montmorancy* his Lieutenant, wherewith (the King being present) *Hesdin*, *S. Paul*, and divers other places were taken: while by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperour was declared a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Estate he held of the French Crown, being *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and some others. But some considerable Forces being raised on the Emperours part, and half the French Army being diminished by reason of Garisons put into the Towns won, and other occasions, *Francis* with the rest of his Army returned.

May. * June 15. † June 19. The Emperiall Army hereupon, commanded by the *Count de Bures*, took * back *S. Paul*, † surprised *Monstreul*, and defeated *Claude de Annebault* Marescal of *France*, though bravely defending himself after his victualling of *Theroüenne*. Things being brought to these extremities, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* Regent of the Low-Countries, mediated and effected a Truce on those parts between the two Princes for three months: while in *Savoy* some Towns revolting, the *Count de S. Paul* was sent thither by *Francis*, who recovered all again, and freed *Turin* then besieged by the Imperials. Yet *Alonso de Avalos* Marquesse of *Guasto* won back the greatest part of the Marquesate of *Saluces* in the behalf of *Francois* Marquesse thereof; who for falling away to the Emperour, was by the French King not long since deprived of his Possessions. But the Marquesse enjoyed not this Restitution; being kill'd soon after with a small shot, while he play'd the part of a Canoneer at the siege of the Castle of *Carmaniola*. *Francis* understanding now the progresse of the Spaniard in those parts, commands

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Septemb. 5.

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the *Seignеur de Humieres* with ſome German Foot to paſſe to *Peidmont*, both to defend the places hee had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon beſieged *Aſti*, but in vain, it being well defended; ſo that raiſing the ſiege, he went to *Albe*, which was rendred him without reſiſtance. 1537

Buſineſſes paſſing thus with various ſucceſſe on both ſides, *Francis* thought fit to ſend *Henry* the new *Daulphin* (his Elder Brother *Francis* after four dayes ſickneſſe, being the laſt yeer dead of a ſurfit of drinking cold water after Tennis-play, rather then poyſon by the Emperors procurement, though one ſuffer'd for it) and *Antoine* de *Bourton* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and *Montmorancy* who made their way over the Alps, by force took divers towns and perform'd many brave exploits, which being advertiſ'd to the King, made him reſolve to go thither in Perſon, where adviſing with the *Daulphin*, and *Montmorancy* what was further to be done, News was brought of a general abſtinence of War concluded by the mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that time being 28 of November 1537. till the 22th of February following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardie* for three months (as aboveſaid) Commiſſioners were ſent to the Emperor to Treat of a Peace, or at leaſt a generall Truce, and that for a longer time, ſo this Ceſſation was accorded: And the rather, that the Pope had now long while mediated it. And by this means, as the ſiege was raiſed from *Theroüenne*, ſo the French remain'd in poſſeſſion of all they had in *Piedmont*. This Truce being publiſhed, the Marqueſs of *Guaſto* demanded leave to kiſſe the hands of *Francis*; which being granted, he with many Spaniards in good equipage came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis* for more honouring of *Montmorancy*, (as a man who for his rare merits, he thought deſerved that eſteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himſelf and the *Daulphin*, and ſo expected the Marqueſſe, who having firſt done his due reſpects, and after Treated of an agreement concerning the Soldateſque in the places taken on either part, departed with much ſatisfaction of the reception which *Francis* had given.

July 6.

Octob. 10.

1536 Auguſt 10.

Novemb. 28.

The Emperor this while not unmindfull of the Princeſſe *Mary*, uſ'd all meanes for reſtoring her to her legitimation and poſſibility of inheritance. Therefore, deſiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books *de unione Eccleſiaſtica*) ſhould be made Cardinall, the Pope both eaſily granted it, and in the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as Legat to *Flanders*, that by this meanes he might confirm the Romane Catholiques in *England*, and advance his deſignes, being to ſtir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-Royall (his mother *Margeret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, being daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IV.) many wanted not, who believed that his zeal was complicate with

Decemb. 22. 1536.

1537 March. with some Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be deposed, and his posterity especially by Queen *Anne*, declared illegitimate. Being now on his way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him passage through his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at least not to treat with him as a Legat, who thereupon dismiss'd him. Coming thus to the Low-Countries, his servant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquisitive (as our Records tell us) whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Physicians to bear a Man-child or Female: which, as it made the intentions of the Cardinall more suspected, so it gave occasion to *John Hutton* the Kings Agent in the Low-Countries to gain *Throgmorton*. He was also commanded by our King to charge the Queen-Regent there with breach of Treaty, if she received the Cardinall, being (as he called him) a Traitor; which hee seconded also in that manner, that though at first she said it was not fit for her to refuse the Pope's Legat: yet being now urged again, at a time when shee was (as is before related) in war with *Francis*, she forbad the Cardinall to enter; telling him, that since he was an English-man of that quality, his negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howsoever, the Cardinal sent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwell*, to cleer himself of all ill designe against our King, and dispatch'd *John Matthei* Bishop of *Verona* to the Regent, both to charge her with disobedience to the Apostolick See, and to protest that Legat was never so used: adding, that his business was chiefly to dispute the errours of our Kings Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking Disputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refused him: So that hee was forced to hold his correspondence in *England* by more clandestine means: Whereof, as also his other proceedings, his servant *Throgmorton* and one Frier *Peto* certified some part, as I finde by our Records; as also his return to *Rome* in *Novemb.* 1537, where he was received with much triumph (as the said *Throgmorton* affirmed). This proceeding of the Pope's on the other side made our King cherish the Princes of *Germany*: for which hee took this Occasion.

Novemb.

The Protestants finding their late Pacification with the Emperour not observed in all points, met again at *Smalcald Febr.* 7. 1537, to consult what was to be done. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperours part, who exhorted the Princes, first To accept the Councell indicted: Secondly, To aid the Emperour with money against the Turk; or (if he stirr'd not) against the French (now usurping *Savoy*) &c. Thirdly, He objected to them, that they had received into their League new Confederates since the Treaty at *Noremberg*. To this the Protestnats answer'd, That for the Councell, it was not proposed

Febr. 7.

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1537

in a due manner nor place (the Emperour and Princes having decreed that it ſhould be in *Germany*) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremberg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperours Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the conditions agreed on, had queſtioned men for cauſes touching Religion. And as for thoſe entred into their League ſince the Treaty of *Noremberg*, It was deſired that they alſo might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which condition they promiſed to furniſh the Emperour ſuch moneys as he required. Howbeit, if he offered violence to them, they proteſted to defend them as their Confederates.

Things ſtanding thus, King *Henry* privately diſpatched *William Paget* and *Chriſtopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Inſtructions to take *France* in their way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his Engliſh Ambaſſadour, and the French King therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the voyage was to be performed in diſguiſed habit. In concluſion, the ſumme of Febr. their Inſtructions was, To dehort the German Princes from according either with the Emperour, or to the Councel indicted; but rather to referre all their differences to him and the French King. And herein as the King pretended to ſhew his love to the ſaid Princes, (who, if the Emperour made a Peace with them, ſhould (he ſaid) be ſingly and ſeparately oppreſs'd) ſo he had his own ends, as knowing that if a Councel were held, his Actions would receive no favourable cenſure; ſo that though not onely the French King, but the Emperour had promis'd (as I finde in our Records) That in the Councell his Affairs ſhould not be queſtioned; yet he gave them no intire credit. Therefore, after the Proteſtants had ſent him their Recuſation of the Councell, March 25. He made a publick Proteſtation againſt it; ſhewing, That the Indiction belong'd not to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but to the Emperour, and the Princes who ſhould ſend or come thither. That the time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*; the place inconvenient for the Engliſh, as being in *Mantua*; whither they could neither come ſafely, nor declare themſelves freely; That the manner of deciding controverſies in Religion was unjuſt, the Biſhop of *Rome* being Judge in his own cauſe; That therefore the Pope's intention was rather to eſtabliſh his Authority on this occaſion, then to yeeld to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Councell had damned the contrary opinions. That for his particular therefore, hee would not come there, as having more reaſon to keep home and provide againſt the Rebellions and Miſchiefs that the ſaid Biſhop had now for three yeers ſpace procured or raiſed in his Kingdom, then run new dangers. In concluſion, That nothing remain'd to be done, but

1537

that every Prince ſhould reform in his own Kingdom; all other wayes being ſuſpect, perillous, and unequall: yet if any could ſhew a better Expedient, he would give ear to it. The French King would not declare himſelf yet ſo far; and indeed he had uſe of the Pope at this time. Nevertheleſſe, he publickly proteſted again to the Princes, That he would never conſent to a Councell which was not aſſembled in a ſafe place, and free manner: and that his Son-in-law the King of Scots was of the ſame minde.

Conc. Trid.

May now approaching, *Frederic* Duke of *Mantua* required mony of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the ſecurity of his City during the Councell. But the Pope denying this, or at leaſt requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his command, found the Duke averſe; ſo that he deferred the Councel from *May* to *November*, and then to *May* next, and laſtly, transferred it to *Vicenza*, being in the Venetian Territory. And becauſe (by reaſon of theſe delayes) many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redreſſe to the enormities then generally complained of, he reſolved privately to proceed in a Reformation a yeer ſince propoſed. And this was a ſingular ingenuity: yet as he referred the buſineſſes to the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet*, and *Reginald Poole*, and ſome others who were paſſionate on their own ſide, they produced, after many Conferences, no more then a Remonſtrance of divers abuſes in the Government and Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and Affairs; for in the Church-Doctrine they would not admit an errour. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that ſomething more had been done; both as their Subjects were ſo much at the Pope's diſpoſe (when he would uſe his Authority), and as no little ſums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may ſay nothing of Theological points vexed on either ſide. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in *Sleidan lib.* 12.) is worth the ſeeing: for certainly it was the occaſion of rectifying divers abuſes in that Church; ſo that it hath been better, or at leaſt warier ever ſince: Whereby it appears, that controverſies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both ſides more carefull not to offend; while fear leſt perſonall faults ſhould redound to the detriment of the Religion they profeſſe, becomes a caution for vertue and good example; ſo can God draw good out of evill; and ſo can man pervert all again: For though indeed there was hope at this time that a further Reformation might have followed, (and certainly it had been the ſafeſt way to begin there) yet as *Luther*, *Sturmius*, and others hearing what was done by the Delegates at *Rome*, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all Reformations but their own; ſo all hope of Reconciliation

Conc. Trid. Sleid.

1535 June.

Sleid. Com. lib. 12.

ciliation in this kinde was precluded: while the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now so little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Protestants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of their Church (as if it might erre) then establish a generall Peace. 1537

It is time I turn now to those home Affairs which passed while those forreign Businesses formerly related were in action.

The Insurrection of the North was not yet so quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a hand over them: therefore he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to stay there, and together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to compose all things: Who thereupon took the submission of the Commons; which was, First, To revoke all Oathes and Promises made in the former Insurrection, asking the King forgiveneſſe on their knees. Secondly, to be true to the King, his Heirs and Successors. Thirdly, To observe & maintain all Acts of Parliament since the first yeer of the Kings Reign. Fourthly, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highneſſe Authority. Fifthly, To apprehend all seditious persons. And sixthly, To remove all the Monks, Friers and Nuns they had reinplaced in the late dissolved Monasteries. Together with which these Lords had private Instructions to bring in the Lord *Thomas Darcy* and *Robert Aske*; and for *Aske*, I finde by our History and Records, That he came to our King, and that upon the submission aforesaid, and oath not to depart for any long season without the Kings leave, being well received for the present, hee was dismiss'd again. But the Lord *Darcy*, suspecting he should be questioned, excused himself to *Crumwell*; saying, That all he did was onely for retaining so much credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highneſſe service: adding thereunto a note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty yeers. But this did not avail; for he was sent for to *London*, and imprisoned, that so he might no more run such hazards, the King foreseeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happened: For *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, and others besieged *Carlile* with 8000 men, but were repulsed by the City; and in their return encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused all the Captains (save *Musgrave*, who escaped) and about seventy persons by Law-Martiall to be hanged on *Carlile* Walls. 1537 Febr. March 18.

Sir *Francis Bigot* and one *Halam* attempted also to surprize the Town of *Hull*; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Insurrections, and some lesser which followed, I finde yet no reason delivered, but that the People were unsatisfied because a Parliament was not held at *York*, according

1537 cording to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of *Norfolk* had order secretly (notwithstanding the Pardon) to chastise the principal offenders. But our King on the other side, alledged, That since they had not restored all the Religious Houses, in which they had reinplaced the Monks, he was not bound strictly to hold promise with them. Howsoever, these new Revolts ended quickly: And now the Duke having this occasion, proceeded severely; for having by the King's commandment spred his Royall Banner, he thereupon executed Martiall-Law where he thought it needfull. In conclusion, so many were found to be complices in Treason, or the conspiracy of it, That the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aske*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife (or Paramour,) Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest*, and *William Lumley* were taken and brought prisoners to *London*; and in *June* following, the Lord *Hussy* for the *Lincoln-shire* businesse, and the Lord *Darcy* were arraigned at *Westminster* before the Marquesse of *Exceter* then High Steward, and found guilty of high Treason. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at Tower-hill, and the Lord *Hussy* at *Lincoln*: others were hang'd at *Hull*, and at *York*, some else-where, among whom were divers religious persons: The news whereof being certified by the Duke of *Norfolk* to Court, the King by Letter to him, said, he would close this Tragedy: For he sent now a generall Pardon; which was received with great joy, many being terrified with the Dukes proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of *Norfolk* yet could not exempt him from calumny: For the Lord *Darcy* during his imprisonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the Rebels Articles when they first met at *Doncaster*: But the Duke denyed it, offering the Duel; saying, that *Aske* (who suffered at *York* before the said Lord) told him the said Lords intentions; who (he said) bare him ill will ever since the Duke had solicited the said Lord to deliver *Aske* into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the Rebels; which *Darcy* denying, some expostulation had pass'd betwixt them. Nevertheless, I finde the King was so well satisfied of the Duke, that those things were pass'd over without further questioning.

Febr.

Novemb. 14. 1536.

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though *James* the Scottish King (now in *France*) were advertiz'd; yet he stir'd not. And it was happy for our State; for had hee joyn'd, he might have endangered the Northern parts, as People stood then affected. Howsoever, our King who thought his absence was not security enough, had employed Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with command to reside, till *James* return'd (which was about Whitsontide 1537.) and to inform him of all occurrents. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the coast of *England*, divers English cast themselves at his feet, and

Records.

and desired him to assist them, saying, he should have all (for so the Originall hath it.) But the King would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to *Edenburgh* with his new married Queen, (who was brought up under the Queen of *Navar*, and not disaffected to the Reformation of Religion) he was received with much joy, which yet continued not long, she dying shortly after of an Hectique Fever: (as hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinall *Beton* and *Robert Maxwell* were sent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and *Mary* of the house of *Guise*, and widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which also followed. 1537

The King having appeased all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many executions done upon all sorts of Persons had made him terrible; so that sweet temper of love and fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects hearts was turnd into that awe and dread as few thought themselves safe; which though it might have caused some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolved to hold his way, and where occasion was, to punish severely: Therefore he gave order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long detention in prison, at this time should suffer death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hoped of Pardon by the intercession of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yeelded himself, (as is formerly mentioned), he would have dyed some other death. All the race yet ended not so; for *Gerald* yonger brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of Clothes, and conveighed to his friends in *Ireland*, and so to *France*, and from thence to the Low-countries, in both which places being required of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinsman, and finding him a fit Instrument for his purposes, kept, and cherished him, untill he obtained in after-times, that he might be restored to his country and place. June. 1538. Febr. 3. 1537.

This being done, our King devised certain Acts to passe in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, *&c.* granted by the Pope; and that the People should use the English tongue. That Marchers should dwell upon their March lands: That certain Religious Houses there should be suppresst: Against alliance with Rebels; For establishing Succession; For the First-fruits and twentieth part of spiritual promotions; That those who took part with *Kildare* might be pardoned, when they fined for it, *&c.* Of which more may be seen in the Irish Statutes.

This year at *Hampton Court* Prince *Edward* was born, *October* 12. 1537. who (to use *Polydores* words) was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; October. 12.

1537 Novemb. 8. *Imperium*; yet was not the happineſs entire; for Queen *Jane* two dayes after her delivery died, and was buried in the Quire at *Windſor*, whoſe loſſe much afflicted the King, as having found Her alwaies diſcreet, humble, and loyall; for which reaſon alſo, he was not ſo forward to match again. Inſomuch that notwithſtanding ſome good offers made him, he continued a widower more then two yeares; which in his declining age and corpulence (for He grew now very unweildy) was a long ſpace. The Prince yet not being above ſix daies old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*: Sir *Edward Seymor* alſo Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*. And Sir *William Fitz-William* (made Admirall of *England* lately) Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of the Kings Houſe, was made Lord *St. John*; and Sir *John Ruſſell* Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſell*.

Hollingſh.

Octob. 18. May 1536. Aug. 16. 1536.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of this Princes birth, congratulates it, and together complaines of ſome unkindneſs in her ſon, deſiring ſhe might end her dayes (being now about 49.) in quietneſſe; but if our King could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that ſhe underſtood how (upon the death of the Lord *Thomas Howard*) her daughter was at this time releaſed out of the Tower.

October 31.

I ſhall conclude this year with a prodigious effect of Mount *Ætna*, the flames whereof lifting up a huge maſs of burning ſulphure, by ſlow degrees, to a great height, ſuſtained it there, till at length it ſcattered over all the Country, and killed (as my Author *Sandoval* hath it) innumerable Men and Beaſts.

Sandovall.

1538 March. In *March* 1538. the Proteſtants meeting at *Brunſwick*, our King ſent thither *Chriſtopher Mount* with Inſtructions. Firſt, to ſee who were the Confederats. Secondly, whether their league was for Generall defence, or limited to matter of Religion only. Thirdly, to require a finall Anſwer, whether they would the great Legation with *Melancthon* as they had promiſed. But they deſiring King *Henry* ſhould firſt declare, what points he diſliked in their Confeſſion, leaſt the Ambaſſador ſhould after ſo great expectation return without effect, excuſed themſelves in this laſt point, pretending that they had preſent uſe of their learned men, &c. And as to the other two Articles, they declared, That their League was onely in the Cauſe of Religion, and ſent the names of their Confederates, being (as the Record ſhews) XXVI Cities, and XXIIII Princes; among whom the King of *Denmark* was newly admitted. Nevertheleſſe, to ripen matters for a further Treaty, they gave Commiſſion to their Agents now ſent (being *Francis Burgrat*, and two other men not unlearned) to diſpute with the Engliſh Divines

May 12.

about

about Religion, which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved diſmiſſion of the King, leaving with them their Remonſtrance touching divers abuſes in *England*: as 1. The Adminiſtrations of the Euchariſt in one kinde onely. 2. Private Maſſe. 3. Celibate of Prieſts: againſt which they urged Scripture, and the ancient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the ſame; and that it belongs to his Majeſty to reſtore the purity of Religion, as did the Kings, *David*, *Joſias*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Ezekias*, &c. This, though commended to the King and *Cromwell* by Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, was yet oppoſed by divers others, and particularly by *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, (who extracted the ſaid Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments againſt it). So that the King for all Anſwer to the ſaid Orators, defended the points they would have reformed. Inſomuch, that they return'd unſatisfied and fruſtrate. King *Henry* the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Proteſtants in *Germany* would be drawn to him. And becauſe he had been often importuned to authorize a Tranſlation of the Bible, He committed the care thereof to *Cromwell*, and the Printing to *Richard Grafton*; who pretending the want of good Paper here, got our Kings and *Francis* Licence to print it at *Paris* both in Latine and Engliſh in a large Volume: which therefore by *Cromwell* the Vicegerents Injunctions this yeer (1538) was to be ſet in every Church for the people to read: Yet ſo, as the King by Proclamation gave them to underſtand, that this was not his duty, but his goodneſſe and liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of vertue, not of ſtrife. And therefore no man ſhould read it aloud to diſturbe the Prieſt while he ſang Maſſe, nor preſume to expound doubtfull places without advice from the learned.

1538 Auguſt 5.

Septemb.

Fox.

The King having Iſſue Male, proceeded more confidently in his deſignes: And becauſe he knew that the pretended and falſe Miracles of Prieſts had ſeduced many ignorant people to a ſuperſtitious obedience to the Romiſh See, and reverence of Monaſteries, he reſolv'd to detect them, at leaſt, as many as he could; for divers were ſo cunningly repreſented, as they had kept their credit for ſome ages; the manner of theſe times being, if a man were reſtored to his health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he deſired upon a vow to ſome Saint, never to ſtudy other cauſe.

And here out of our Records I ſhall mention ſome of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of thoſe times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Ladie's *girdle*, ſhewed in eleven ſeverall places, and her *Milk* in eight: the *Bell* of S. *Guthlac*, and the *Felt* of S. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, both remedies for the Head-ach: the *Pen-knife* and *Boots* of S. *Thomas of Canterbury*,

1538 *terbury*, and a piece of his *Shirt*, much reverenced by great-bellied women: the *Coals* that roasted S. *Laurence*; two or three *Heads* of S. *Ursula*; *Malchus* his *Ear*; and the paring of S. *Edmonds nails*; the image of an Angel with one wing which brought hither the Spears head that pierced Christs side; an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her hand, which burnt nine yeers together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out; and was now found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady of *Worcester*, from which certain veils and dressings being taken, there appeared the Statue of a Bishop ten foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation shewed to the people: Among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; One was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*, which being made with divers vices to turn
Febr. 24. the eyes and move the lips, was shewed publickly at *Pauls* Crosse by *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, and there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at *Hales* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*, where the *Blood of Jesus Christ* brought from *Jerusalem*, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great offerings to it from remote places: And it was said to have this property, That if a man were in mortall sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise, very well: Therefore every man that came to behold this Miracle confest himself first to a Priest there, and then offering something to the Altar, was directed to a Chappell where the Relick was shewed; the Priest who confest him (in the mean while) retiring himself to the back part of the said Chappel, and putting forth a Cabinet or Tabernacle of Crystall, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen thorow it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly: For if a rich and devout man ent'red, they would shew the thick side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the blood. Which yet (as my Authour, a
Will. Thomas. Novemb. 24. Clerk of the Councell to *Edward* VI, and living in those times, affirms) was proved to be the blood of a Duck every week renewed by the Priests, who kept the secret betwixt them. Besides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, of *Penrise*, of *Islington*, and S. *John* of *Osulston* (called otherwise Mr. *John Shorne*,) who was said to shut up the Divel in a Boot; and divers others were publickly burnt: Insomuch, that a huge Image called *Darvel Gadern* being fetch'd out of
May 22. *Wales* served to burn Frier *Forrest*, (condemn'd for counselling people in Confession not to beleeve the Kings Supremacy,) and to elude I know not what old blinde Propheſie.

And by this means the Monasteries grew infamous where most of these Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who

1538

who before held a reverend opinion of these pretended Relicks and Miracles, yet, as this way, there was danger lest the people should not believe those Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a hand over his Subjects, and found means to humble them; for they were taught, that howsoever the Miracles of those later times proved counterfeit and false, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his glory and service; And that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the memory of his Saints, he permitted them sometimes, where the people were not withdrawn thereby from his worship, to the worship of the creature.

Upon the Cessation of Armes betwixt the Emperour and French King formerly mentioned; the Pope endeavoured a further peace and correspondence, as thinking them capable both of making war with the Turk, and revenging his quarrel on our King, against whom he was much intentive to joyn them. But there are many difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the same enterprize. Nevertheless, both of them were dis-affected to our King at this time, not yet so much for their particular Interests, as that his overthrowing of Religious houses, and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects had given ill impressions of him, which our King understanding procures to hold his Treaty with *Francis*. And therefore recalling from *Spain Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *Hereford*, and his Ambassador then with the Emperor, he imployed him in *France* in the place of *Stephen Gardiner*, who had foured all things; since, being one who both disliked the Kings late proceedings, and secretly favour'd the Emperor, he did his Master little service in that Court. *Bonner* being now come, was roughly received by *Gardiner*, and coldly by the French King (as I find by an Originall) yet he obtained at first that the Old and New Testament in English might bee printed at *Paris* in the largest Volume, whereof yet complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Presse was stayed, and as much as was already printed, publiquely burnt, save some few Copies, that being gotten for waste-paper, were recovered and sent into *England*, whither also the Printers themselves following shortly after, finished their work. Howbeit as *Bonner* had in his other affairs here but little satisfaction, he was repeald at last on this occasion; being commanded by our King to deliver a high message, concerning his Pension, now four years detained, as also touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was received and favoured by *Francis*: He uttered it in so haughty a manner (as was thought) that *Francis* return'd both to our King and him some harsh language; nevertheless, as he feared least it should cause warre, He sent to *England* an expresse Messenger both to Interpret and excuse himself, and to desire *Bonner* might be recalled; which the King did, as thinking him hence-

July 7. 1537.

Aug. 1537. Fox.

Decemb. 17.

Fox.

1538

henceforth an unuſefull ſervant in that place) yet ſo as he forgot not to beſtow the Biſhoprick of *London* on him for his reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as *Francis* (having about this time made a ten yeares Truce with the Emperor, as ſhall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with *Scotland*) talked louder then before; ſo the Lady Regent in the Low-countries, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, ſhewed diſaffection to our State, without that our King in his preſent condition knew well how to repair himſelf, ſince being reſolved to take order about his home buſineſſes not yet fully ſetled, He thought of Forreign Affairs, no otherwiſe then to attend the occaſion, and confederate himſelf where it might be for his beſt advantage. For which at laſt divers Overtures were made. The firſt it ſeems came from the Emperour, whoſe Ambaſſador here ſignified to *Cromwell* Lord Privy Seal his Maſters deſire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and *Chriſtiana* the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, being a beautifull Lady, and at that preſent lately come into the Low-countries. *Cromwel* anſwered, that he would firſt ſee her picture, and then ſpeak to the King; Which being granted, one *Hans Holin* (or *Holbin* I believe) being the Kings ſervant was ſent over, and in 3. houres ſpace (as *John Hutton* our Agent there hath it) ſhewed what a Maſter he was in his Science. Our King hereupon ſeemed inclinable, giving charge to *Hutton* to treat of the buſineſſe. But the Lady Regent (though ſaid to have ſufficient power) referred all to the Emperour, who having appointed an interview with *Francis*, was ſo ſlow in returning an Anſwer, that our King underſtood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the buſineſs a while; and he had reaſon; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt *Francis* and the Emperour, for his Son the Duke of *Orleans* and her, and the place nominated at *Comptean*, where *Francis* (now returned from the Interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen *Mary* Regent of *Flanders*: Whereof our King being advertiſ'd, ſent ſome privately thither, to inform him of that which paſſed; but *Milan* being refuſed as dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was ſuſpended. This made our King proceed again, imploying *Thomas Wriotheſly*, and ſome others, to the Lady Regent for this purpoſe; but this Treaty produced others, ſo that a Match was propoſed betwixt *Don Lewis* of *Portugall* and our Princeſſe *Mary* in the termes ſhe then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all claim to the ſucceſſion, except ſuch as the King ſhall give her: As alſo a ſtrict confederation and amity. The conditions our King required with the Dutcheſſe of *Milan* were great; for though ſhe was but the ſecond Daughter of *Denmark*, *Dorothea* the Elder being married to *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdome of *Denmark*, (there being no Iſſue male now alive of *Chriſtierne* the

Octob. 20. 1534.

March.

October.

the II.)desiring for this purpose the Emperors assistance, which also the Emperor seemed to promise, as offering to treat with Duke *Frederick* about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the German affaires, then that the Emperor desired to greaten Him, by such an Accession. And with *Don Lowis*, the Emperor offered *Milan*, when the King would shew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand crowns; Promising further, That if the French King, upon this occasion denyed the Pension usually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; He offered also to endeavour a reconciliation with the Pope if our King so pleased. Nevertheless, divers jealousies and cavils arising, (especially after the Interview) betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*, (whereof presently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting sometimes that our King treated of a Match in *France* with the Daughter of *Guise*; another while saying, that in regard of the Dutchess nearness of bloud to the late Qu. *Katherine*, there needed a Dispensation from the Pope, which she knew the King would hardly accept; but these Answers being taken as illusory, the Treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruell war was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; especially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, which followed. But *Francis* omitted not likewise to make his Propositions, offering our King what Lady he pleased in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter, neither ought their motions of alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever causes of jealousie betwixt these great Princes, & as they knew wel, our King had setled his affairs here.

1538

Records.

While things past thus, the Truce expiring in *February* betwixt the French King and Emperour, the Pope obtain'd yet that it should be continued for six months; hoping in the interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good intentions might concur; so his particular Interests wanted not; he imploying the Cardinal *Carpi* to the Emperour, and Cardinal *Jacobaccio* to the French King for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farnese* and *Margarita* Relict of the Duke of *Florence*, naturall Daughter of the Emperour: The other betwixt *Victoria Farnese* and *Antoine de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the time and place of meeting appointed at *Nizza* about the beginning of *June* 1538, where they all came; but so as the Emperour being lodg'd in *Villa-Franca*, and the French King in *Villa-Nova*, they neither saw one another in their severall Courts, nor at the Pope's at *Nizza*: Insomuch, that notwithstanding the Pope's solicitation, their mutuall jealousies of

Febr. 22. 1537.

Sandoval, *l.* 24.

June.

1538 the Pope's affection, the number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third persons intervened, their late Defyes, and greatnesse of businesses to be determined permitted no safe terms of meeting. Nevertheless, the Pope (after he had in vain desired them to send some Bishops to the Councel now at *Nicenza*) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten yeers, and so the meeting dissolv'd. The Pope presently recalling his Legats from *Vicenza*, and deferring the Councell till Easter the next yeer.

June 18.

July 28.

And now the Emperour and *Francis* being neer each other, and for the rest, Princes of so great courage, as they heard with some indignation the difficulties their Counsellors had represented about an Interview, resolved betwixt themselves to meet. *Francis* sent an Invitation to him to repose at *Alquesmortes* and *Marseilles*, in his way to *Spain*; and *Charles* accepted it; who coming thereupon neer the Shore, *Francis*, attended with *Montmorancy* (now Connestable) and few others, without all difficulty passed in a Shallop to the Emperours Galley; and after an hours stay, and some complements in French (which Language both spake) *Francis* return'd to land. And now the Emperour was pensative and doubtfull whether he should go on shore; many of his Councell oppos'd it; but the Duke of *Alva* said generously, He should go; which counsel the Emperour followed: and thereupon landing, the French King, and his Queen, the Daulphine, and a huge Train received him with demonstration of joy: and two meales they did eat together, at which the Dutchess of *Estampes* (much regarded by *Francis*) was present. But the next day after (being the 16 of *July*) rich gifts having passed on both sides, the Emperour departed for *Spain*.

July 15.

July 16.

And now it was disputed at *Rome* whether these two Princes should joyn in a war against the Turk, or bring our King to reason: The former took place; the Turk, as being much animated against the Christians, having made great Preparatives: and when he had not, our King being a person with whom they would not easily have fought in the Popes quarrel: which also is the more probable, that *Francis* would not so much as concur with him in a War against the Turk, though solicited by the Pope, Emperor and Venetians, no more then our King: though (as I finde by our Records) intreated by the said Venetians, as having a particular War with the Turk at this time in *Morea* and *Sclavonia*; so that they above named onely joyned, according to a League made at *Rome* Febr. 8. the Pope furnishing thirty six Galleys, the Emperour eighty two, and the Venetians as many; who yet being led by *Andrea Doria*, and coming to fight with the Turkish Fleet of 130 Vessels under *Barbaroxa*, were on the Coast of *Epire* towards night Septemb. 24. defeated;

1538

ed; when such a huge Tempest of Thunder and Lightning arose, as scattered them every way: yet few dayes after they took from the Turk *Castel Novo*, a Fort in the Gulf of *Cataro*, and leaving a Garison there, return'd.

All which engagements of War, though in effect they were so many divertions of it from us, could not secure our King from suspicion either of Treachery at home, or Invasion from abroad. Therefore he took especiall care of the Sea-Coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favour of Cardinall *Poole*; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little intelligence from our kingdom. Notwithstanding all which attention, divers Messages passed betwixt the said Cardinal and his friends and kindred; which cost some of them their lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any superstitious worship reigned here, the Friers and Priests would oppose his Reformation, especially as long as such were accounted Saints who had resisted their Prince, Resolved, after he had burned so many Images, to burn the bones of *Thomas Becket*, Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* in the time of *Henry* II, (though others mention not the burning; And one living in those times, affirms onely, that his bones were scattered amongst so many dead mens, that they could not be found again without some great Miracle.) Together with which, our King seised on that immense Treasure and Jewels which were offered to his Shrine; there being few since *Henry* the Second's time which passed to *Canterbury*, that did not both visit his Tombe, and bring rich Presents to it. Among which, there being one stone eminent, which it was said, *Lewys* the Seventh coming hither on Pilgrimage from *France*, *Anno Dom.* 1179 bestowed; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards. For which reasons, as also for being so great an example of contumacie against his King, he was (as *Sanders* hath it) constrain'd *Causam iterum ad Tribunal dicere*; That is to say, his life and actions being examin'd, he was declar'd by our King that he deserved no canonization: and proved besides, that the Scull which the people did so much venerate (and which was now burnt as an imposture) was not his own, (it, together with his bones, being found in his Tombe, and scattered, as aforesaid,) and that there was forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King, being not content, caus'd his name to be raz'd out of the Kalender, and forbad the keeping of his Holiday. But because it may appear what a kinde of Saint this man was, I will report some part of his life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polydore Virgil*, who most fabulously affirms, that certain men in *Kent* for cutting off *Becket*'s Horse tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remained, had tailes like Beasts. But of a Book of the said Clerk

Will. Thomas Il. Pet. Ingl.

Aug. 23. 1179

Sand. Sch. Angl.

of

1538 *Will. Thomas Il. Pel. Ingl.*

of the Counſell, formerly mentioned, leaving to every man yet the choice of beleeving what relation he pleaſeth.

This man (as my Author hath it) being born of an Engliſh Merchant, and a woman of *Barbary*, having been brought up in learning, and promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, conteſted with King *Henry* the ſecond for the Popes Authority: Inſomuch, that in his *Pontificalibus*, with his Miter upon his head, and gilt Croſſe born before him, he publikely excommunicated all thoſe who oppoſed the Church; wherewith the 1165. King being offended, *Becket* fled to the Pope, who cheriſhed him ſo much, as in contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and kingdom; ſo that for about four yeers ſpace, neither Maſſe, nor other publike Service was uſed in the Church. 1170. But by the Interceſſion of the French King, *Becket* and the Maſſe being reſtored, and our King and Kingdom abſolved, all things ſeemed quiet, till he began new quarrels: At which the King being diſpleaſed, ſaid, If he had faithfull ſervants, he ſhould not be ſo wronged; Which ſome Gentlemen that ſerved him hearing, went to *Canterbury*, and taking their time, upon ſome ill language given, killed him in the Cloiſter of his Cathedrall Church, and ſo fled. Whereupon the Monks ſhut their gates, and perſwaded the People that the Bells rung of themſelves; nor content herewith, they caſt a certain compoſition into a well adjoyning, and made the People beleeve that it appeared bloudy by Miracle, for that holy Martyr, which at laſt obtained ſuch credit that *Henry* II came in perſon, together with 1179. Aug. 23. *Loüys* of *France* to viſit the Holy place, and gave many rich poſſeſſions to the Monaſtery; for further teſtimony of his favour to them, refuſing ever to receive again, or pardon the murtherers, yet theſe wonders ended at laſt; for our King on ſome occaſion coming to *Canterbury*, diſcovered the fraud of the well, and aboliſhed the Miracles.

But what pretext ſoever our King had to proceed thus with *Becket*, nothing was taken to be a greater cruelty and rapine: Inſomuch, that upon news hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publiſh his Bull of Excommnication (formerly decreed 1535) againſt our King; wherein he alſo mentions this fact Decemb. 17. with much horrour and deteſtation; ſending alſo his Agents abroad with the ſaid Bull, who ſet it up in divers places of *Flanders*, *France* and *Scotland*; being ſuch a Bull (ſaith the Writer of the *Councel of Trent*) as neither his Predeceſſours left him example for, or his Succeſſours ever imitated. But the Pope gained little hereby; or all his rigours were but ſo many Incentives Aprill 8. to King *Henry* to oppoſe him; therefore as he had ſent publike- May. proteſtations every where againſt the Councel to be aſſembled at *Vicenza*, affirming the ſame difficulties would be about holding of it there, which muſt have been at *Mantua*; ſo having made

made way by the discovery of the former Impostures, he suppressed more Monasteries, and every day more and more devested the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other side, he opposed all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two Dutch Anabaptists, and by a Dispute hee publickly held in *Westminster*-Hall with one *Nicholson, alias Lambert* a Priest; against whom hee maintained the presence of Christ in the Sacrament after the manner he set down in his Articles; concluding, that he should have mercy if hee recanted; otherwise, that he should be burnt. But *Lambert* despising mercy on those terms, the sentence was executed: so deep a tincture doth Religion give, as being once throughly entred, nothing afterward can either change or efface it. 1538 Novemb. 19. Novemb. 22.

The King having thus made it appear, that howsoever he rejected the Papall Authority, he concurred not every-where with the Reformers, thought he might with more reason now confront the report which Cardinall *Poole* and his Friends had raised, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which number, because *Henry Courtney* Marquesse of *Exceter* (the King's Cousin-german, as being Son of *Katherine*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth) and *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Geffery Poole* Knight were eminent; he took occasion (upon secret information given by Sir *Geffery*) to cause them to be indicted, for devising to maintain, promote and advance one *Reginald Poole* late Dean of *Exceter*, enemy to the King beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before *Thomas* Lord *Audley* (for the present sitting as his High Steward of *England*) were found guilty: not long after which, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Geffery Poole*, two Priests and a Mariner were arraign'd, and found guilty also, and judgement given accordingly. The two Lords and *Nevil* were beheaded, the two Priests and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd at *Tiburn*, and Sir *Geffery* pardoned; Sir *Nicholas Carew* also (Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King) for being of counsell with the said Marquesse, was beheaded. The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Onely I finde among our Records that *Thomas Wriothesley* Secretary (then at *Bruxils*) writing of their apprehension to Sir *Thomas Wyat* (his Highnesse Ambassadour in *Spain*) said, that the Accusations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal Money. Decemb. 31. Jan. 3. 15$\frac{3}{38}$ Jan. 9. March 3. Novemb. *Vinc. Herald.*

I finde little more of this yeer for our parts, save that notwithstanding all these severities, neither was one *Conesby* Groom of the Kings Chamber deterr'd from counterfeiting the Kings Seal Manuall; nor one *Clifford* from counterfeiting his Privie Signet: both which therefore suffered death.

The

1539

Sandov. l. 24. Novemb. 1.

The Emperour now in *Spain*, among his home-buſineſſes, thought none more requiſite then to take order for money: Therefore hee aſſembled at *Toledo* a Cortes or Parliament of both States; ſo that the Grandees of *Caſtilla* and *Leon* on the one ſide, and Cardinal of *Toledo* and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: where the Emperours neceſſities being repreſented by occaſion of his late Warres, It was declared, that neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the Indies, nor the Cruzades, Tenths and other helps granted by the Pope, did ſuffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the Emperor deſired that at their charge all his Eſtate and Dominions might be preſerv'd and ſecur'd both by Sea and Land; ſo as hee might have the ordinary Rent of *Caſtilla*, and the India's for paying his debts and ſpending money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, That their moſt ready and equall way for ſupplying the Emperors wants, was to grant a Siſa or Taxe for a certain time, with a limitation to what it ſhould extend; ſince leſſe corruption and extortion would follow this way then any other: Onely they deſired the Emperour, That he would procure a Licenſe and Commandment from his Holineſſe to this purpoſe. But the Grandees and Nobles who had immediate power in their hands to conſent unto the Emperours Demand, would yet reſolve nothing ſuddenly in their own name or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the buſineſſe to twelve elect perſons among them; among which the Conneſtable being chief, ſpake much againſt Impoſitions; deſiring rather to ſupply the Emperour ſome other way: And that they might confer with the Burgeſſes or Procuradores of the chief Cities hereof; beſeeching his Majeſty withall, that he would ſtay at home and ſtudy peace, as having made eighteen yeers of continuall War both by Sea and Land: Which Anſwer being brought the Emperour, It was replyed on his part, that hee demanded Money, and not Advice. Hereupon, certain amongſt them propoſed to lay Impoſition upon Commodities exported: but the reſt agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinall of *Toledo* came and told them in his Majeſties name, That he aſſembled them to the intent he might communicate his owne and his Kingdoms neceſſities; it ſeeming reaſonable, that as they were generall, ſo ſhould the Remedie be: But by as much as is done, hee conceiveth there is no cauſe to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

Febr. 1.

The *Cortes* being thus diſſolved, the Emperor upon occaſion, told the Coneſtable he had done ill, and deſerved to be thrown out of a Corredor or open Gallery, where they were: To which he anſwered, Your Majeſty will pleaſe to adviſe; for though I am little, I weigh much. But it ſeems, the Emperor ſpake neither in earneſt, nor the Coneſtable, as one that reſent-

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1539

ed; so that nothing followed. Howsoever, the Grandees and Nobles of *Spain* behaved themselves insolently at this time, to the Emperor; who having commanded a Just or Tourney, wherein all the principal Persons were to meet: it happened as they rode in their equipage and order to the place, an Alguazil stroke the Duke of *Infantados* Horse, on some occasion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded, Do you know me? and the Alguazil saying, yea: He with his sword cut him on the head; who with blood about his ears, coming to the Emperor (then on horse-back,) incensed him so much, as he sent presently to apprehend the Duke; But the Conestable being present, said to the Officer, You have no Authority, as long as I am in place; and so forced him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all these Acrevemiencos were done in his presence, sends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grandees and others were so displeased, that they all rode away in Troop; so that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forced to desist and return; both to his own great scandal, and those who came to be spectators. But the Emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how sensible he was of this contempt.

The *German* Protestants, this while, being sollicited for ayd against the *Turk*, and denying it, unless the Emperor first granted them such a solid and entire Peace in the Cause of Religion, as might comprehend both the present and future Confederates; the adverse party entered a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and stipulating mutual defence, if they were molested for the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor notwithstanding, giving Commission to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the said Protestants of an Accommodation; which yet took no effect, though there were a meeting held at *Francfort*, to this purpose. Howsoever, our King omitted not to send His Agents (*Christopher Mount* and *Thomas Payn*) thither, shewing, He took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his knowledg, desiring to understand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be constant to their professed Doctrine: To which, *Burgart* and others in their name, *April* 23. coming to *England*, brought Instructions to this effect, That their manifold troubles, suffered them not hitherto, to signifie the said Pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no Conditions being so much as proposed. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Augustane* Confession; so that there needed be no doubt of their Constancy. But they are informed, that His Majesty had set forth a Proclamation, injoyning rigidly and under heavy Censures, those Points which the last yeer their Ambassadors desired as Abuses might be Reformed; which unless His Majesty pleased to mitigate,

Novemb. 25. 1538.

Febr. 12.

Records.

April 23.

Records

1539 they could determine nothing of the Legation of learned Men, which he expected. For we have, say they, disputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching Private Mass, Communion in one kinde, and Celibate of Priests. And unless we understood that our Doctrine herein were prescribed by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the said Doctrines, or send any of our Divines into *England*, to give Approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melancthon* sent a Letter to the King (superscrib'd *Sermo, &c. Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ, post Christum Supremo*,) exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely Ceremonies and things indifferent; wherefore, he desires His Majesty to mitigate the late Proclamation. What Answer our King gave to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtained a Confirmation of the said Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consented to strengthen himself at home, by inriching his Treasury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the consent of his Parliament, for dissolving all Religious Houses under 200 l. yeerly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the Visitors had heretofore petitioned, that some might be spared, Both for the vertue of the Persons in them, and the benefit of the Country, (the poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their children:) And though *Latimer* mentioned, that some two or three might be left in every shire for pious uses; *Cromwel* yet (by the Kings Permission) invaded all; while betwixt threats, gifts, perswasions, promises, and whatsoever might make man obnoxious, he obtained of the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, *&c.* that their Houses might be given up. Among which, those that offered their Monastries freely, got best Conditions of the King; for if they stood upon their right, the Oath of Supremacy, and some other Statutes, and Injunctions brought them in danger, or their Crimes at least made them guilty of the Law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbots of *Glassenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, who more then any else resisted.

April 1.

1535

Records.

In conclusion, the Title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by Statute, or claim of Right, but was either some voluntary surrender, Purchase or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirmed by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he summoned it to begin *April* 28. 1539. In the mean while, rumors were every where dispersed, that Cardinal *Pool* labored

with

1539

with divers Princes, to procure Forces againſt the Kingdom, and that an Invaſion was threatned. And this again ſeemed more credible; that the Truce concluded between the Emperour and French King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an Army hither. This alſo was ſeconded by a ſudden journey of the King unto the Sea-coaſt; unto divers parts whereof, he had formerly ſent ſundry Nobles and expert perſons to viſit the Ports, and places of danger, who failed not for their diſcharge upon all event, to affirm the perill in each place, ſo great, as one would have thought every place had needed fortification; beſides he cauſed his Navy forthwith to be in a readineſs, and Muſters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which preparatives being made againſt a danger which was beleeved imminent, ſeemed ſo to excuſe the Kings ſuppreſſing of Abbies, as the People (willing to ſpare their own purſes) began to ſuffer it eaſily; eſpecially when they ſaw order taken for building divers Forts and Bulwarks upon the Sea-coaſts; many, if not moſt of thoſe wee have at this day, being, though not ſo exact as the modern, yet of his raiſing. And that they ſuſpected the diſcontented Religious Orders (ſooner then any elſe) would aſſiſt an Enemy. But if the reaſons of theſe proceedings were held by ſome as currant, by others they were taken to be no more then Palliation, and by the Clergy but rapine, who divulged beyond Seas the miſerable ruines of themſelves, and houſes, in ſuch terms, as the Chriſtian world was aſtoniſhed; for though their exceſſive number excuſed the King in ſome part for the firſt ſuppreſſion, this latter (they ſaid) had no ſuch ſpecious pretext, when yet ſurrender, purchaſe, or the like were urg'd; So that notwithſtanding the Kings neceſſities, no little occaſion of ſcandall and obloquy was given.

The number of Monaſteries firſt and laſt ſuppreſſed in *England* and *Wales* were (as *Cambden* accounts them) ſix hundred forty five; whereof theſe had voices among the Peers: The Abbot of S. *Albans* (being as I take it) declared the firſt Abbey of *England* (whether in favour of Pope *Adrian* the IV. his Father called *Breakſpear*, who upon his wives death rendred himſelf a Monk there, or S. *Alban* himſelf Protomartyr of *England*) S. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, S. *Edmondsbury*, S. *Bennets* of *Holm*, *Berdſey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Eveſham*, *Gloceſter*, *Ramſey*, S. *Maries* in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Winchester*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Malmeſbury*, *Thorney*, S. *Auguſtine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, S. *Johns* in *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Taveſtock*: Of Colledges were demoliſhed in divers ſhires, ninety. Of Canteries, and fire-Chappels 2374. And Hoſpitals 110. The yeerly value of all which were, as I find it caſt up 161100 l. being above a third part of all our ſpirituall Revenues; beſides

Cambd. Brit.

Speed.

1539 the money made of the preſent ſtock of Cattell and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bels, &c. and laſtly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church-ornaments; which I finde not valued, but may be conjectured by that one Monaſtery of S. *Edmondsbury*, whence was taken (as our Records ſhew) five thouſand Marks of gold and ſilver, beſides divers ſtones of great value. All which being by ſome openly call'd Rapine and Sacriledge, I will no way excuſe: though I may ſay truely, that notwithſtanding ſo many Religious Houſes were deſtroyed, there are yet in every kinde (the ſuppreſt Abbies and Chantries onely excepted) left ſtanding ſo many, as give no little increaſe to Learning, ſplendor to Religion, and teſtimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of ſo many pious Foundations, as affording a ſingular conveniency to thoſe who deſired to retire to a holy, pious and contemplative life, when abuſes were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention theſe particulars, that it may appear to forreign Nations wee are not deſtitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which alſo our King had ſuch regard, that he did not imploy all the profits ariſing from the aforeſaid Diſſolutions, on Fortifications or the like; for hee not onely augmented the number of the Colledges and Profeſſors in his Univerſities, but erected (as he had promiſed) out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Biſhopricks; whereof one at *Weſtminſter*, one at *Oxford*, one at *Peterborough*, one at *Briſtol*, one at *Cheſter*, and one at *Glocester*; all remaining at this day, ſave that of *Weſtminſter*, which being revok'd to his firſt Inſtitution by Queen *Mary*, and *Benedictines* placed in it, was by Queen *Elizabeth* afterwards converted to a Collegiate Church, and a School for the teaching and maintenance of young Scholers: Beſides, many of the ancient Cathedrall Churches formerly poſſeſſed by Monks onely, were now ſupplied with Canons, and ſome new ones enacted and endowed; the Revenues allotted by the King to theſe new Biſhopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 l. *per annum*. So that Religion ſeem'd not ſo much to ſuffer hereby, as ſome of the Clergy of thoſe times and ours would have it believed: our Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwell* projected it) in ſtead of divers ſupernumerary and idle perſons, men fit for imployment, either in War or Peace, maintained at the coſt of the foreſaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Deſolations (appearing in their ſtately Foundations at this day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompenſed. Beſides, the King in the demoliſhing of them, had ſo tender a care of Learning, that he not onely preferred divers able perſons which he found there, but took ſpeciall care to preſerve the choiſeſt Books of their well-furniſhed Libraries: wherein I finde *John Leland* (a curi-

ous Searcher of Antiquities) was imployed. But hereof enough, ſince I do not intend to exceed the Terms of an Hiſtorian, and therefore ſhall come now to the Parliament, which being compoſed of perſons well affected to the Kings Service, (as his manner was always with great induſtry to procure ſuch) Theſe Statutes among others were enacted. 1539 April 28.

That Religious perſons being put at liberty, might purchaſe, ſue, and be ſued; but not claim any Inheritance as deſcending on them: And that if they had made a vow of Chaſtity after one and twenty, they ſhould not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no ſufficient amends for the loſſe of their preſent maintenance.

That the King by the advice of his Counſell, or the more part of them might ſet forth Proclamations under ſuch penalties and pains as to him or them ſhall ſeem neceſſary, which ſhould be obſerved as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this ſhould not be prejudiciall to any perſons Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels or Life, &c. But this was repealed 1. *Edw.* 6. 12.

That the King might nominate ſuch number of Biſhops, Sees for Biſhops, Cathedrall Churches, and endow them with ſuch poſſeſſions as he will. [Which, though repeal'd 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar.* yet order was taken therein again 8 *Eliz.* 1.]

It was declared alſo how Lords in the Parliament ſhould be placed.

That Leaſes made of Manors belonging to Monaſteries diſſolv'd, or to be diſſolv'd, and aſſured to the King, ſhould take effect: wherein is expreſſed, that the King ſhould hold, poſſede and enjoy, to him, his Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, All Monaſteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, Houſes of Friers, or other Religious and Eccleſiaſticall Houſes and Places, which ſince the fourth of *February* 27. *Hen.* 8. have been diſſolv'd, ſuppreſs'd, renounced, relinquiſhed, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highneſs; or which ſhall be diſſolv'd, &c. As alſo all Manors, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, &c. belonging to them. All which (except ſuch as came by Attainder of Treaſon) ſhould be under ſurvey and governance of the Kings Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other mens Titles yet ſaved.

It was alſo particularly enacted, That whereas *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* by the Kings aſſent had purchaſed of one *William Flaſbury* late Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the ſaid Monaſtery, with all &c. And whereas *George* Lord *Cobham* had likewiſe purchaſed the Colledge or Chantry of *Cobham* in *Kent*, It was enacted, that the Act above-written ſhould not be prejudicial to the ſaid Duke, or Lord *Cobham*. Whereby it appears, the

1539

B. Gardiner & B. Bonner were 2 of those yt drew ye Articles.

the Kings intention was to unite all the Abbey Lands, &c. to the Crown, ſave theſe ſo ſpecified.

The Six Articles, called by ſome the Bloody Statute, were alſo enacted this Parliament: being,

I. If any perſon by Word, Writing, Printing, Cyphering, or any otherwiſe do preach, teach, diſpute, or hold opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the conſecration thereof) there is not preſent really the naturall Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt conceived of the Virgin *Mary*; Or that after the ſaid Conſecration there remaineth any ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of Chriſt God and man; Or that in the Fleſh under form of Bread, is not the very Bloud of Chriſt; Or that with the Bloud, under the form of Wine, is not the very fleſh of Chriſt as well apart, as though they were both together; Or affirm the ſaid Sacrament to be of other ſubſtance then is aforeſaid, or deprave the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament: Then hee ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and ſuffer death by burning, and ſhall forfeit to the King all his Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, as in caſe of high-Treaſon.

II. And if any Perſon preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obſtinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the bleſſed Sacrament in both kindes is neceſſary for the health of mans Soul, or ought or ſhould be miniſtred in both kindes: or that it is neceſſary to be received by any perſon (other then Prieſts) being at Maſſe, and conſecrating the ſame.

III. Or that any man, after the order of Prieſt-hood received, may marry, or contract Matrimony.

IIII. Or that any man or woman which adviſedly hath vowed or profeſſed, or ſhould vow or profeſſe Chaſtity or Widow-hood, may marry or contract Marriage.

V. Or that private Maſſes be not lawfull, or not laudable, or ſhould not be uſed, or be not agreeable to the Lawes of God.

VI. Or that Auricular Confeſſion is not expedient and neceſſary to be uſed in the Church of God, he ſhall be adjudged to ſuffer death, and forfeit land and goods as a Felon.

If any Prieſt, or other man or woman which adviſedly hath vowed Chaſtity or Widow-hood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another; or any man which is, or hath been a Prieſt, do carnally uſe any woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be converſant or familiar with any ſuch woman, both the man and the woman ſhall be adjudged Felons. Commiſſions alſo ſhall be awarded to the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, his Chancellor,

cellor, Commiſſary, and others, to enquire of the Hereſies, Felonies, and offences aforeſaid. And alſo Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions, and every Steward, under-Steward, and Deputy of Steward in their Leet or Law-day, by the oathes of twelve men, have authority to enquire of all the Hereſies, Felonies, and offences aforeſaid. 1539

In this Parliament alſo *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* (being Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence* Brother of *Edward* the fourth, and Mother of Cardinall *Poole*,) as alſo the Cardinal himſelf, and *Gertrude* Wife to the late Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and *Thomas Dingley* Knight of S. *Johns*, were attainted of Treaſon. Againſt *Margaret* and *Gertrude* it was alledged, that they were complices with the Marqueſſe of *Exceter* and other Traitors: Our Records alſo tell us, that certain Buls granted by the Biſhop of *Rome* were found at *Cowdrey*, being then (as I take it) the Counteſſe of *Salisbury's* houſe; and that the Parſon of *Warblington* conveigh'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinall; and that ſhe forbad all her Tenants to have the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or any other new book the King had priviledged. But whatſoever the cauſe was (for our Parliament Records are ſhort in the particulars) I finde by a Letter from the Earl of *Southampton* and Biſhop of *Ely* to *Cromwell*, That (though ſhe were ſeventy yeers old) her behaviour yet was maſculine and vehement, and that ſhe would confeſſe nothing. Howſoever, the teſtimonies brought convincing her, ſhe was condemn'd.

Againſt Cardinall *Poole* it was alledg'd, That he had conſpired againſt the King with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and taken preferment of him.

Againſt the reſt, I finde no more, but in generall, that they were complices. Howſoever, *Forteſcue* and *Dingley* ſuffer'd firſt; for *Margarets* execution was deferred for two yeers, as ſhall be told hereafter; and *Gertrude* dyed a naturall death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I finde our King required him earneſtly of all thoſe Princes that received him in their Dominions. July 10. 1557.

The Six Articles being now publiſhed, gave no little occaſion of murmure; ſince to revoke the conſcience not onely from its own Court, but from the ordinary ways of reſolving controverſies, to ſuch an abrupt deciſion of the common Law (as is there ſet down) was thought to be a deturning of Religion from its right and uſuall courſe; ſince the Conſcience muſt be taught, not forced; without that it ſhould at any time be handled roughly, as being of ſo delicate a temper, as though it ſuffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminiſheth or breaks it. Beſides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be capitall, before they be fully proved, is prejudiciall to that liberty,

1539 liberty, without which no man can juſtifie himſelf before God or man. For if it be death to beleeve otherwiſe then wee are commanded, how unſafe will it be to make exact enquiry? and without it who can ſay his Religion is beſt? Beſides, the example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their people in obedience) ſhould do the like, who would ever turn Chriſtian? Therefore *Cranmer* for three days together in the open Aſſembly oppos'd theſe Articles boldly; though yet it appears not what Arguments he uſed. Onely I finde the King ſent to him for a Copy of them, and miſliked not his freedom, as knowing all he ſpake was out of a ſincere intention; though ſome thought he had a private Intereſt, as being a married man, though fearing of this Law, hee ſent away his Wife for the preſent into *Germany*, ſhe being kinſwoman to *Hoſiander* the Divine of *Noremberg*, whom he married during his Ambaſſade with the Emperor about *Anno* 1532. Fox.

But that it may ſeem leſſe ſtrange why the King, who before was much diſpoſed to favour the Reformers, did on a ſudden ſo much vary from them, I have thought fit to ſet down ſome of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the objections of *Stephen Gardiner* formerly mentioned may have place, while ſpeaking againſt the Treaty with the Proteſtants in *Germany*, he alledged that they would not allow the Kings Supremacy, leſt they ſhould infer an inveſting of the ſame Authority in the Emperor, whoſe abſolute power they ſeemed to fear more then that of the Pope himſelf: And as this ſuſpition alienated ſecretly the mind of our King, who ſaw that if he embraced their Reformation, they would abridge his power; So they not only delayed to approve his Divorce, but lately (as is ſhewed) in a peremptory manner refuſed all accommodation, unleſſe our King yeelded wholly to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. Again the Duke of *Saxony* about this time particularly ſhewed ſome diſaffection to him in the overture of his Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Laſtly, as Affairs then ſtood, the King was both in that danger of Rebellion at home, and invaſion from abroad, as he thought it not ſafe to reform any further in Religion; for which reaſon alſo as he was ſevere againſt all new Sectaries, eſpecially *Anabaptiſts*: ſo when occaſion was given, he ſtill teſtified his deſire as far as was poſſible to keep an unity with the Roman Church, affirming that the Pope had ſlanderouſly called him Heretick. Inſomuch that the ſame time, he publikely diſputed with *Lambert* in *Weſtminſter Hall*. He declared his Reſolution to continue in the Religion he had openly profeſſed. For theſe Reaſons therefore (for I ſhall not here intermeddle with thoſe of Conſcience) it ſeems our King was the more diſpoſed to keep him to the ancient formes of the Church. And now the Proteſtants

Protestants in *Germany*, despairing of accord with the Emperor, assembled at *Arnstet* in *Thuringia*, *Nov.* 9. to consult about mutuall defence. To which purpose, they sent Ambassadors to our King; who told them, (as I finde in our Records) that he would make a league with them in honest causes, as he had done with the Duke of *Juliers*, and after that he would treat of an accord and league in Religion. Though *Sleidan* (a little differing herein) writes that King *Henry* told them plainly, he thought their Doctrine touching Communion in both kinds, Private Masse, and Priests marriage erroneous, and that his learned men should dispute herein. And that *Cromwell* thereupon told them, the best way was to send an honourable Ambassade, and *Melancthon*; assuring that if they came to any reasonable agreement of Doctrine with our King, he would not only furnish them with a vast sum of mony for their occasions, but enter into a strict league with them for defence in generall. But the standing firme to the *Augustan* Confession, and intending no League, but in case of Religion, the business ended for the present, in a resolution to answer the Kings Arguments concerning the six Articles in writing, and send it in a Book to him, and to desire an abolition of them.

1539

1540.

Sleid. l. 12.

1540. April 13.

And now the six Articles caused no little apprehension in all the Reformers; yet I doe not find the Law was used with much rigour, till *Cromwels* death. Nevertheless, the terror of it made *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* (being committed to prison) to resign their Bishopricks to the King, they being unwilling it seems to have a hand in the approbation or execution of them. So that if Sir *Thomas Moor* and the Bishop of *Rochester* had their scruples about the Supremacy, These men were as Conscientious about the six Articles.

July 1.

This year the Emperor glad to repose himself a while from war, attended his pleasures in *Spain*, while *Barbarossa* with a strong Fleet keeping the Seas, and landing his men, did mischief in many places. Recovering so after a brave resistance by *Sarmiento* a Spaniard, the place of *Castel novo* in the Gulf of *Cataro*; which though it excited the Emperor to proceed in his war against the Turk; yet a Mutiny arising in *Gant* (his native town) made him resolve in person to go and appease it. And the rather, that having now lost his Empresse, and check'd a little the greatnesse of some principall persons in *Spain*, he thought himself more free and disingaged. All the difficulty was what way to take; for if the Sea were full of hazard, there was no Land-way, but by *France*; which though best, when it could be handsomly procured, yet (the business being brought to his Councell) was judg'd impossible; nevertheless, an overture thereof being secretly given to *Francis*, and a promise of *Milan* to one of his Sons (as the French write) he both gladly embra-

Aug. 7.

May 21.

Bellay.

1539 ced the occaſion, and offered his two Sons for Hoſtages of his ſafe paſſage. This was thankfully received by the Emperor, but as the Age was full of ancient honour, (which I never found intermitted but in barbarous times) the Emperor would have no ſecurity, but only a ſafe conduct under the hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that pledge only for his life and the Empire, while *Francis* that he might exempt his magnanimous Gueſt from jealouſie, ſent his two Sons and *Anne de Montmorancy* the Coneſtable to receive him at *Bayonne*, whither in his mourning weeds, he came with XXII Perſons only, (as our Records have it) in the end of *November* 1539. and ſo like Knight Errant following his journey, he every where (as *Francis* had permitted) delivered all Priſoners. Coming thus to *Caſtel le Herand*, the King (though troubled with an ulcer in his ſecret parts) and the Queen and Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* his Favorite, and a great train of Noble Perſons wellcom'd the Emperor with all demonſtration of love. This confident Paſſage having (it ſeemed) aboliſhed all memory of their former rancour; holding their way thus to *Amboiſe*; the Emperour was there almoſt ſtifled by a thick and ſudden ſmoak, which (though the French report to have been the caſuall burning of ſome hangings neer his Chamber) alſo might be true, yet one *Style* (imployed there by our King to write him the ſucceſſe of this journey) ſaid it came thus. They who had charge from *Francis* to make the Emperors reception, had hung a long Iron chain from the top of the Caſtle to the bottome, covered all over with Pitch, Tar, and Roſin in very great quantity, which being lighted at the Emperors coming (ſomewhat in Night) did afterwards upon ſome accident, go out in that ſnuffe and ill ſavour, as the Emperor ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe to choak him; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon cleered, ſuccours not only coming in quickly, but *Francis* commanding the Authors of this diſturbance to be hanged, had not the Emperor interceded for them. And here, during ſome ſtay, both Princes (who formerly would have uſed their Armes againſt each other) ending their emulation in ſhooting a Stag, which they both hit at the ſame time with their Hand-guns, (as *Style* relates) departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and Officers of the City met him, with a brave Equipage, which yet the Emperor ſeemed not much to affect; his black cloth Suit, and private train being not proper as he thought for ſuch ſhewes; ſo that he wiſhed they had been ſpared. Nevertheleſs *Francis* would not omit any thing which might ſerve either for oſtentation or magnificence, ſo that in the ſplendor thereof, all note of their former diſſention ſeem'd hidden or effaced. Howbeit, there wanted not ſome who perſwaded *Francis* to cancell the Treaty of *Madrid*, and make a new

1540. Jan. *Du Pleix.*

Records.

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one at *Paris*, and that *Milan* ſhould be reſtored into the bargain. But as the Coneſtable *Montmorancy* (a perſon of great worth,) oppos'd this advice, ſo *Francis* abhorred it. Beſides, the Dutcheſſe of *Eſtampes* (who at firſt ſeemed averſe) being gain'd by a Diamond, which the Emperor having purpoſely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) changed her language and now began to ſerve the Emperor. Seven daies thus being paſt, either in Masks, Tilts, Turneys, and other Royall diſports and triumphs, or in friendly and private communication, the Emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of ſatisfaction for his good entertainment many aſſurances of his love to *Francis*, who alſo for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our King, had diſcovered ſome ſecrets (formerly paſt betwixt them) which deturned the Emperor much from makeing any new alliance in our Parts. But as this, at laſt was diſcloſed again to our King, the unkind uſage he received herein, made him attend an occaſion to reſent it. And now the Emperour and *Francis* leaving *Paris*, the Coneſtable entertained them both at his goodly Pallace of *Chantilly*: The admirable ſituation whereof, and variety of country pleaſures about it, was ſuch, as it made the Emperor wiſh that he had ſuch another place, when it had coſt him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to St. *Quintin* bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing more to be admir'd, in all the Paſſages betwixt them, then that they never ſpake of any particular difference, but by way of gentle diſcourſe, or urg'd it further, then either of them pleas'd to give ear, ſo much did civility prevail with them over all other conſiderations; and thus at length, in *Febr.* the Emperor came to *Valenciennes*; whither *Francis* his children having accompanied him, and received both from him, and his ſiſter *Mary* Lady Regent there all kind and Regal uſage (excepting an abſolute promiſe to reſtore *Milan*) they departed and left the Emperor to attend his great occaſions in thoſe Countries. Where being happy in nothing more, then that his adventure of paſſing through *France*, (which nothing could juſtifie but the event) had ſucceeded ſo well, he compoſed the ſtirs there ſhortly after.

1540

Febr.

The paſſages of this Interview being now advertiſed to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Allyance: or when that could not be done, to prevent the conſequences. Therefore, immediately upon the departure of the Emperour from *Paris*, hee ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to treat with *Francis* to this effect: To offer him aſſiſtance for recovery of *Milan*. And for this purpoſe, that the arrerages of the Penſions due to our King, and Salt-money ſhould be remitted: Furthermore, that with all induſtry he ſhould make him jealous of the Emperours ambition. And laſtly, to propoſe a ſtrict

Records.

1540 League with him, even to the excluſion of the Pope out of their Dominions, as he ſaid: he ſaid he had already contracted with the Duke of *Cleves*, and in a manner with the Duke of *Saxe*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Dukes of *Baviere*, *John* Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, the Langrave of *Heſſe*, and the Marqueſs *Joachim* Elector, and other Princes of *Germany*. The Duke coming thus to *Paris*, had audience of *Francis*; but finding him reſolute not to break with the Emperour, if hee performed his part, he return'd before the end of *February*.

Having thus delivered together the whole buſineſſe of the Interview, and ſucceſſe thereof, leſt the Reader ſhould be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I ſhall look back on ſome other Affairs which paſſed this while.

Our King having found that neither the Marriage propos'd betwixt himſelf and the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, was like to take effect, nor any other in *France*, conſidered now where he might beſtow himſelf with moſt advantage: whereupon *Cromwell* adviſed to a Treaty with *Cleves*; and the rather, that he might oppoſe the Emperour, who did ſtill retain ſuch a grudge againſt him for diſ-inheriting the Princes *Mary*, as it was thought, hee would endeavour to execute the Pope's Sentence: ſo that hereunto certain conſiderations of State, rather then beauty or riches did conduce. For as *John* Duke of *Cleves* was next neighbour to the Emperors Dominions in the Low-Countries, and Father-in-law to the Duke of *Saxony*, he ſeem'd moſt proper to joyn with in League to this purpoſe. But the old Duke *John* dying ſhortly after, the Treaty was renewed with Duke *William* his Son, to whom alſo the Princeſſe *Mary* was propos'd, when hee demanded her upon fitting terms. But difficulties appear'd in either of theſe Affairs; for the Lady *Anne* having been demanded by the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, the old Duke of *Cleves* had in great part accorded it: And for the other Match, it was much croſs'd by the Emperour, who offered Duke *William* the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, not without ſome hope that hee would releaſe *Gueldres*, which the ſaid Duke claim'd by the gift of *Charles* of *Egmond*, late Duke thereof. Howbeit, the Treaties with our King went on; but ſo as they were by the *Clevois* cunningly delayed, till a meeting with the Emperours Deputies at *Bruxels* had paſt, and advice was taken with the Duke of *Saxony*: Yet were not theſe the onely impediments; for the Lady *Anne* underſtood no Language but Dutch; ſo that all communication of ſpeech betwixt our King and her was intercluded. Yet, as our Ambaſſadour, *Nicholas Wotton* Doctor of Law, employed in this buſineſſe, hath it, ſhe could both write and read in her own Language, and ſew very well; onely for Muſick, hee ſaid, it was not the manner of the Country to learn it.

1539.

April 1539.

May 1539.

1538.

But

But for her better deſcription, *Hans Holbin* the Kings ſervant took her Picture, and her younger Siſter *Amelies*, and ſent them hither; upon whoſe excellent repreſentation of the Lady *Anne*, the Match being reſolved on, was fully concluded at the coming over of *Frederic* Duke of *Baviere* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the ſeveral Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; and ſhortly after the Lady with a brave Equipage was ſent into *England*. The other Treaty yet ſucceeded not; for the young Duke of *Cleves* finding no diſpoſition in the Emperour to releaſe *Gueldres*, concluded a Marriage with the onely Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margarita* the French Kings Siſter the yeer following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her way now as far as *Rocheſter*, the King came diſguiſed to her on New-yeers day: but the ſight ſo diſliked him, that he was glad (as his own words were afterwards) that hee had kept himſelf from making any pact of Bond with her, and that hee was woe that ever ſhe came into *England*; and that hee thereupon deliberated with himſelf how to break it off; though, as he conſidered it would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperour or French King's hands, he ſaid, It was too far gone. The truth of all which is ſo declared by our Records, that I make no queſtion, but if her coming had happened at any other time then when the Emperour and French King were together in *France*, as is before related, He would have ſent her back. Howſoever, he thought fit to diſcover himſelf at laſt to her; who thereupon fell on her knees, but he taking her up lovingly, kiſs'd her, without making ſhew of any inward diſcontent, which alſo hee had ſo at length digeſted, that he reſolved to marry her, when the enſurance made by her to the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son were cleered; which buſineſſe being committed to *Cromwels* care, who was a ſpeciall Counſellor of the Match, hee ſaid (as the King afterwards charged him under his hand) that a ſufficient Inſtrument for this purpoſe was brought: But whether *Cromwell* did forget himſelf herein, or his Maſter, it is hard out of Records to determine; for I finde in an Originall written by *Cromwell*, 25 of *June*, to the King, out of the Tower, That *Oleſleger* and *Hohſteden* (the Duke of *Cleve*'s Commiſſioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed no ſuch Inſtrument, nor any diſcharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Loraine*'s Son; nevertheleſſe, that *Oliſleger* offered to remain here as Priſoner, till a revocation of all the aforeſaid Covenants and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him ſay, he was not well handled in this buſineſſe. Howſoever, all was remitted to the Councel-Table, where the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſaid, If nothing but Sponſalls had paſt

1540
Aug. 1539.
Decemb.
1539.
Decemb. 31.
Jan. 1.
June.
Jan. 4.

1540 past betwixt them, such a Renunciation as was offered would serve; and that then the making a Protestation in an Honourable Presence before certain Notaries, it should be a sufficient discharge in Law; And now the procuring of the said Instrument in writing being undertook by the aforesaid Commissioners, the King required the Lady to make a Protestation before the Lords to this effect: which being done, hee said to *Cromwell*, that there was no remedy now, and therefore he must put his neck in the yoak (as the words under his hands are):

Jan. 5. Whereupon, the next day after hee solemnly married her at *Greenwich*;

Jan. 6. resolving to confederate himself with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to some moderate accord in Doctrine. But in the morning *Cromwell* coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better then before, He answered, Nay, much worse; for that he having found by some signes that she was no Maid, he had no disposition to meddle with her: Nevertheless, he outwardly cherished her, without making any publick demonstration of dis-favour towards her, or neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and elsewhere. All which made the greater shew, that the King remembring what enemies he had abroad, and discontented persons at home, had renewed his Guard of Fifty Pensioners, intermitted since the first yeer of his Reign.

Dec. 1539.

It is formerly related, how not onely *James* King of *Scotland* desired in marriage *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guise*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a touch given that our King had some inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* chose rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that lesse States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equall for the most part live in jealousie with their neighbours: Therefore the Match being concluded, she was brought to *Scotland*,

Jan. 10. 1538. *Lest.* and soon after with childe, which being a Son, the Grand-mother *Margaret*, Queen of Scots, and Sister to our King, having Christned, shortly after died, aged about fifty yeers, and was buried at the Carthusians Church in *Perth*. But neither that childe, nor another born the yeer following, lived long; they (though in severall places) ending their lives within six hours one after the other, the same day (as the Scottish Historie hath it.)

1540. *Lest. Buch.* I find little els by our Records, of *Scotland*, for this yeer; save that some Libels and Prophecies being divulged in *Scotland* against our King, the Authours were punished by *James*. The yeer following Sir *Ralf Sadler* Secretary was dispatched thither;

Feb. 24. 1540. about the time that the Emperour and French King were together: For our King knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent danger. The Instructions given to *Sadler* were (after presenting the King's love and some Horses) First, To bring *David Beton* Cardinall and Arch-bishop of S. *Andrews*,

Andrews into ſuſpicion with that King, as having written to *Rome* in other terms then he ſhould; which Letters being intercepted in *England*, were now to be ſhewn. But King *James* did not much weigh this. 1540

Secondly, To perſwade him, for augmenting his Eſtate, to take into his hands the Abbeys; which *James* likewiſe refuſed, ſaying, what need I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them? And if there be abuſes in them, I will reform them; for there be a great many good.

Thirdly, To diſcover his affection, by telling him how rumours were diſperſed (which the aforeſaid Interview made probable) that the Emperour, French King, and Biſhop of *Rome* would invade *England*; and that it was ſaid, King *James* would do the ſame: But he proteſted with many oathes againſt it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how neer he was to the Engliſh Crown; and that hee ſhould eſteem his Uncles friendſhip above any others, deſiring again there might be an Interview; which *James* approved, when the French King might be preſent; but afterward by a particular Meſſage excuſed it: ſo that ſome jealouſies paſs'd betwixt them; which alſo appear'd by certain Fortifications raiſed about this time upon the Borders by our King, and a Navie of fifteen Ships and 2000 men made in readineſſe by *James*; who wanted not money, his Clergy giving great ſummes onely that their Houſes might not be diſſolv'd. What the occaſion of theſe preparations yet was, I cannot tell; but I gather out of our Records, That about this time certain Iriſh Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promiſing to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* ſhould come over to do him Homage. How this offer was accepted, appears not; but the Preparatives came to nothing, by the good order which our King gave; who both by frequent and kinde Meſſages, and ſecuring his Borders, kept his Nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remained undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, That our King took it ill, that *James* aſſum'd his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, onely adding the word *Chriſtian* unto it, as if (ſaid hee) there were any other Faith.

That Beauty and attractive which ſhould take the Kings eye in *Anne* of *Cleve*, not appearing, nor that converſation which ſhould pleaſe his ear; and her Brother beſides excuſing himſelf in the performance of ſome Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly thinke of a Divorce; for which purpoſe, the *Pre-contract* with the Duke of *Lorrains* ſon was chiefly pretended. For though *Oliſleger* Chancellor of *Cleves*, had according to his promiſe 26. *Febr.* 1540. procured an Inſtrument in writing out of the Records of *Duſſeldorp* dated *Febr.* 15. 1535. April 11. teſtifying

1540 testifying the *Sponsalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s son, and the Lady *Anne* should not take effect. Yet this it seems either was not shewed, or did not satisfie our King. Howsoever it was not deposited *in Archivis Regiis*, but found among *Cromwels* Papers after his apprehension. And now although all scruples seem'd more considerable, that so many doubts had been already cast concerning the Kings former Marriages, yet the King determined at what price soever to separate himself from *Anne* of *Cleves*, and together to ruine *Cromwell*. For though He had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by reason of his low birth to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner* and all the Roman Catholiques, for having operated so much in the dissolution of Abbies: And that the Reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning. And lastly, that besides a Subsidie that the Clergy gave of four shillings in the pound, he had gotten in the present Parliament, not without much reluctation, one tenth, and four fifteen parts of all Lay mens goods; he was universally hated, which our King considering, and having besides divers Articles brought against him, he now judged him no longer necessary; therefore he gave way to all his Enemies Accusations; which could not be but materiall; it being impossible that any man, who medled so much in great and publike affairs should not in divers kinds so mistake, forget, and erre, as to incur the note of a Criminall, when severe inquisition were made against him. And now the King having gotten sufficient proof against *Cromwell*, caused him to be arrested at the Councel-Table by the Duke of *Norfolk*, when he least suspected it: To which, *Cromwell* obeyed, though judging his perdition more certain, that the Duke was uncle to the Lady *Katherine Howard*, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his commitment to the Tower being divulg'd, the People with many acclamations witnessed their joy; So impatient are they usually of the good fortune of Favorites arising from mean place, and insolent over the ill, whereof the King being informed, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament business, and the Divorce; and the rather that all former faults being now imputed to *Cromwell*, every body began to hope of a better age. But *Cromwell* (if we may beleeve some of our Authors) foresaw his fall two yeares before, and therefore provided for his Family; neither did the late honours give him much comfort or security, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater Sacrifice: It cannot be denyed yet, but the crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the generall termes great and enormous, and such as deserv'd the most

Aug. 26.
1537.
April 18.

April 12.

Regn. 32.

June. 13.

Fox p. 514.

about him with a rope of ruſhes : And in theſe Arms (for ſo are *Sandoval*'s words) he watch'd one whole night before our Lady, and ſo went to an Hoſpitall three Leagues off, and there attended the ſick-perſons, whence he travell'd after to the *Holy Land*; being returned thence, and now in his age of thirty three he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two yeers he attain'd. And being deſirous to make further progreſſe, he went to the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſo to *Salamanca*, where being oppos'd and perſecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, & there ſtudied till he had found at laſt divers others with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and *Jeruſalem*. Thus about 1536. going firſt to *Venice*; he ſtaid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he followed them; and obtain'd of *Paul* the third the foundation of the Jeſuiticall Order 27. *Sept.* 1540. The decay of Religious Houſes in *England*, and the progreſſe of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, authorizing (it ſeems) their Inſtitution, who ſithence have ſo dilated themſelves, as their Diſciples fear not to ſay, that for advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to further countries then the Apoſtles ever reach'd; and that God reſerv'd the entire diſcoveries both of Eaſt and Weſt Indies untill the latter times, only that thoſe Holy Fathers might have the honour of their converſion; Of the devotion and miracles which this *Ignatius* is ſaid to have exhibited in his journies, I affirm nothing, as contenting my ſelf to have taken the more Hiſtoricall part out of *Sandoval*, (who ſeems to be a great extoller of him.) Sundry Reformers on the other ſide in ſtead of confeſſing him to be a good man, or a Miracle-worker, ſaid, he was an Incendiary and hanted with evill ſpirits. Which latter part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them Jeſuites) confirm; Moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hoſpinian* hath it) that he died in much fear and trembling, & that his face was ſtrangely black, *Haſenmullerus* beſides (once a Jeſuite) adds that no bones were found in his body, and that all the Jeſuites at his Buriall were witneſſes thereof. Concerning which therfore no little diſpute is on both ſides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers ſober men think neither; but that we may pretermit the conſtructions of paſſionate men on the one or the other ſide, as unfit to eſtabliſh that peace in which God is beſt ſerv'd, there is little occaſion to ſay more of the Jeſuites in this place, then that they are generally held ſuch Miniſters of the King of *Spain*, that they have more advanc'd (by the ſecret operations of their Confeſſions, and intelligence which is admirable) the deſignes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, then either the Continent of *Spain*, made entire by the union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touched) or the *Indies* themſelves. By which meanes, as alſo that their Doctrine and learning is ſo ex-

1540

Septemb. 27.

1540 act in all things, ſave where they overmuch ſtudy the Pope, and Spaniards ends, they have made themſelves the moſt conſiderable among all the Religious Orders.

1541. And now a cruell time did paſſe in *England*; for as few durſt protect thoſe who refus'd to ſubſcribe to the 6. Articles, ſo they ſuffered daily, whereof *Fox* hath many examples: neither was it eaſie for any man to eſcape (Commiſſioners being appointed in every Shire to ſearch out and examine thoſe who were refractory) nevertheleſſe, their Puniſhments did but advance their Religion; for as they werenotified abroad, and together their conſtancy repreſented, who were burnt, It was thought they had ſome aſſiſtance from above, it being impoſſible otherwiſe that they ſhould ſo rejoyce in the midſt of their torments, and triumph over the moſt cruell death. Therefore not only the over-learned, and better affected ſort, but even all Chriſtian Princes endeavoured ſome conſent of opinion: The Pope himſelf not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow ſome degrees of latitude in Religion, only when their ſeverall Authorities might be conſerv'd, then to hazard a generall Schiſme, and diſtraction. Hereunto alſo it conduced not a little, that the Turk taking notice of theſe diviſions, prepared to invade *Germany*. Therefore the Emperor appointed a meeting
Octob. 28. 1540. at *Worms*, where divers learned and able men on both ſides ſhould
Jan. 1. diſpute, hoping ſo an end would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themſelves, the buſines was referred to
April 5. Sleid. a Diet, ſhortly to be held at *Ratisbone*, whither the Pope ſent Cardinal *Gaſpar Contareni*. And here the Emperour being preſent requires both ſides to permit the choice of the Delegats to him, which they granted, whereupon he appointed on the one ſide, *Julius Plug*, *John Eccius*, *John Gropper*; on the other *Philip Melanchthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Piſtorius*, gravely adviſing
April 22. them to handle the buſineſſe ſincerely; theſe men, after a modeſt excuſe, except the charge, deſiring only certain Aſſeſſors who might teſtifie their proceedings; whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederic* Count Palatine, and *Nicholas Perenot* Seig-
April 27. niour *de Granvile*, and ſome others; offering them further a Book to conſider, ſome Paſſages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of ſome others the Protſtants writ their opinion apart; ſo the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he (it ſeem'd) well contented therewith; nevertheleſſe, becauſe the Pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd; *Contareno* alledging, that all agreement in this kind would be vain unleſſe the Holy See confirmed it; whereupon
July 7. the Emperor referring the Proteſtants Confeſſion to him, he again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd time, ſo the Emperor deſirous his endeavours ſhould take ſome effect, demands

mands whether those Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be received, untill a Councel were had. The Protestants desired it; but the Legat and Catholick Princes oppos'd it, saying, They were not the most materially, and therefore to be pretermitted till the rest were determined &c. Concluding with a desire, that all might be deferred to the Generall Councell now intended. 1541 July 12.

The Emperour finding all Reconciliation at this time to be hopelesse, and that the Turk still approach'd, took this way; promising himself to go to *Rome*, and sollicite the Pope herein; July 28. Advising the Protestants in the mean time, First, to insist in the reconciled Points: Secondly, The Roman-Catholick Bishops to reform their own particular Churches, and so make way for a generall Reformation; taking order withall, that Religious Houses should not be thrown down, nor people drawn from one Country to another upon pretence of converting them: yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promising further, if a generall Councell could not be obtain'd, to procure a Provinciall; or if neither, that within 18 months another Diet should be called, whither he would intreat a Legat from the Pope to come: suspending, in the mean time, that rigid Decree at *Augsburg* against the Protestants; whereupon, they also promised him their Assistance against the Turk. 1530. And thus ended the Diet; to which our King sent *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Knevet*, by whom (if we may beleeve *Sanders*) he held a doubtfull part; sometimes excusing himself to the Protestants, sometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperours means, when Penance and Restitution should not be required. But as neither our Histories nor Records, nor the diligent *Sleidan* make mention hereof, that I can finde; so I leave the credit thereof to the Readers discretion. July 28. *Sand.* Schism. Angl.

Francis not satisfied with the Answer formerly mentioned, nor the Negotiation of *Montmorancy*, did resent both. Against the Emperour he took offence for not restoring *Milan* according to his promise (as hee alledged) to *Montmorancy*: against him again, he shewed no little displeasure (as some affirm) for disswading him to seize on the Emperor at that time: Though I rather beleeve it was an occasion of some private quarrell betwixt the Admirall *Brion* and him; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutchesse of *Estampes*, lately allyed to *Brions* kindred: Howsoever, *Montmorancy* was confined to a private life; neither would the King ever after see him. And now *Francis*, resolv'd when occasion was offered to break with the Emperour, sends *Anthony Rincon* a revolted Spaniard in Ambassage to the Turk, and one *Cæsar Fregoso* a Genouese to the Venetians: both these meeting in *Peidmont* with Seignieur *du* June.

1541

Bellay the Kings Lieutenant there, were advertiz'd that the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto* the Emperors Lieutenant in *Milan* laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether truſting to their quality, or Addreſſe, they agreed to paſſe by water along the *Po*; ſending yet their Commiſſion and Diſpatches by another way into *Venice*; for the reſt, hoping betwixt changing their habit, and diligence, to eſcape: But (as it falls out often, they who hide not themſelves cunningly, give but the more occaſion to diſcover themſelves; ſo) they were prevented, and by certain perſons with viſors aſſaſſi'nd upon the water. *Francis* hearing hereof, ſaid it was done by the Emperour or the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto*'s procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other ſide, diſclaimed the fact, offering to put the ſuſpected perſons into the Pope's hands, to be there examin'd; proteſting nevertheleſſe, that the killing of *Rincon* was onely a chaſtiſement due to a treacherous Subject. *Francis* hearing this, ſurpriſeth *George* of *Auſtria* (naturall Son to *Maximilian* late Emperour) in his Journey from *Spain* to *Flanders* thorow *France*, and commits him to priſon. Some other paſſages alſo happened about this time, which increaſed the jealouſie betwixt them: for as *Francis* had given in marriage *Jone* Daughter of *Navarre* to the Duke of *Cleves*, and therein ſtrengthened himſelf againſt the Emperour: ſo hee again by giving the Dutcheſſe of *Milan* to the Son of the Duke of *Lorain*, got the ſame advantage of Allyance againſt *Francis*.

July 3.

April.

A little Rebellion now appearing in *York-ſhire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was a complice, the King took order to ſuppreſſe it betimes; commanding the ſaid Sir *John Nevil* to be put to death at *York*. Shortly after followed the Counteſſe of *Saliſbury*'s Execution; which, whether occaſioned by the late Rebellion (as being thought of Cardinal *Poole*'s inſtigation) or that ſhe gave ſome new offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (ſet up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her head on the Block; but ſhe (as a perſon of great Quality aſſured mee) refuſed, ſaying, So ſhould Traitors do, and I am none: neither did it ſerve that the Executioner told her it was the faſhion; ſo turning her gray head every way, ſhee bid him, if he would have her head, to get it as hee could: So that he was conſtrained to fetch it off ſlovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors ſay) the laſt of the right Line of the *Plantagenets*.

May 27.

And now the King reſolved to go in Progreſſe to *York-ſhire*; Not yet ſo much to extinguiſh the relicks of the laſt Commotion, as thoſe of Superſtition, Miracles & Pilgrimages: Beſides, he was in hope to meet his Nephew of *Scotland*, who being ſolicited again for Interview, had (it ſeems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he cauſed two Lords and divers others to be put to death:

One

1541

One was the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who having been (the yeer precedent) recall'd from his Deputies place in *Ireland*, was then committed upon ſuggeſtions miniſtred by the Councell there, with whom (I finde by our Records) hee often wrangled; who furniſh'd therefore divers Articles of High Treaſon againſt him: So that though hee had (the yeer 1539) repulſed *O Donell* and *O Neale* (who invaded the Engliſh Pale) and rendered the King divers good Services heretofore in *France*, *Ireland*, and other places, could not eſcape: The chief points objected againſt him (extant in our Records) were, his readineſſe to joyn with Cardinall *Poole* and other the Kings Enemies, he having for that purpoſe (as was alledg'd) left the Kings Ordnance in *Galloway*; and that he conſented to the eſcape of his Nephew *Gerald*, formerly mentioned; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if *Hall* ſay true) being brought to a Jury of Knights, (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be judged by his Peers) hee ſaved them the labour of condemning him, and without more adoe confeſſed all: Which, whether this Lord (who was of great courage) did out of deſperation or guilt, ſome circumſtances make doubtfull: and the rather, that the Articles being ſo many, he neither denyed nor extenuated any of them; though his continuall fighting with the Kings Enemies (where occaſion was) pleaded much on his part: Howſoever, hee had his head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, who ſuffered for committing a murther in company of ſome light perſons (who were with him a Deer-ſtealing). All things being now ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompanied with his Queen, paſſed thorow *Lincoln-ſhire*, where the people (thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon) preſented him with divers ſums of money; which the *York-ſhire* men alſo imitated. And now being come to *York*, hee cauſed Proclamation to be made (as I finde in our Records) that if any man in thoſe parts found himſelf wronged for lack of juſtice, or otherwiſe, by any whom his Majeſty hath put in truſt, or other, he ſhall have free acceſſe to the King and his Councell for redreſſe. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: ſo that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was fruſtrated. This fill'd the King with indignation; yet he conceal'd it for the preſent; though reſolving in himſelf to reſent it in the higheſt degree. Therefore departing from *York Septemb.* 26 towards *London*, Hee was on the way encountred by the Ambaſſadour of *Portugall*, deſiring a Licenſe for the Tranſportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great need thereof. To which was anſwered, That if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, ſome Engliſhmen of our Kings appointment to adventure there for providing

Hall, June 25.

June 28.

June 29.

Aug.

Septemb. 16.

Septemb. 20. Councel Book

Buchan. Leſl.

October 14.

Records.

1541 providing this Realm with Spices, he ſhould have his requeſt. But of this alhough the ſaid Ambaſſador undertook to write to his Maſter, I find no further mention. Our King being now return'd, prepared for War. Decemb. Which *James* hearing, ſent Ambaſſadors hither to excuſe himſelf, and renew their former correſpondence, which King *Henry* refuſing, *James* alſo leavies men, (as ſhall be told the yeer following.)

But our King encounters after this journey a greater vexation; Novemb. 2. For the Queen was ſuppos'd to offend in Incontinency; ſome particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe, rather then to make other Narration; the Family of which ſhe came being ſo noble and illuſtrious, and the honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concerned therein.

Novemb. 12. The Letter ſent from divers of the Councell to *William Paget* our Ambaſſador then in *France*, was this.

After our hearty commendations, by theſe our Letters we be commanded to ſignifie unto you, a moſt miſerable caſe; which came lately to Revelation, to the intent that if you ſhall hear the ſame ſpoken of, you may declare the truth as followeth.

Where the Kings Majeſty upon the Sentence given of the invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highneſs and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, was earneſtly and humbly ſollicited by his Councel, and the Nobles of his Realm, to frame his moſt noble heart to the love and favour of ſome noble Perſonage to be joyned with him in lawfull Matrimony, by whom his Majeſty might have ſome more ſtore of fruit, and Succeſſion, to the comfort of this Realm; It pleaſed his Highneſs upon a notable apparence of Honor, cleanneſs and maidenly behaviour to bend his affection towards Miſtris *Katherine Howard*, daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to mee the Duke of *Norfolk*, inſomuch as his Highneſſe was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old daies, after ſundry troubles of mind, which have happened unto him by Marriages, to have obtained ſuch a Jewel for womanhood, and very perfect love towards him, as ſhould not only have been to his quietneſs, but alſo brought forth the deſired fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the ſemblable, and in reſpect of the vertue and good behaviour which ſhe ſhewed outwardly, did her all honour accordingly. But this joy is turned into extream ſorrow; for when the Kings Majeſty receiving his Maker, on *Allhallowes* day laſt paſt, then gave him moſt humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led and truſted to lead with her, and alſo deſired the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his ghoſtly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like thanks with him; on All Souls day being at Maſſe, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having

1541

having a little before heard that the ſame Miſtris *Katherine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that pureneſs, and cleanneſs that ſhe was eſteemed; but a Woman, who before ſhe was joyned with the Kings Majeſty, had lived moſt corruptly and ſenſually; for the diſcharge of his duty opened the ſame moſt ſorrowfully to his Majeſty, and how it was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.

Whiles the Kings Majeſty was in his Progreſs, one *John Loſſells* came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and declard unto him, that he had been with a Siſter of his married in *Suſſex*, which ſometimes had been ſervant with the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who did alſo bring up the ſaid Miſtris *Katherine*, and being with his ſaid Siſter, chanced to fall in communication with her of the Queen, wherein he adviſed her (becauſe ſhe was of the Queens old acquaintance) to ſue to be her woman; whereunto his Siſter anſwered, that ſhe would not ſo doe; but ſhee was very ſorry for the Queen; why quoth *Loſſells?* Marry quoth ſhe, for ſhe is light both in living and conditions; how ſo quoth *Loſſels?* Marry quoth ſhe, there is one *Francis Derham*, who was ſervant alſo in my Lady of *Norfolks* houſe, which hath lyen in bed with her in his doublet and hoſe between the ſheets an hundred nights. And there hath been ſuch puffing and blowing between them, that once in the houſe a maid which lay in the houſe with her, ſaid to me; ſhe would lie no longer with her, becauſe ſhe knew not what Matrimony meant. And further ſhe ſaid unto him, that one *Mannock* ſometime alſo ſervant to the ſaid Dutcheſſe, knew a privie mark of her Body. When the ſaid *Loſſels* had declared this to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he conſidering the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellouſly perplex'd therewith, conſulted in the ſame with the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Earl of *Hertford*, whom the Kings Majeſty going in his Progreſſe left to reſide at *London* to order his Affairs in thoſe parts, who having weighed the matter, and deeply ponder'd the gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted, reſolved finally, that the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhould reveal the ſame to the Kings Majeſty; which becauſe the matter was ſuch, as he hath ſorrowfully lamented, and alſo could not find in his heart to expreſſe the ſame to the Kings Majeſty by word of mouth, he declar'd the information thereof to his Higneſs in writing. When the Kings Majeſty had read this Information thus deliverd unto him, his Grace being much perplexed therewith, yet nevertheleſs ſo tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived ſuch a conſtant opinion of her honeſty, that he ſuppoſed it rather to be a forged matter, then of truth. Whereupon it pleaſed him ſecretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admirall, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir

Thomas

1541 *Thomas Wriotheſly*, to whom he opened the caſe, ſaying, He could not beleeve it to be true. And yet ſeeing the Information was made, he could not be ſatisfied till the certainty thereof was known; but he would not in any wiſe that in the Inquiſition any ſpark of ſcandall ſhould riſe towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majeſty reſolv'd, that the Lord Privy Seal ſhould go ſtrait to *London*, where the ſaid *Loſſels* that gave the Information was ſecretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would ſtand to his ſaying: who being ſo examined, anſwer'd, that his Siſter ſo told him, and that he had declared it for the diſcharge of his duty, and for none other reſpect; adding that he knew what danger was in it; nevertheleſſe, he had rather dye in declaration of the truth as it came to him, ſeeing it touch'd the Kings Majeſty ſo nearly, then live with the concealment of the ſame: Which Aſſeveration being thus made by the ſaid *Loſſels*, the Kings Majeſty being informed thereof, ſent the Lord Privy Seal into *Suſſex* to examine the Woman, making a pretence to the womans Husband of hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and ſent the ſaid Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* to *London* at the ſame inſtant, both to examine *Mannock*, and alſo to take the ſaid *Derrham* upon a pretence of Piracy, becauſe he had been before in *Ireland*, and hath been noted before with that offence, making theſe pretences to the intent no ſpark of ſuſpition ſhould riſe of theſe Examinations. The ſaid Lord Privy Seal found the woman in her Examination conſtant in her former ſayings: And Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* found by the confeſſion of *Mannock* that he had commonly uſed to feel the ſecrets & other parts of her body, ore ever *Derrham* was ſo familiar with her; and *Derrham* confeſſed that he had known her carnally many times, both in his doublet and his hoſe between the ſheets, and in naked bed, alledging ſuch witneſſes of three ſundry women one after another, that had lyen in the ſame bed with them when he did the Acts, that the matter ſeem'd moſt apparent. But what inward ſorrow the Kings Majeſty took when he perceived the Information true, as it was the moſt wofull thing that ever came to our hearts, to ſee it; ſo it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his heart was ſo pierced with penſiveneſſe, that long it was before his Majeſty could ſpeak, and utter the ſorrow of his heart unto us: And finally, with plenty of teares (which was ſtrange in his courage) opened the ſame. Which done, ſhe was ſpoken withall in it by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; to whom at the firſt ſhe conſtantly denyed it, but the matter being ſo declared unto her, that ſhe perceived it to be wholly diſcloſed, the ſame night ſhe diſcloſed the ſame to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took the confeſſion of the

ſame

1541

ſame in writing ſubſcribed with her hand: then were the reſt of the number, being eight or nine men and women which knew of their doings, examined, who all agreed in one tale.

Now may you ſee what was done before the Marriage; God knoweth what hath been done ſithence: But ſhee had already gotten this *Derrham* into her ſervice, and trained him upon occaſions, as ſending of errands, and writing of Letters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privie Chamber. And ſhe had gotten alſo into her Privie Chamber to be one of her Chamberers, one of the women which had before lyen in the bed with her and *Derrham*: what this pretended is eaſie to be conjectured. Thus much we know for the beginning; whereof we thought meet to advertize you, to the intent afore ſpecified: And what ſhall further ſucceed and follow of this matter, we ſhall not fail to advertiſe you thereof accordingly.

You ſhall alſo receive herein incloſed a Packet of Letters, directed unto Sir *Henry Knevet* his Graces Ambaſſadour with the Emperour, which his Highneſſe pleaſure is you ſhall ſee conveigh'd unto him by the next Poſt that paſſeth from thence into the Emperours Court. Thus fare you right heartily well. *From the Kings Palace at* Weſtminſter *the* 12 *of November.*

Your loving Friends,

Thomas Audeley Chancellor.
E. Hertford.
.....
.....
William Southampton.
Robert Suſſex.
Stephen Winton.
Anthony Wingfield.

Here were other Names, which are now defaced in the Original; but D. *Norfolk* may by the contents of the Letter be ſuppoſed one.

Beſides the perſons ſpecified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the ſame name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the ſame fault (as our Hiſtories have it) which he and *Derrham* at their Arraignment confeſſing, *Culpeper* had his head cut off, and *Derrham* was hang'd and quarter'd. But it reſted not here; for the Lord *William Howard* (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambaſſage in *France*) and his Wife, and the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolk*, and divers of the Queens and the ſaid Dutcheſſe kindred and ſervants, and a Butter-wife were indicted of miſpriſion of Treaſon (as concealing this Fact), and condemn'd to perpetuall priſon; though yet by the King's favour ſome of them at length were releaſed. The King yet not ſatisfied thus, for more authorizing his Proceeding, referred the Buſineſſe to the Parliament ſitting the 16 of *January*, 1541. Where upon Petition of both Houſes, that

Novemb. 31.
Decemb. 10.
Decemb. 7.
Decemb. 10.
Decemb. 22.
Jan. 16.

1542 41 Regn 33.

hee would not vex himſelf, but give his Royall aſſent to what they ſhould doe; they had leave to proceed, and together thanks given them that they took his ſorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the Lady *Jane Rochfort*, as alſo *Culpeper*, *Derrham*, &c. And ſo the Queen and Lady *Jane Rochfort* (Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and noted to be a particular inſtrument in the death of Queen *Anne*) were brought to the Tower, and after confeſſion of their faults, had their heads cut off.

Febr. 13. *Hall.*

An Act alſo paſt, declaring that it ſhall be lawfull for any of the Kings Subjects, if themſelves do perfectly know, or by vehement preſumption do perceive any will, act or condition of lightneſſe of Body in her which ſhall be the Queen of this Realm, to diſcloſe the ſame to the King, or ſome of his Councell; but they ſhall not openly blow it abroad, or whiſper it, untill it be divulg'd by the King or his Councell. If the King, or any of his Succeſſours ſhall marry a woman which was before incontinent, if ſhee conceal the ſame, it ſhall be High Treaſon, &c. But this Act was repealed 1 *Edward* 6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1.

Divers other Acts alſo paſt, whereof I have thought fit to ſet down theſe: That they who under colour of a falſe token or counterfeit Letter got other mens money into their hands, ſhould be puniſhed at the diſcretion of thoſe before whom they were convicted, any way but death.

It was declared alſo, how many ſton'd Horſes every man ſhould keep according to his degree. But this was afterwards repealed; though yet of ſpeciall uſe in defence of the Kingdom, when due regard of the perſons were had.

Further it was declared, who might alſo ſhoot in Guns and Croſs-bows.

Moreover, That ſhooting with Bow and Arrows ſhould be uſed, and unlawfull Games debarred.

Jun. 10. 1541.

The order alſo for puniſhment of Murder and bloud-ſhed in the Kings Court, with all the ceremonies thereof was ſet down; the occaſion, it ſeems, being given by Sir *Edmond Knevet*, who being lately condemn'd to loſe his hand for this fault, was yet pardoned.

The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was ſet down.

That in certain Caſes there ſhould be triall of Treaſon in any County where the King by Commiſſion will appoint; And this ſaved much trouble and charges: For as divers things were made Treaſon in this King's time, which yet were repealed afterwards; ſo the Lords of the Councel were not onely continually vexed with theſe buſineſſes, but the King at great charges in remanding the Priſoners.

That

1542

That none should be Justice of Assize in his own Countrey.

The Court of Surveyors of the Kings Lands, the names of the Officers there, and their Authority was set down.

All practice of Conjuration, Witchcraft and false Prophesie, was made Felony.

The Kings of *England* having for a long time ruled *Ireland* by no other Name then Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Kingdome with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave order to be declared King of *Ireland*; which was proclaimed here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35. *Hen.* 8. 3. This being notified to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of emulation for his assuming the Title, or that himself had any designe on this Country (as by his laying claim to divers parts thereof, and by former passages may be suspected) is uncertain. Howbeit, understanding that *Mac-Connell* and some Scots, who held part thereof (as *Lesleus* hath it) were not disturb'd in their possession, hee more patiently suffered it. Our King on the other side, finding none contested with him for the Soveraignty of the Island, did not so much regard their particular right: though yet, as there were divers Commotions about this time, hee had occasion to hold a hand over the disaffected persons: But by the diligence of Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly composed.

Jan. 23.

Lesl. de Reb. gest. Scotorum.

July 7. 1540.

During this Session of Parliament some wrong was offered (as our Histories say) to their ancient Priviledges; a Burgesse of theirs being arrested: Whereof the King understanding, not onely gave way to their releasing him, but punishment of the offenders: insomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place call'd *Littleese*, others to Newgate. By which means the King (whose Master-piece it was to make use of his Parliaments) not onely let Forraign Princes see the good intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his devotion: which also he so industriously procured, that rather then hee would seem to require more at this time then they had lately given, hee borrowed divers sums of money of men above 50 *li.* yeerly in his Books (which he looked on often) giving them in lieu thereof Privie Seals as security for their repayment in two yeers; by this means suffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his wants, then to supply them; which yet served to supply them upon his next occasion. The Irish Nobility also being well informed of these proceedings, and collecting thereby the absoluteness of the Kings power every-where, the chief

March 28. *Hall. Stow.*

1541

October.

July 28.

Sandoval, *l.* 25.

Aug.

Concil. Trid. *lib.* 1.

October.

of them this yeer submitted themselves, and acknowledge him now their King; among whom *Eustace* the great *O Neale* presented himself, and was made Earl of *Tirone*.

The Diet of *Ratisbone* being ended, the Emperour from thence sent to the Pope, desiring him to permit an Interview at *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor passing thorow *Milan*, came by land to *Genoua*, and thence taking water, to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many things were to be determined: For first, the Emperor (as he had engaged himself to the Protestants of the last Diet) urged a Councel, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was last indicted: But the Venetians oppos'd it, as fearing lest the Turk, with whom they had lately made a Peace, should think it was call'd to Confederate all Christian Princes against him. Thus was the Councel again frustrated: other Affairs being also interrupted by the Ambassadour of *Francis*, who made divers Instances, that at least the bodies of *Rincon* and *Fregose* might be restored; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Buriall. But the Emperour still protesting himself to be no way conscious of this fact, omitted Answer to the rest. This while the Turk having gotten some places of importance in *Hungary*, and overthrown the Army of *Ferdinand* (led by *Roccandolph*,) the Pope endeavoured a Reconciliation of all the present differences; desiring the Emperour to give to *Francis* the Estate of *Milan*, and him to restore all he had in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperour resolute not to leave *Milan*, broke of the Treaty; for the rest, preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet consisting of 64 Galleys, 200 Ships, 100 Frigots, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, besides Voluntiers and Sea-men. Setting sail with these from *Mallorca*, and other places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two dayes to the Coast of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga* and about 800 Turks (being Cavallery for the most part) and about 5000 Moors, Renegadoes. It was now *October* 23 1541 when his men landed without much resistance. The first thing done was to require *Azan-Aga* to yeeld the place, and turn Christian, as being the son of Christian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he answered, that hee desired no more honour then to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the hands of so excellent an Emperour. But as the season of the yeer was far advanced, foul weather began; so that they fought neither often nor with much advantage on either side. At last, a huge tempest arose, which finally destroyed 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, save some horses and a few men: And now the Tempest still increasing, the Emperour, who between noise and danger could not sleep, demanded of some

Sea-

Sea-men then with him, how long the reſt of the Fleet might live if the Tempeſt continued? they anſwered, at moſt, two hours: he demanded then what a clock it was? they told him half an hour paſt eleven; Whereupon he ſaid to them, Comfort your ſelves; at twelve the Friers and Nuns riſe, and will pray for us: But the Tempeſt continued till far in the next day, when the miſerable carcaſſes of Ships and men ſwimming in ſome places, and drowning in others, made an hideous ſpectacle; while if any got to land, the Arabs and Moors without mercy kill'd them. And now, beſides the above mentioned Ships, fourteen or fifteen Galleys were caſt away; by which means not onely the Artillery and Victual fail'd, but even the deſire to continue the Siege: for one ſuch another Tempeſt would have deſtroyed all. Yet there was much difficulty in the embarking of the Souldiers, for the Ships did not ſuffice to carry them: Therefore they were fain to caſt overbord their moſt generous Horſes, who ſwimming from one ſhip to another, were drowned at laſt, not without much compaſſion of all, and eſpecially their Maſters. The reſt of the Navigation homewards yet was not proſperous, many Ships periſhing. At laſt, the Emperor came to *Calari* in *Sardigna*, where through contrary winds, he was conſtrained to paſſe his Chriſtmas; at length fair weather appearing, he arrived in *Spain*: And this was the third unfortunate voyage to *Argier*, it having been twice before attempted in vain. 1541

A Rupture with *Scotland* being now ſecretly reſolv'd, our King thought fit to aſſure *Francis* ſending for this purpoſe to Sir *William Paget* his Ambaſſador there, Inſtructions, which were chiefly to hold *Francis* to his Treaties of perpetuall peace. But *Francis* ſaying it was made upon certain conditions, which were broken by our King, it was anſwer'd the Treaty was *Sans* Condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But *Francis* requiring then aſſiſtance for *Milan*, as was promiſed; it was replyed, that both by the Treaty laſt offered by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and another formerly by *Commeray*, this was ſpoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another condition, that he ſhould forſake the Biſhop of *Rome*, which he refuſed to doe; Bnt as this was interrupted with ſome wrangling, ſo there was no little debate about Ships detained on either ſide, our Officers having with-held ſome, under pretence they were Pirates, and they again ſeizing on ours by way of repriſall; ſo that matters were breaking forth to an open war. Which being advertiz'd to our King, gave him little hope of amity on thet part, and conſequently made him not only deſiſt from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princeſſe *Mary* propos'd formerly by *Pommeray* and now renewed, 1542. Febr. 1540. 1536. 1536.

1542 newed, but ſeek friends elſewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refuſing in the mean time to enter into League with him againſt the Emperor.

March. Though the right line of the *Plantagenets* were extinct in the Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, and conſequently no fear of pretence to Succeſſion, on that part, there remained yet a naturall ſon of *Edward* the fourth, called Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* (created by King

April. 26. 1523. *Henry* the eighth, Viſcount *Liſle*) who came to his end on this occaſion: This Lord, during his Lieutenancy in *Calais*, being ſuſpected, as conſenting to a practiſe of ſome of his ſervants,

April. 17. 1540. (whereby they conſpired to deliver that Town to the French,) was thereupon ſent for, and committed to the Tower; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this time, not onely gave order to releaſe him, but for his more comfort ſent him a Diamond Ring, and a Gracious Meſſage; which ſo overjoyed and dilated his ſpirits, that the night following he dyed.

March 3. The Emperor being now in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* holds a Diet at

Feb. *Spire*, where he requires ayd againſt the *Turk*; whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, ſends *Francis Oliver* thither with charge to repreſent, firſt the Aſſaſſinate of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe*, pretending it to be the more heynous, that *Rincons* Imployment was to hinder the *Turk* from invading *Hungary*: Secondly, to diſſwade them from taking Arms againſt the *Turk*, till their own differences were compoſed. Laſtly, to repreſent both the levity of the *Hungarians*, and their diſaffection to the German Nation: And therefore, that they ſhould fortifie their ſtrong places betwixt *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, and the other Confines, without taking much regard to the reſt. As for Pacification in Religion, that they ſhould conform themſelves on all ſides to the Confeſſion of our Faith, left us by the *Nicene* Councel. And for other points, if they could not agree them, they ſhould not yet be occaſion of hate or diviſion. But the wiſer ſort, who believed that *Rincons* diſpatches (when they were to be ſeen) would have told another tale, did not much believe the firſt part of his Speech: As for the ſecond, ſince it tended onely to give *Hungary* into the *Turks* hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the laſt, they regarded it little (though a wiſe and charitable advice) as being reſolved already of their Religion. After him, the Biſhop of

March 23. *Modena*, the Popes Legat, tells them that the Pope deſired Peace in Chriſtendom, and proviſion for wars againſt the *Turk*. As for the Councel which had been ſuſpended hitherto by the Emperors conſent to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in *Germany*, that it was reaſon to call it. Onely that *Germany* could be no fit place for holding thereof, ſince his Holineſs reſolving to be preſent, could not indure ſo long a journey or ſuch a change of Ayr. Beſides, he feared it would be turbulent.

lent. Nevertheleſs, for ſatisfying them, he was content the ſame ſhould be aſſembled at *Trent*, (that is to ſay,) in the Borders of *Germany*. *Ferdinand* and the Catholikes accept this place with thanks, (when it might not be held at *Ratisbone* or *Collen.*) But the Proteſtants wholly diſliked it. And now the French Ambaſſadors finding themſelves but ſlighted, go thence diſcontented. And ſo the Diet brake up (after War had been decreed againſt the *Turk*, and Peace eſtabliſhed in the Empire.) And *May* 22. the Councel was indicted to begin in *November* following. 1542 April 11. May 22.

Francis being now informed by his Ambaſſadors that the Germans were ſo far from receiving his advice, that they thought him to be a perturber of the Peace of Chriſtendome, is not yet diſcouraged. Therefore, after a Proceſſion made in *Paris* for ſucceſſe in his War, and a preſent ſent to the Turk of 600 Marks of Silver curiouſly wrought, and 500 Veſtments for thoſe that attended him, together with a requeſt, that he would ſend his Fleet againſt the Emperor, and a publick Defiance ſent to *Charles*, Hee invades his Territories in five ſeverall places; Againſt them in *Brabant* hee imploys the Duke of *Longueville*, who was to joyn with *Martin Roſſen* Generall for the Duke of *Cleves*, to invade that part: Againſt *Artois* the Duke of *Vendoſme*: Againſt *Luxemburg* the Duke of *Orleans*: In *Piedmont* Monſieur *du Bellay* his Lieutenant there: And againſt *Perpignian* (the chief Town of *Rouſſillon*, and the Barrier of *Spain* to the Southward) the *Daulphin*, promiſing to ſecond him in Perſon. July.

Hee began firſt in *Piedmont*, as being the immediate way to his deſired *Milan*: In which he held theſe places, *Turino*, *Montcalier*, *Savillan*, *Montdevis*, *Pignarola*, &c. For the Emperor ſtood *Aſti*, *Vercelli*, *Ulpian*, *Foſſan*, *Quieraſco* and *Alba*; among which *Quieraſco* was firſt attempted and yeelded: *Vendoſme* in *Artois* taking and razing *Tourneham*: The Duke of *Orleans* (aſſiſted with 500 Horſe from *Chriſtiern* the III King of *Denmark*) took *Luxemburgh* and other places; which yet *René* Prince of *Orenge* and Count of *Naſſaw* recovered ſhortly after. Nevertheleſſe, *Roſſen* deceiv'd him with a plain trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Champian field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of *Orenge*, who did not imagine he was ſo ſtrong, charged him; but the Foot riſing, they and their Horſe together defeated him. Whereupon *Roſſen* and *Longueville* being about thirty five thouſand men, beſieged *Antwerp*; But it was ſtoutly defended not onely by the Natives, but by forraign Merchants, and particularly the Engliſh. Whereupon, *Roſſen* raiſing Siege and going to *Lovaine*, demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovaine* accorded in part, commanding thereupon ſome Wine to be carried in Carts to the

1542

the Gate. But the Scholers, unwilling both to let it go, and ſuſpecting beſides that when the gates were ſo embarraſed, the Enemy behinde the Hogſhead might get into the Town, cut off the Harneſſe from the Horſes, and went to the Artillery planted upon the Wall, and diſcharged it upon the Enemy: whereupon *Roſſen* departing, ſpoil'd the Country round about. This while, the Daulphin brought an Army of forty thouſand men, whereof fourteen thouſand *Switz*, and four thouſand Horſe to *Perpignan*, which he beſieged, hoping *Barbaroxa* and the Turkiſh Fleet would ſecond him, according to his requeſt by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employ'd in thoſe parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor beſides preparing to releive it, he rais'd the Seige, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope of *Francis*, proteſting, that he both diſturb'd the Peace of Chriſtendome and the Councell, and hindred him from oppoſing the Turk. Whereupon, the Pope deſiring to reconcile them, the Emperor anſwered, It was in vain to make Treaties with thoſe who did hold none; deſiring him therefore rather to take Armes againſt him, as confederate with the common Enemy of Chriſtendom.

Decem. 1541. The excuſe from *James* formerly mentioned being not held ſatisfactory, our King prepares for war; nevertheleſs, he thought not fit to diſcover himſelf, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James* his requeſt he appoints Commiſſioners to examine buſineſſes betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy men, of which *James* being advertiz'd raiſed forces likewiſe (as is before ſet down). During this Treaty ſome Inrodes being made into *Scotland* and Ports attempted, I find by *Leſſeus* twenty eight Scotiſh ſhips were taken. Whereupon, the Scots entring the Engliſh marches, Sir *Robert Bowes* (who reſiſted them) with divers others were taken Priſoners; without being permitted yet to ranſome themſelves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Kings Army marched forward, but upon a ſecond motion of Peace ſtayes at *York*. And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* treats with certain Scotiſh Commiſſioners, who having variety of Inſtructions, (which they ſhewed one after another) and finally propoſing an Interview, were thought to be ſent thither only to gain time, winter now coming on, and the French King having ſo much to do at home as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together publiſhed a Declaration of the cauſes of this war. Which being extant in our Records, and ſet forth at large by *Hall*, I ſhall not need to inſert here, though yet for ſatisfaction of the Reader, I ſhall extract ſome particularities from thence.

Auguſt. 24.

October 21.

Hall.

The chief cauſes I conceive, were, That *Iames* entertain'd ſome

ſome of the chief Rebels of the North. That he denied ſome grounds, (though of very ſmall value) for which good evidences were produced. That he fruſtrated our King, after a promiſe of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inrode while the Treaty was on foot. Beſides all which, King *Henry* claimed Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; the demand whereof he ſaid he had neglected a great while becauſe of his Nephews minority, and other kind reaſons, his Title being by lineall Succeſſion, and recognized for many ages by the Kings of *Scotland*, to the Raign of *Henry* 6. which he proved firſt by Hiſtory. Secondly, by Inſtruments of Homage, by the ſeverall Kings, and divers great perſons ſealed with their Seals, and remaining in his Treaſury. Thirdly, by Regiſters and Records, judicially and authentically made. The Hiſtoricall part, he began chiefly (that I may omit the relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900. (being 642 yeers paſt) ſhewing that *Edward* ſon of *Allured* had it under his Dominion. *Athelſtain* made one *Conſtantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took homage of *Iriſe* [or *Ericus*] King of Scots, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* (or *Kenneth.*) That this was interrupted yet in *Edward King* and *Martyr* his time. But *Malcolm* did homage to *Knute*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor making war againſt *Malcolm*, overthrew him and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his ſon, who made him Homage and Fealty; That *Malcolm* did homage to *William* the Conqueror, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his duty was depoſed, and *Edgar* brother to the laſt *Malcolm* and ſon to the firſt, ordain'd in that eſtate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did homage to *Henry* the I. *David* did homage to *Matild* the Empreſſe, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his death *Davids* ſon made his homage to *Stephen*. *William* King of Scots, and *David* his brother with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland* made homage to *Henry* II. his Son, with reſervation of their duty to his Father. This *William* after much Rebellion and reſiſtance, during the abſence of *Henry* II. made his Peace and Compoſition with his Homage and Fealty; he alſo came to *Canterbury* and there did Homage to *Richard* the firſt. *William* did Homage to *Iohn* on a hill beſide *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the croſſe of *Hubert* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander* King of Scots married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edw.* I. and did his duty: *Iohn Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edw.* 1. *Robert Bruce* made war againſt the *Baliols* which interrupted the buſineſſe for fourty four yeers. But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing made Homage to *Edw.* the third. After this, *David Bruce* though on the contrary faction, made homage to *Edw.* the third. *Edward Baliol* who had the clear

1542

I.

1542 Title, ſurrendred the Crown to *Edw.* the third at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon cauſed himſelf to be crown'd, and for a time entertain'd and enjoyed it as Proprietory and owner of the Crown, both by confiſcation and voluntary ſurrender. In *Richard* the II. and *Henry* the IV. times, ſome interruption happened by reaſon of inward diſſentions in this Kingdome; yet *Henry* V. commanded the Scots to attend him in his journie to *France*. And in this time the Realm of *Scotland* being deſcended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart* King of Scots made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windſor*. All which Homages (though interrupted

II. ſometimes for more then LX. yeers) were yet within the memory of man. Of which therefore, Inſtruments made and ſealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; ſo that it was

III. not for the Earldome of *Huntington* (as the Scots pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As for Records and Regiſters, that he had divers which were authenticall, and among others that of *Edw.* I. in diſcuſſion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challenged by twelve Competitors. And that ſentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly injoyed the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the ſuperiority of the King of *England*, and enſuing their determination, did particularly, and ſeverally make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whoſoever withdrew himſelf from doing his duty therein, ſhould be reputed as a Rebell; and ſo all made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. That during this diſcuſſion the Realm was ruled by Guardians deputed by him, and all Caſtles and Holds ſurrendred to him as to the Superiour Lord. And in the time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions, paſſed as in the right of this Crown of *England*; Sheriffs alſo named and appointed, Writs and and Precepts made, obeyed and executed. And that at this time, the Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſco* were not Archbiſhops, but recogniz'd the Archbiſhop of *York*, whoſe authority extended over all their Country. That ſithence the time of *Henry* VI. this Kingdome was lacerated and torn by diverſity of Titles, till his time. So that though *Edw.* IIII. after great travells, having attain'd quietneſs in this Realm, finally made preparation of war againſt *Scotland*, yet he was prevented by death. As for *Richard* III. that he uſurped the Kingdom till *Henry* the VII. his Father overthrew him, (which *Henry* the VII. by reaſon of his Eſtate not fully ſetled at home, forbare to compell the Scots to do their duty.) And for his own time, that twenty one yeers paſt of it in his Nephewes minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a King, then to receive of him Homage when he had full poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The concluſion of this Declaration yet ſeemed to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to inſiſt upon the Claim, though

though he ſaith, that ſuch be the works of God ſuperiour over all, to ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due ſuperiority may be known, demanded, and required. 1542

The Scotiſh Writers tell the buſineſſe otherwiſe: not denying yet but *Athelſtaine* was King of the whole Iſland by the teſtimony of divers of our Brittain Writers. Nevertheleſſe, that their words were ſo to be underſtood, as the further parts of *Scotland* were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, That it was for the Earldom of *Huntington* (though as there was no Inveſtiture thereof in the King of Scots till the time of our *Henry* the Firſt, when *David* married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*, it reaches not to Homages formerly made). Again, among thoſe who did Homage, ſome were reputed Kings of *Northumberland*, rather then *Scotland*. And for *Baliol*'s reſigning the Crown, they ſay, the Nobles did not conſent to it: And many other things, which for avoyding prolixity, I omit; deſiring the Reader to beleeve, that I am ſo far from undertaking to define the point, as (in an Hiſtoricall way) I have onely produced ſuch Notes as my leiſure would ſuffer me to gather at this time: profeſſing, for the reſt, That I ſhould not in any wiſe have intermedled therewith, but that *Hall* by ſetting forth the Declaration, gave the occaſion.

Theſe proceeding from time to time being advertiſed to *Francis*, cauſed him to ſend Monſieur *de Morvilliers* to congratulate the conſtancie of *James* in refuſing an Interview; which hee attributed to his reſolution not to forſake the Roman Church: Adviſing him for the reſt, to ſtand upon his Guard; and for that purpoſe, ſending him Money and Artillery. *Leſleus.* Aug.

And now the Army being ready to march on, *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton* Captain of the Fore-ward died at *New-Caſtle*; A brave Lord, and ſo much eſteemd, that for the honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Fore-ward in all this Expedition. The yeer thus being far ſpent, the Duke of *Norfolk* Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Rutland*, and other Lords of the Northern parts; Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Kings Horſe, and Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Houſe, and above twenty thouſand men (the Earl of *Anguis* alſo being there preſent) enter *Scotland* 21 of October, and finding no reſiſtance, burnt in eight days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Biſhop of *Orkney* and *James Leirmouth* came on their Kings part to require Peace; but the conditions not pleaſing, the Treaty was diſſolv'd. Nevertheleſſe, our Army retreated preſently to *Barwick*, as being betwixt the rigour of the ſeaſon and want of victuals, conſtrain'd thereunto. So that though *Leſleus* ſaith, the Engliſh retired upon hearing that Sleidan. Hall. October 21.

1542 the Scottiſh Army approached; this yet by others is thought improbable, becauſe they invaded not *England* till three weeks after the Duke of *Norfolk* was at *Berwick*, and had licenſed many of his ſouldiers. About which time therefore the Scotiſh Army being aſſembled, they entred *England* on the Weſt Marches with an Army of fifteen thouſand, or (as ſome ſay) a greater number. But *Thomas* the Baſtard *Dacres* and *Muſgrave*, having firſt ſent to Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the Marches to come to their aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambuſh on a hill ſide, came forwards with an hundred light Horſe, which being charged by ſome of the Scots, retired towards their Stale, and to *Wharton* now appearing, who had not yet above 300 men (as our Writers ſay). But whatſoever the Stratagem was, the Scots believing (it ſeems) the Duke of *Norfolk* was there with all his power, ſuddenly, as men amazed, fled. The Engliſh men purſued, and took the Earls of *Caſſelles* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Oliphant*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Oliver Sinclere* the Kings Minion (as our Hiſtorians term him,) and divers others of note to the number of two hundred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner ſort (ſo that ſome had two or three Priſoners,) and 24 Pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

Novemb. 24.

Hall.

The Scotiſh Writers tell the Buſineſſe a little otherwiſe; confeſſing yet the foreſaid Priſoners to be taken, and that their men ran away, and were defeated. But ſome ſay, the reaſon of it was, that Sir *Oliver Sinclere* being ſuddenly declared their General when the Engliſh appeared, the Nobles took it ſo ill, that that they cared not to fight. They ſay alſo, that the King was at *Solway* (where this encounter hap'ned) a little before, and no further off then *Carlawroch* when the blow was given; which, perhaps, made ſome think that he was preſent at the fight, and received a wound, of which preſently after he died, and not of ſorrow.

Leſleus.

Hall.

Decemb. 7.

James being now return'd, had in recompence of his misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterwards called *Mary*; which yet together with the many divertiſements his ſervants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented alſo (as the Scotiſh and our Writers ſay) by the ſudden murder of an Engliſh Herald, whom our King ſent thither to ranſome Priſoners (though yet none of his Subjects, but *Leech* a *Lincoln ſhire* Rebel kill'd him:) All which made that impreſſion in him, that he died within few days after, and was buried neer his firſt Wife *Magdalene*, in the Abbey of *Holy-Rood*. He was of a middle ſtature, yet well compact and ſtrong, given much in his youth to the love of women, to which his Governours gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hinder-

Leſl. Stow. Hall.

Decemb. 14.

Buchanan.

hindered him not yet to be active in all State affairs, and frugall in his own; Qualities rarely found in Princes so much addicted to their pleasure. No man endured labour, cold, hunger better (as his many Expeditions in Person against Rebels, shewed.) Under pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his Nobility, which made them lesse ready when he had occasion to use them. Insomuch, that (as *Buchanan* hath it) he could not perswade them to come to Battel with the Duke of *Norfolk*. 1542

The murder of our English Herald being related to our King, mightily incensed him: and therefore hee not onely required *Leech*, (who yet was not demanded till after the death of King *James*, nor executed till May following); but sent to his Ambassadour *Paget* in *France*, both to acquaint *Francis* therewith, (whom hee lately knew had suffered in the like kinde,) and to desire him not to assist *James*. But the Answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter. Decemb. 4.

The news of the Kings death, and the Princesse birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counsels: so that in stead of pursuing War against *Scotland*, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, and match his Son *Edward* to her. To which also he was so intentive, that he sent a Dispatch to his Ambassadour *Paget*, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, as being jealous lest *Francis* should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, *Francis* having by the intervention of the Queen and Cardinall *Beton*, a great party there. Nevertheless, as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation that all causes of Hostility should be taken away, and both Kingdoms united: So he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him. Decemb. 22. Decemb. 26.

And now in *Scotland* two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, seconded by Cardinal *Beton*, who (as the Scotish Writers say) forged a Will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerfull Nobility, should govern the State, and with him all the French Faction joyn'd. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a lover of quiet) was yet encouraged by his followers to assume that dignity; as being so neer of blood, and the Princesse so young, that many occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself: which reasons also inclin'd him to depend on our King.

While these things past in *Scotland*, the Prisoners taken in the last Battell, were by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* conducted from *York* to *London*, whither they came *Decemb.* 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a cognizance, a red S. *Andrews* Crosse, and were presently sent to the Tower, Decemb. 19. *Stow.* Records.

1542 Decemb. 21. Tower, where ſhortly after King *Henry* for more oſtentation commanded Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Houſhold, to bring them by two and two together in new Gowns of black Damask, and other apparell ſutable (all at his coſt) from the Tower to the Star-chamber, where *Thomas* Lord *Audeley* the Lord Chancellor was to tell them, what cauſe King *Henry* had of war againſt them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance, and keeping his Subjects without ſuffering them to make Ranſome, contary to the Laws of the Marches. Nevertheleſſe, that ſuch was his benignity, that he would ſhew them kindneſſe for unkindneſſe, and right for wrong: And thereupon (after their promiſe to remain true Priſoners) commanded that they ſhould be no more returned to priſon, but brought to divers Noble Houſes, there to be regaled and made much of. Thus the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Caßilis* commended to him; the Duke of *Norfolk* the Earl of *Glencarne*; Sir *Anthony Brown* the Lord *Maxwell*; the Lord Chancellor the Lord *Somerwell*; Sir *Thomas Lee* the Lord *Oliphant*; the Duke of *Suffolk* Sir *Oliver Sinclere*; *Thomas Thurliby* (lately made firſt Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*) *Robert Erskin*; and many others were with divers of our chief Nobility: where having paſt ſome time with as much contentment as the news of their Kings death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to expreſſe how glad they would be that a Match might ſucceed betwixt our Prince and their Princeſſe, promiſing alſo their furtherance therein; which being related to our King, was taken ſo well, as they were not onely diſmiſs'd upon Hoſtages to be given for their return (when they were not able to effect this Match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being feaſted, they kept their Journey toward *Scotland*, till they came to the Duke of *Suffolk* (the Kings Lieutenant in the Northern parts) being then at *New-Caſtle*, where their Hoſtages being received, they had licence to go home; and with them alſo went the Earl of *Anguis*, and his Brother Sir *George Dowglaſſe* (now fifteen yeers abſent from their Country) who, during their long ſtay in theſe parts, had a liberall Penſion beſtowed on them by our King; for which alſo they promiſed their beſt aſſiſtance on all occaſions. Cardinall *Beton*, who this while (by pretext of his counterfeit Will) had made himſelf Viceroy, was now (upon detection of the forgery) depos'd, and *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* choſen in his place: A Nobleman followed by many, both for his neerneſſe of Bloud to the Crown, and that the Cardinals cruelty and ambition had made him ſo hated. Beſides, there was found after the Kings death certain Papers, in which the names of above 300 of the principall Nobility and Gentry (and among them *James Hamilton*) were accuſed as Criminals: and this again made them more confident

Records.

Decem. 1540.

Decemb. 26.

Jan. 1.

Buchan.

confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the Controversies of Religion, and gave hope of a milde and temperate disposition. His first publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in *March* following; whereof our King being advertised, sent Sir *Ralf Sadler* (his Secretary) thither, to procure the Marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetuall Peace: Scotish Ambassadours being also deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir *Ralf Sadlers* first Instructions were, appears not by our Records, more then is formerly related out of the Scotish Writers; But by a subsequent Dispatch, dated *May* 6, I find that our King, in reward of some business that the Viceroy should effect, had promis'd his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son: And because our King passionately desired to have the young Princesse into his hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince *Edward*, and that he feared the French would prevent him; I nothing doubt but this was the Affair intimated betwixt them. Our Records also tel us, that *George Dowglasse*, and the other Lords who were sent home, excus'd themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their promises; so that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get some Holds into their hands, where they might with more advantage set forth our Kings purposes, they declined it; alledging, among other difficulties, a certain fickleness in the Viceroy's disposition, and that the French party was so great. Howbeit, upon further debate of the business, certain Scotish Ambassadours were sent hither, being Sir *Willam Hamilton* and Sir *Iames Lermouth*; but their Negotiation not pleasing, as unwilling to admit other Governour then the Earl of *Arrain* during the Queens minority, or to deliver the Holds of *Scotland* till shee had Issue by Prince *Edward*, or to put her into our Kings custody, with some other Demands which were distasted by them, it was thought fit to send the Earl of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Dowglasse*; who, I finde, seconded the overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms: yet not so, but that Sir *George Dowglass* was dispatched Post to *Scotland* to bring a more satisfactory Answer; which was obtain'd: Insomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage sign'd and seal'd was brought back by those Scotish Ambassadours in *August* 1543 (as *Lesleus* hath it). And because I finde among our Records this following Treaty of *Iune* 29, I shall enquire for no other.

1543
March.
Buchan.
May 6.
April.
April 14.
May.
Aug.
Lesleus.
June 29.
[*Lib. Concil.*]

First, That the Lords of *Scotland* shall have the Education of the Princesse for a time: yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a Noble-Man and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Persons to wait on her.

That at ten yeers of age she should be brought into *England*, the

1543 the Contract being first finished by a Proxie in *Scotland*.

That within two Months after the Date hereof six Noble Scots should be given as Hostages for the performance of the Conditions on their part; And that if any of them died, the number of them should be supplied.

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of *Scotland* (by that name) should preserve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace should be made for as long time as was desired, the French being excluded.

Neverthelesse, The Queen, Cardinal, and all the Clergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal so particularly, that he *Buchan.* was removed to a chamber apart, or (as other have it) into a Prison, till the main question of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hostages promised for performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found means to corrupt his Keeper, so he escaped; and then began again to trouble all, using for this purpose the help of the Queen-Mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the *Dowglasses*, being wholly devoted to the English, should from a long Banishment be admitted to the supreme Councel concerning publick Affairs. Besides, hee got huge sums of money from the Clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themselves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he perswaded that the Hostages should not be sent into *England*; hee procured also that our Ambassadour should be contumeliously used; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Answer, but that the Cardinall had so discomposed all things, that hee could give no remedy for the present. The Question was then, What course they should take about the Hostages left in *England*, upon condition that the late Nobles who were prisoners should return, in case the Marriage and Peace took no effect. But the Cardinall answered, That Kindred, Friends, Children and all should be sacrificed for the good of their Country. Howbeit, *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Cassilis* could not be perswaded to stay; for having left two Brothers his pledges, he said he would redeem their lives with his own: And thereupon, though many dehorted him, he went into *England*. Which generous counsell succeeded so well, that after a large commendation given him by our King, he was dismiss'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other side, hee was so offended with the rest, that hee detain'd all the Scotish Shipping in his Ports, and resolved to denounce War against them. Whereupon, the Cardinal and Queen-Mother inform'd the French King thereof, and that the Factions were such, as there was danger both Kingdoms should be united; desiring him further, to send over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, as being of great power in that Country, and noted then to be adverse to the *Hamiltons*: Besides, it added to his reputation,

1543

tation, that it was thought the laſt King if he had died without Iſſue Male, would have deſign'd him his Heir and Succeſſor, and gotten it confirmed by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was ſome ſecret hope given, he might marry the Queen Mother, and divers other things ſet down by *Buchanan*. Theſe motives, together with the French Kings approbation & promiſe of aſſiſtance made the young Lord to reſolve to repair to *Scotland*; whereof the Viceroy being informed, indeavors to get the yong Princeſs out of her mothers hands; hoping therby not only to govern all, but to draw the Engliſh on his ſide; but the deſign being vented to the Cardinal, a guard was given to the yong Queen. Buchanan.

In the mean while the Earl of *Lenox* arrives out of *France*, without diſcovering yet any thing of his Intentions; only he tels his friends in private the Promiſes made him, and what help he might expect from the French King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his ſtrength, he gathered four thouſand men and advances; whereof *Hamilton* being advertiz'd, and finding himſelf inferior in Power, ſent to Treat of Peace, which followed, and an agreement for the preſent that the Queen ſhould be brought to *Sterling*, and four principall Perſons ſhould have care of her Education: And the rather, that it was ſuſpected that the Earl of *Arrain* would have delivered her to the Engliſh. Whereupon ſhe was conducted by *Lenox* unto the place appointed, and committed unto the tuition of *Grames*, *Erskin*, *Lindſey*, and *Leviſton*, and ſhortly after crown'd. The Viceroy being thus fruſtrate, and for the reſt, not much favoured by the People, ſuffer'd himſelf to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he ſhewed himſelf ſo obſequious, as he ſeem'd to hold the name rather then the power of a Viceroy. Inſomuch, that the Cardinal who a little before was in danger of ſuffering for a notable Forgery, now abſolutly govern'd all. Whereof our King being advertiſed, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the help of the Viceroy, but reſolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being conveyed into *France*; and in caſe of refuſal, to denounce War. The Meſſage hereupon being brought, the Scots utterly denied him, ſo that proviſion for war was made by our King. All things yet paſſed not ſo quietly in *Scotland* as was deſired by that State; for as the Cardinall being of immoderate Ambition could not indure the Earle of *Lenox* power, ſo hee endeavour'd to ſuppreſſe him; which he did alſo with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a marriage with the Queen, he adviſed her to entertain him fairly till he had received an Anſwer of the French King of a Letter, wherein, though he made Honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the ſaid Earl ſhould be recall'd. It being not likely otherwiſe that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as *Lenox* was yong, hand- April.

Auguſt. 20.

1543

Buchan.

some, and gentile, and brought up in all exercises of a Cavalier, he past his time in Tiltings, Masks, and other noble disports; In which though he had the Earl of *Bothwell* for Rivall, this Lord yet appear'd so inferiour to him, as he retired home: Nevertheless, *Lenox* finding himself at last deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinall to have the more leasure to ruine him, he protested he would be revenged; neither wanted there an opportunity; for thirty thousand crowns being sent by the French King to him, in the disposing whereof yet he was wished to use the advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he distributed the money amongst his friends; but the Cardinal alledging, that the money was sent to himself, and to be employed in wars against the English, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it against all right, raised an Army to seize on him and the money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of these Preparatives, he gathered in a short space an Army of ten thousand men, saying, he would prevent the Cardinall; who being now desirous to gain time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this expence, entertain'd him with frequent Pollicitations and Messages; *Lenox* also doubting least some of his followers might forsake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edenburrough*, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that some treachery was intended, he conveyes himself by night to *Glasco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton*; after which, hearing both, that the *Douglasses* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his Adversaries, the French King was alienated from him, he seem'd much troubled, & the rather that some noble Persons who desired to end these controversies, were suddenly cõmitted. But as our King prepared now to invade *Scotland*, this busines had another end then he could easily imagine.

And now if just causes of competition to the young Queen of *Scotland* hapned, no lesse just causes for war against *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief or at least the most recent, were these.

That he withheld divers of our Ships, and seiz'd upon our Merchants Goods.

That he detain'd the Pension due yeerly to King *Henry*.

That he had fortified *Ardres* to the prejudice of our English pale, on which also he had incroached. Moreover divers ancient unkindnesses not sufficiently concocted remain'd in our Kings breast: As that he had given his Daughter *Magdalen* to *James*, and afterward the Daughter of *Guise* contrary to his promise and Treaty.

That he had not deserted the Bishop of *Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he once promised.

That whereas with much freedome and confidence he had revealed divers secrets to him, they had been disclosed again unto the Emperor, while he was at *Aignes Mortes* and after

at

1543

at *Paris.* Beſides which, there was a common quarrell taken betwixt the Emperor and our King for having confederated himſelf with the Turk, *&c.* as is in the following Treaty. But to theſe *Francis* anſwered, That our King had failed alſo in not aſſiſting him againſt the Emperor. Our King replied, That *Francis* had violated the Treaty firſt. Beſides, he could not be ignorant of the warres againſt his Rebels at that time; howſoever theſe buſineſſes were ſo roughly conteſted that the Ambaſſadors were ſtayed on both ſides, though at length diſmiſſed, and an open Rupture reſolved. The conſequence whereof having a good while ſince been preſaged by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament. March.

The League with the Emperor was to this effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there ſhould be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourſe.

III. A perpetuall Peace.

IIII. That they ſhould ayd or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives ſhould not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obeyed not, to be baniſhed and proſcrib'd.

VI. He ſhall be taken for a Common Enemy who ſhall invade *England, Guiſnes, Calais, Berwick, Wight, Gerſey, Garnſey, Man, Spain, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Hainault, Artois, Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Namours, Friſe, Overyſſell, Utrech, Merklin.*

VII. And if he invade with ten thouſand men, the Prince invaded ſhall require aid of the other, who ſhall ſend him within forty daies, at his own charges, in this proportion, *viz.*

That if the enemy fall on *Calais,* or the Caſtle, and County of *Guiſnes,* the Emperor ſhall ſend at leaſt as many Souldiers Horſe and Foot, as may be paid for ſeven hundred crowns the day, each crown valued at fourty five Sol' *Tournois.*

If on *Wight, Gerſey, Garnſey, Man,* or *England,* the Emperor ſhall ſend for ayd ſuch a number of Foot, as can be paid for ſeven hundred crowns a day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his countries above mentioned, the King of *England* ſhall ſend him for ayd, ſuch a number of Foot; at leaſt whoſe pay, conſidering their Clothes, Diet, and Weapons comes to ſeven hundred Crowns a day, each Crown worth forty Sol' *Tournois.*

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth aid, whether he will have Men or money, which Money ſhall be paid by the month, conſiſting of twenty eight dayes.

And whether Men or Money be required, the Prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above

1543
42

four Months in one Yeer. But if the Prince in whoſe Aid they are ſent will retain them longer, hee may, at his own charge.

Neither Prince is bound to aid the other in divers places at once: And if both ſhall be invaded at the ſame time by the King of *France*, the one ſhall not be bound to aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a falſe rumour, and the Enemie ſhall neither beſiege any City or Fort, nor make ſpoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the ſaid Demandant is to repay the money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, It is agreed, they ſhall aid one another by ſending Horſe and Foot, or Ships at the coſt of the Demandant: and concerning theſe two Kingdoms, the Number and Coſts of the Aid ſhall be as the time, and occaſion and ſtrength of the Prince of whom it was demanded will ſuffer: which thing ſhall be referred to the conſcience of the Prince ſo call'd upon.

And for the pay of the Souldiers, it ſhall be rated according to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they ſhall be puniſh'd, and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Merque ſhall be given without due warning, to the end the loſſes and wrongs may be otherwiſe repaired by the Prince.

X. That becauſe many ſcandalous and hereticall Books are ſpread abroad by Tranſlations, It is agreed that no Book written in Engliſh ſhall be printed or ſold in *Germany*, or the Emperours Dominions: Nor any Book written in Dutch, in *England*, under pain of Impriſonment to the ſellers and Printers, and burning of the ſaid Books.

XI That there ſhall be Intercourſe of Traffique according to the Treaty made 1520; and confirm'd and ordered in the Treaty of *Cambray*, 5 *Aug.* 1529.

XII. That if there be any damnification of the Subjects on either ſide, the wronged party upon requiſition may have the cauſe heard, and due reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invaſion (as aforeſaid) War is denounced, no Truce ſhall be made by either Prince without the conſent of the other, except there be danger of Siege from the Enemy: In which caſe there may be Truce made (apart) for two months, within which time he is to give notice to the other.

XIIII. That no Peace ſhall be made, nor any Treaty ſeverally with the French King, or any other to the prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty, but

but by common consent; as also no Enemy to either, nor in whose Dominions the other hath any pretence. 1543 42

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the Princes, under their Princely Word and Oath, and under pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and man, and under pledge of their goods, so that it shall be lawfull to invade the Realms and Dominions of the Infractor, to take persons and goods and carry them away, till satisfaction be made: Provided, that they come not to this extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been required, and Justice denyed or delayed.

XVII. This Treaty to be understood according to the simple and plain tenour of the words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwise.

XVIII. It is also covenanted and agreed, that as soon as may be, the two Princes shall by their Ambassadours declare to the King of *France* (requiring his Answer thereto), *viz.*

1. They shall complain, that the Turk (Enemy to Christian Faith) hath taken boldnesse by his friendship to invade Christendome.

2. That he renounce his correspondence with the said Turk, recalling his Orators that are now resident with him.

3. That hee satisfie for the losse and prejudice done by the Turk, through his occasion and procurement, to Christendome; *viz.* First, That hee restore the Town of *Maram* to the King of the Romans. And secondly, That he content the Emperour for the costs and dammages sustain'd in the losse of *Castel-Nuovo*, which the Turk, with the aid of twelve Galleys of the King of *France*, took. *Maramic. Orig.* Aug. 1539.

4. That he cease from War with the Emperour, that he may more commodiously and safely take upon him the defence of the Christian Common-wealth.

5. That he repay to the Germans the losse by them sustain'd, in defending themselves against the Turk.

6. That he pay the King of *England* all Arrearages, and that he give him some Lands and Possessions to secure the satifaction of the perpetuall Pension. And if there be any thing else which each of these two Princes will require from the French King, it shall be lawfull for him to do it, so that he declare his intent therein in open and plain terms, before the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XIX. If the French King either for terrour of conscience, or fear of revenge, shall desire to come to agreement for Peace; neither of these two Princes may treat with him apart, untill the King of *France* hath given them satisfaction: (*viz.*) Till he hath paid the King of *England* all that is in arrear due to him by bargain. Also, for security for the payment of the annuall Pension due for ever, hee shall surrender into the possession of the

1543
42

the King of *England* the whole Country of *Ponthieu*, with the Town of *Boloigne*, and Territories of *Monſtrueil*, *Thercuenne*, and *Arde*, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoyning, as far as the Borders of the ſaid County of *Ponthieu*, &c. On condition, that the King of *England* and his Succeſſors ſhall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feod. On this condition yet, that they hold themſelves fully ſatisfied with the profits ariſing out of theſe Lands for the annuall and perpetuall Penſion. To the Emperour hee ſhall reſtore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

XX. If the King of *France* will not accept Peace on theſe Conditions, or delay it ten dayes after propoſition, the two Princes ſhall denounce War againſt him. Wherein

The King of *England* ſhall challenge to himſelf the Kingdom of *France*, Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Guienne*. The Emperor, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Cities and Towns of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Corby*, *Bray*, *Peronne*, *Hannere* and St. *Quintin*, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes ſhall deſiſt from Hoſtility but by conſent of the other, and for the good of Chriſtendome.

XXI. They ſhall have each a Fleet at Sea to ſecure Traffick: which Ships bearing two thouſand, or (if need be) three thouſand Souldiers, ſhall be ſet to Sea within a month after War denounced to the French King, and ſhall remain there on the Coaſts of *France*, infeſting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor ſhall they licence their Souldiers, or diminiſh the number of Ships or men, but by conſent. And if there be any loſſe by tempeſt or fight, they ſhall ſupply it. For the Deſignes, they ſhall be ruled by the Admirals and the Councel of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforeſaid, denounced by common conſent, in time and place agreed on, (ſo it exceed not the ſpace of two yeers) the two Princes ſhall either in Perſon, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of *France* with a compleat Army; that is to ſay, twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, or leſſe; nor ſhall deſiſt within four months, unleſſe he be beaten, or receive ſome diſaſter (except by mutuall conſent.)

XXIII. When King *Henry* ſhall with twenty thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe invade the Dominions of the French King, the Emperour ſhall at his own coſts lend him 2000 Lanſkeneets, and 2000 of able Horſmen, to ſerve under him, till he licence his Troops.

XXIIII. When the King of *England* ſhall paſſe the Sea to invade *France*, and paſſe thorow any of the Dominions of *Charles*, the ſaid Emperour ſhall give him free paſſage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals and Ammunition, ſo he pay for them at a fair and reaſonable price.

XXV. This

XXV. This Treaty to be ratified and sworn by both Princes within 15 days after Requisition. 1543 42

Commissioners for our King were *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Westminster*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* principal Secretary: For the Emperor, *Eustachius Chappuis*, Doctor of both Lawes, Councellor and Master of Requests to the Emperour, and his Lieger Ambassador here in *England*.

This League minuted and agreed in *February* 15$\frac{43}{42}$, was sworn to by *Charles* April 8, at *Molin del Rey* neer *Barcelona*, in the presence of *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, our Kings Ambassadour, and published in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the expences thereof. Febr. 11.

In this Parliament, a Book intituled *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, receiving its approbation, was in *May* following printed and published in English by the Kings command; wherein he departs not from his Articles set forth *Anno* 1536, except in admitting seven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious manner: for here at large out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments and the Decalogue, the Lords Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and Good works: lastly, adds prayer for the Dead; all with much moderation, as chusing rather to resolve high and obscure Questions in generall terms, then by any peremptory and particular determination to make his people obnoxious; a fault noted by some Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*, both which about these times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without explication or proof, under the greatest penalties. But King *Henry* having laboured first to make Tenents understood, took order in the next place to have them observed on these conditions. Therefore, among other Laws enacted in this Session, beginning the twentieth of *January* 15$\frac{43}{42}$, and lasting till the twelfth of *May* following, this is the first. Sleidan, *l.* 16.

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the decision of Controversies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of *Tindal*'s false Translation, or comprising any matter of Christian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine set forth *Anno Domini* 1540, or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolished. No Printer or Bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid Books: No persons shall play in Enterludes, sing or rime contrary to the said Doctrine: No person shall retain any English Books, or Writings concerning matter against the holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the maintenance of Anabaptists, or other Books abolished by the Jan. 22. Regn 34.

1543 42

the King's Proclamation. There ſhall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New Teſtaments in Engliſh. The Bible ſhall not be read in Engliſh in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Prentices, Journeymen, Servingmen, of the degrees of Yeomen, or under Husbandmen, nor Labourers, ſhall read the New Teſtament in Engliſh. Nothing ſhall be taught or maintained contrary to the Kings Inſtructions. And if any ſpirituall perſon preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the Kings Inſtructions or Determinations made or to be made, and ſhall be thereof convict, he ſhall for his firſt offence recant; for his ſecond, abjure, and bear a fagot; and for his third, ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burned, and loſe all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a qualification of the ſix Articles, which impoſed death upon the firſt offence in this kinde: And as the King was now in good terms with the Emperour, hee might the better moderate them.

That the Lords authorized by the Statute of 28 *Hen.* 8. 14. to ſet the prices of Wine in groſſe, may mitigate or enhance the prices of Wine by retail, as time and occaſion ſhall require. Which Act, though expired before our times, had yet this uſe, that Vintners then were very much reſtrained from couſening; and the extraordinary number of them diminiſhed.

That any perſon being no common Surgeon, may miniſter outward Medicines.

That Biſhops now erected, ſhould pay their Tenths into the Courts of the Firſt-Fruits.

That Penſions &c. granted out of Abbeys &c. ſhould be paid ſtill as they were before.

That Laws ſpecially ſhould be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Councel in the Principality of *Wales* and Marches was confirmed; and divers other Orders eſtabliſhed, too long to be recited here. Onely I muſt not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore uſed in *Wales*, did ſo divide and ſubdivide the Lands of the Ancient Nobles and Gentry there, that at laſt every mans part came to very little; and ſo diſabled them to keep the dignity of their Houſes) was here taken away and exſtinguiſhed.

Hollinſh. *Stow.*

In this Parliament, alſo, a Subſidie was granted to the King, to be paid in three yeers, after this rate; They who were in Goods worth 20 Shillings and upwards to 5 Pounds, paid four pence of every Pound; from 5 Pound to 10 Pound, 8 pence; from 10 Pound to 20 Pound, 16 pence; from 20 and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens, as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum; Strangers not Inhabitants, that were ſixteen yeers old and upwards, paid four pence for every Head or Pole. As for Lands, Fees and Annuities, every Native

Native paid eight pence in the pound from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings. Strangers still after all these rates doubling the sum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid of their Benefices in perpetuity, in three yeers following: And every Priest having no perpetuity, but an annuall Stipend, paid yeerly during the said three yeers 6 shillings 8 pence. Besides which, I finde, by occasion of a dearth of victuals, a Sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Maior and Sheriffs of *London*, as also the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houses were limited to a certain number of dishes: They were forbidden also to buy certain kindes of Fowl. Nevertheless, in regard of the great confluence of people in this Parliament time, and the scarcity of Fish, the King by Proclamation dispensed eating of white-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the eating of Flesh so strictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen were imprisoned for offending herein. 1543 Febr. 9.

And now the Irish finding by *O-Neale*, that the use our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their severall merits and Services; *O-Brien*, *Mac-William-a-Burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick* came hither, and upon notice taken of their desert, *O-Brien* was created Earl of *Twomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanricard*; some others also had Honours given them, and received therein an obligation to continue firm to the English Crown: Of which likewise the Successors of the aforesaid Lords have given ample testimony. June 3. July 1.

The separation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* now standing uncontroverted, and Queen *Katherine* beheaded, our King bethought himself of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found some difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mentioned it was declared death for any whom the King should marry, to conceal her incontinency in former time; So few durst hazard to venture into those Bonds with a King, who had (as they thought) so much facility in dissolving them: therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery estate they were if the King, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no Maids: So that now he fix'd upon the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who, as she was esteemed ever a Lady of much integrity and worth, and some maturity of yeers, so the King after Marriage lived apparently well with her for the most part. The publishing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperour, and denouncing War to *Francis*: For which purpose, two Kings of July 12.

1543 June. Arms on the Emperour and our Kings part, were dispatched to Him; while for more authorising their Message, they were to require performance of certain Conditions before mentioned. But *Francis* not suffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they return'd; and both Princes, without more ceremony, prepar'd for War: The beginning and progresse whereof, that it may be the better understood, I shall look a while upon forrain History.

Jan. 9. *Guillaume de Bellay* Seigneur *de Langey*, one of the compleatest Gentlemen of his time, to whom the charge of all Affairs in *Piedmont* was chiefly committed, finding himself declining in health, desires leave to return home, but too late; for being intercepted by death in his way, he desired the King his Master accept thereof as a testimony that he had served his Majestie to the uttermost of his force: whose losse, I finde, happened more unseasonably, that *Francis* had now need of his best strength against two so puissant Princes as resolved to invade his Dominions in Person. The Emperour set out first, as having divers Businesses to determine by the way; leaving for Governour of *Spain* his Son *Philip*, assisted by *Fernando de Toledo Duc de Alva* as Captain Generall, and *Francesco de les Covos* for other Dispatches during his absence. His chief designe was to draw the Pope from the French King: To which, though the Pope was sufficiently dispos'd, yet he durst not (saith *Sandoval*) Sandov. 2. *Tom.* L.XXV. lest *Francis* should renounce his Authority, as our King had done, and give ear to the Lutherans. Which being certified to the Emperour by his Ambassadours at *Rome*, made him withdraw some Revenues which he had given with *Margaret* his naturall Daughter, to *Octavio Farnese* the Pope's Grand-childe. And now the Emperour having all things ready for his voyage, arrives from *Barcelona* at *Genoa* about the end of *May* 1543, as our May 25. Records say, or *June*, according to *Sandoval*. His necessities yet were great; insomuch, that as he was forced before his leaving *Spain* to pawn the *Moluccas* to *Juan* King of *Portugall*, (and the rather, that some revolt happening in the West-Indies about this time, hee was disfurnish'd of the Revenues usually received from thence): so in *Italy* he was constrain'd to sell the Fortresses of *Florence* and *Ligorno* to *Cosmo de Medicis* Duke of *Florence* for an hundred and fifty thousand Duckats; though yet he wanted not so many reasons to retain these places, as (unlesse a most urgent necessity did excuse him) it cannot but seem most strange, both as he lost so principall an Accesse to *Italy* by it, and such a puissant means of conserving the Florentines at his Devotion: Nevertheless, I finde he would not part with *Siena*, though as being an Island-Town, and without means to be easily relieved, it could not so aptly serve for to make good his Authority in those parts. To which yet I finde *Diego de*

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Mendozza Governour thereof ſo encouraged him, as he ſeemed rather to invite an attempt againſt *Rome.* The Emperour repoſing a while at *Genoa*, was deſired by the Pope to permit an enterview; which at laſt was accorded at *Buſſetto*, between *Parma* and *Cremona*, where the Pope and Emperour did meet *June* 21. Their different ends yet did not permit them to ſpeak principally of a Councell, nor at all, till their other buſineſſes were determined: for the Emperour, deſirous to incite him againſt the French King, and (howſoever) to get money of him, bent his chief diſcourſes that way. The Pope, on the other ſide, ambitious to get *Milan* for his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farneſe*, (who had married *Margaret*, naturall Daughter to the Emperour, as is before recited) intended little elſe; offering for this purpoſe, to make what Cardinals the Emperour deſired, to give an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns for ſome yeers towards his Warre againſt *France*, and yet to leave the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* in his hands. Others ſay, the Pope would neatly have bought *Milan* for his Grand-childe, when the Emperour could give him good aſſurance for his purchaſe, and that the Emperour would not part with the Fortreſſe of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But to leave theſe things to the ſeveral Authors, I finde, that the Emperour requiring more money, the buſineſſe was ſuſpended, and the concluſion referred to Commiſſioners, who ſhould treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his journey through *Germany*: who, for all advantage and ſatisfaction in this Interview, had no account to give at his coming thither, but that hee could proteſt, hee had made ſome Overture of a Councell. The Pope finding thus no certain reſolution given to his requeſt, inclined to *Francis*; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperour being publiſhed, he was highly incenſed againſt him, as having joyned himſelf in league with one who was ſo lately excommunicated, anathematized, curſed, deprived, and made incapable of all Confederation: Which yet ſo little moved the Emperour; as when it was repreſented that the Pope's proceeding herein was paſſionate, and for his proper intereſt onely, and that Religion ſtood upon firmer Principles, then that it could be perſonated in any one man, he did not relinquiſh his former intention: for more confirmation whereof alſo, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his aſſiſting of *Francis*; ſaying, He might with more reaſon prevail himſelf of our King's aſſiſtance, then *Francis* could do of the Turk's.

1543 Sandoval, *l.* 25.

June 21.

The Emperour being now come into the Low-Countries, reſolves to chaſtiſe the Duke of *Cleves*; the chief places of whoſe Country he took in 15 days. Nevertheleſſe, upon his ſubmiſſion, he reſtored all but *Gueldre* and *Zutphen*; of which yet he gave him ſome hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

Auguſt.

Septemb. 7

1543

1546.

This being advertiſed to *Francis*, made him detain *Jone* of *Navarre*; but for her the Emperour afterward gave the Duke in marriage (the Pope diſpenſing with the former Contract) *Mary* Daughter of *Ferdinand*. This proſperous Exploit yet was checked by the ſucceſſe of *Francis*, who this while had taken *Landrecy*, *Bapaumes*, and *Maubege*, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houſes, which yet are not ſo bound to any vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an Academy for their Sex). Afterwards he took almoſt all *Luxemburg*: therefore the Emperor prepared Forces to withſtand him, and recover the ſaid places. To which purpoſe Sir *John Wallop* with ſix thouſand men being ſent by our King (who failed not to aſſiſt the Emperor) landed at *Calais*, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of *France* and the Low-Countries, did much ſpoil upon the French, till he joyned with the Emperors Forces before *Landrecy*, which the Emperor beſieged: whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, reſolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two great Armies being neer each other, it was thought a blow would follow. The Emperor, who deſired much to fight, puts his men in order, which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, ſhewing withall the Imperiall Standard, which one *Quixada* carried, ſaying, If this ſhould fall, and my ſelf too, I charge you to take it up before me. *Francis* alſo drew out into the field, not omitting in the mean time to ſend Men, Victuals and Ammunition into the Town: the two Armies now confronting one another, night came on, through the benefit whereof *Francis*, diſlodging ſecretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialiſts finding this, follow; But as *Francis* had laid an Ambuſcado, he took divers of the more forward; among whom, it was the fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other Engliſh to be taken Priſoners. The Emperor yet continued his Siege for ſome four or five dayes: But as it was now towards the midſt of *November*, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, perſwading the Inhabitants that the French had a deſigne upon them, he counſelled them to build a Cittadell; which they approving, hee found means to poſſeſſe himſelf thereof. He alſo ſent *Hernando Gonzaga*, and *Juan Baptiſta Gaſtaldo* to our King, to treat further of a War againſt *France* the next yeer; he omitted not alſo to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with deſire (as much as ſafely he might) to oblige the Proteſtants to him; And the rather, that the Turks had at this time not onely taken *Strigonium* and other places in *Hungary*, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, in this manner: *Antoine Polin* (afterwards Baron *de la Garde*) had now made two Voyages from *Francis* to *Solyman* the Turk, to ſolicite him to ſend his Sea-forces againſt the Emperor. Where-

Novemb.

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upon *Barbaroxa* was dispatched with Commission to joyn with him: Hee taking fresh water at *Ostia*, within five leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm, that the Inhabitants began to fly; but *Polin* assured them by his Letters: From thence coming to *Marseilles*, *François de Bourbon* Duke of *Aquien* encountred them, having charge to command the Navall Army of the King, which was two and twenty Galleys, and eighteen other Ships: where upon they besieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Castle, which being stronger then that it could be won easily, they carrying some of the Inhabitants with them, retired to their Shipping; and the rather, that they heard the Marquesse *de Guasto* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them; who (I find) recovered it shortly after. And thus ended the two yeers Negotiation of *Polin* with the Turk, with small present effect, and no consequence but the carrying away of a few slaves by *Barbaroxa*, who wintered at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marseilles*. Howsoever, I finde by *Sandoval*, that it was so hainously taken in *Rome*, that some Cardinals in a publick Consistory, mov'd to deprive *Francis* from the title of *Christianissimo*.

1543

Auguſt. 20.

I shall draw this yeer to a conclusion with a beginning given to the Councell of *Trent*, now appearing in some Rudiments. Many yeers had past without any manifest necessity of calling a Councel. Those few Separatists which remained of the *Waldesians*, *Picards* and *Hussites* being disarmed, illiterate, and obscure; and these later not much differing from the Roman Church, but in the difference of the Cup in the Eucharist: But *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and divers others of late appearing, though not sufficiently united among themselves, gave yet the Roman Catholicks so little cause of Glory therein, that their greatest dissention seemed to be who should be furthest off from them: every Reformer in his turn pretended both to discover new Errors, and to shew himself more averse. This made the Pope resolve at last on a Councel; and the rather, that all Christian Princes desired upon any reasonable terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concerned them to settle that Affair: neither did they think there would be much difficulty, when all sides came prepared thereunto, most of the points in difference being to be reconciled in middle and indifferent terms, or to be rejected as doubtfull (upon the grounds taken on either side) or at least not tending to much edification. The Meeting was (as is above shewed) designed at *Mantua* first, by Pope *Clement* VII, 1533; then by *Paulus* III, 1537: but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there suspended during his pleasure, at last it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of *Germany*; which also was hastened by the Pope, as fearing the consequences of a Nationall Councel in *Germany*, whereof the Emperour had lately given hope; so that he was (at what price soever) determined

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1543 termined to prevent it; as knowing wel what prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the defection of *Francis*; who knowing he should lose the Pope in his Businesses of *Milan* and else-where, if he trifled any lon-
May 22. 1542. ger with the Protestants, had made severe Edicts against them. Whereupon Buls also were dispatched every where abroad, notifying the said Convention to begin *November* the first follow-
ing: which yet was in such terms as scandalized the Emperor,
1542. supposing that *Francis* was used therein with more respect then he deserved; since, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having secretly offered his assistance both to the Protestant and Roman Catholick Party in *Germany*, he had declared his intentions were only to foment division; and besides, had colleagued himself with the Turk. But for composing these differences, the Pope
Aug. 1542. having appointed Cardinall *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sandolet* to *Francis*, *Contareni* dying in the way, he imployed Cardinal *Viseo* in his place, one so openly disaffected by the Emperour, that it was thought no good would follow. Howsoever, to make it appear that this universally-desired Councel was not retarded by him, he sent at the same time un-
Aug. 26. 1542 to *Trent* the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Parisio* a good Canonist, *Giovanni Morone* an expert Statesman, and *Reginald Poole*, opposite to our King, and so eminent as might give more authority to all Proceedings against him. Their secret Instructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambassadors and Prelates which should be there assembled, then to treat of any thing materiall without further direction. The Emperor sent hither *Diego de Mendozza* his Ambassador resident at *Venice*, and *Nicholas Perenot* Seigneur *de Granvell*, together with *Antonio* Bishop of *Arras* (his Son) and some few Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who together with some few Prelats (of the most affected to the Pope) being commanded to be present, were all that could give name and reputation to this General Councel: so far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. How-
Nov. 1. 1542. soever, the Imperiall Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, instance was made that the Councell should open, and a beginning be given, at least, to a Reformation in Discipline. But the Papal Legats interposed a delay, saying, It was not convenient to begin an Universall Councel with so little a number: whereupon the businesse came to Protests on both sides; and so the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon, the Imperialists departed, whom also the Neopolitan Bishops followed, and finally the Legats themselves, after having been there seven months without more then this ostentation of a Councel.

Little else happened this yeer of Forrain Affairs, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that *Philip* Prince of *Portugall* (though

(though very young) had given him in Marriage *Donna Maria* Infanta of *Portugall*, by *John* the III and *Donna Catalina* Sister to the Emperour. 1543

Information being made to our King, that divers this yeer were burnt for Religion at *Windsor*, it appears by our Historians, that he was nothing pleased; which yet, whether it proceeded from some better impression hee might have taken of the Protestant Reformation; or that hee grew weary of the too many severe Executions, which had made his Government thought in Forrain Countries to be rigorous, cannot easily be determined. Howsoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though some of his Courtiers, as Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the danger of the Six Articles, he voluntarily gave them his pardon; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Bishop of *Wincheſter*, who was reported more then any to persecute them, and suspected to dislike secretly the Kings proceedings: which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary *German Gardiner* was executed for denying the Kings Supremacy. And perchance, as King *Henry* intended shortly to go in person to the Wars in *France*, the many punishments hee had inflicted on others might have begot some apprehension in him: yet not such as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great preparations of Souldiers and habilements of War, and particularly of iron Peeces and Granades, which I finde this yeer were first cast in *England*: While for the more contenting the Queen in his absence, Hee conferr'd certain Honours on *William* Lord *Parre*, her Brother, who was made Earl of *Essex*; and her Uncle Sir *William Parre*, who was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen. All which yet seemed nothing to him, unlesse hee parted in good terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his most loyall Spouse: and not without reason, since there was nothing I know desired by him, which they performed not. This Session (being the third) began the 14 of *January*, in the thirty fifth yeer of his Reign, and continued till the 29 of *March* 1544.

July 28.

March 7. 1544

Decemb. 23.

The first Act was concerning the Succession: And herein, as I finde he endeavoured to close with the Emperour, in giving the Princesse *Mary* a possibility of Succession; so he setled that Businesse among his children in such sort, that all cause of competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

1544

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Regn. 35. Jan. 14.

The beginning of the Act is a recitall of a former, 28. *H.* 8. 7. touching the Succession; to which reference must be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect, (as I conceive.)

Forasmuch as his Majestie sithence the death of Queen *Jane*, hath taken to Wife the Lady *Katherine*, late Wife of *John Nevil*

1544 *Nevil* Knight, Lord *Latimer* deceaſed, by whom as yet his Majeſty hath noae Iſſue, but may have full well, when it ſhall pleaſe God: And foraſmuch as our ſaid dread Soveraign intendeth, by Gods Grace, to make a Voyage Royall in his moſt Royall Perſon into the Realm of *France*, againſt the French King; his Highneſs moſt prudently conſidering how this Realm ſtandeth at this time in the caſe of Succeſſion; And albeit, for default of ſuch Heirs as be inheritable by the ſaid Act, he might by the authority of the ſaid Act give and diſpoſe the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the Premiſes by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand, to any Perſon or Perſons of ſuch Eſtate therein as ſhould pleaſe his Highneſſe to limit and appoint: Yet, to the intent his Majeſties diſpoſition and minde ſhould be openly declared to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the intent that their aſſent and conſent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majeſties Declaration in this behalf; His Majeſty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond Seas, That it be enacted by his Highneſſe and Parliament: And therefore be it enacted, That in caſe the Kings Majeſty and his onely Son Prince *Edward* ſhoud deceaſe without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, ſo that there be no ſuch Heir male or female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other his Dominions, according and in ſuch manner and form as in the aforeſaid Act, and now in this is declared, That then the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and all other the Premiſes ſhall be to the Lady *Mary* the Kings Highneſſe Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as by his Highneſſe ſhall be limited by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his Majeſties laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his hand. And for default of ſuch Iſſue, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be to the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings ſecond Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as is aforeſaid. Any thing in the Act made 28 *Hen.* 8. 7. to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided nevertheleſſe, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch conditions as the King ſhall declare and limit in manner aforeſaid; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty and Prince *Edward*, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Pemiſſes ſhall be and come to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in ſuch like manner and form, as though the ſaid Lady *Mary* were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten.

And be it further enacted, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do keep

1544

keep and perform ſuch conditions which the Kings Majeſty ſhall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforeſaid; and that the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* for her part do not keep and perform ſuch conditions which the Kings Majeſty ſhall declare and limit, in form aforeſaid, That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty, and the ſaid Lord Prince, and the ſaid Lady *Mary* lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be and come to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the Kings Highneſſe, in form aforeſaid, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided, That if the Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch conditions which ſhall be limited and appointed as aforeſaid, and the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty and the ſaid Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be, come, and remain to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the Kings Highneſſe by his Letters Patents ſealed under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided alwayes, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe the Kings Majeſty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will, in form as is aforeſaid, any conditions to the Eſtates and Intereſts afore limited to the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, nor to the Eſtate or Intereſt of any of them; That then every ſuch of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to whoſe Eſtate or Intereſt no condition ſhall be limited by the Kings Majeſty in form aforeſaid, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch Intereſt, Eſtate, and Remainder in the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes, as is before limited by this Act, without any manner of condition. Any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch as it ſtandeth in the onely pleaſure and will of Almighty God, whether the Kings Majeſty ſhall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highneſſe and his moſt entirely beloved Wife Queen *Katherine*, or by any other his lawfull Wife; or whether the ſaid Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other, ſhall have any Iſſue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if ſuch Heirs ſhould fail, and no proviſion made, this Realm after the Kings tranſitory life ſhould be deſtitute of a Governour to order and rule the ſame: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the Kings Highneſs ſhall have full power and authority to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſigne, declare

1544 and limit by his gracious Letters Patents, under his Great Seal, or elſe by his Highneſs laſt Will made in writing and ſigned with his moſt gracious hand, at his onely pleaſure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premiſſes, to be, remain, ſucceed and come after his deceaſe, and for lack of lawfull Heirs of either of the Bodies of the Kings Highneſſe and Prince *Edward* begotten; and alſo for lack of lawfull Heirs of the Bodies of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to ſuch perſon and perſons in Remainder or Reverſion, as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſſe, and according to ſuch eſtate, and after ſuch manner and form, faſhion or condition as ſhall be expreſſed, declared, named and limited in his Highneſſe Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will in writing ſigned with his moſt gracious hand (as is aforeſaid.) Any thing contained in this preſent Act, or in the ſaid former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

There followeth alſo in the ſaid Act a new form of Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, and the penalty on thoſe who refuſed to take the ſaid Oath, or to interrupt this Act, or any eſtate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom Treaſons committed out of the Realm ſhould be tryed. That the Kings Style alſo, of *England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland, in earth the ſupreme Head,* ſhall be united and annexed for ever unto the Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England.*

That no perſon ſhould be put to his triall upon an Accuſation concerning any of the offences compriſed in the Statute of the Six Articles 31 *Hen.* 8. 14. but onely upon ſuch as ſhall be made by the oath of twelve men before Commiſſioners authoriſed: and the Preſentment ſhall be made within one yeer after the offence committed. That no perſon ſhould be arreſted or committed to Ward for any ſuch offence before he be indicted. That if any Preacher or Reader ſhall ſpeak any thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any matter contained in the Six Articles, he ſhall be accuſed or indicted thereof within forty dayes, or elſe ſhall be diſcharged of the ſaid offence. And this alſo qualified a little the puniſhment of the Six Articles.

That the Lords and Commons ſhall remit unto the King all ſuch ſums of money as he had borrowed of them ſince the firſt of *January, Anno* 33 of his Reign.

That certain Tenures ſhall be reſerved (at the Kings pleaſure) upon houſes and lands, being ſometimes Abbey lands, under forty ſhillings a yeer.

That all Perſons which have any houſes, lands, gardens and other grounds in the Town of *Cambridge*, adjoyning upon every High-

1544

High-way, Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, or, &c. ſhall cauſe the ſame to be paved with paving ſtone unto the middle of the ſame wayes, and in length as their grounds do extend, and ſo ſhall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit ſix pence for every yard ſquare not ſufficiently paved, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of *England*, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of paſſengers.

That the King ſhall have authority during his life to name two and thirty perſons; *viz.* ſixteen Spiritual and ſixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances Provinciall and Synodal, and to eſtabliſh all ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſticall as ſhall be thought by the King and them convenient to be uſed in all Spirituall Courts. But this (it ſeems) expired with the Kings life.

An Ordinance alſo (never ſufficiently commended) was made for preſervation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearſe, I ſhall deſire the Reader to peruſe in his place: There being no Law either more uſeful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navie and otherwiſe,) or whereof the Infraction can with more difficulty be repaired; ſo many yeers, if not ages, being required before they can come to that growth, which any raſh hand may cut down in a very ſhort ſpace.

Some other Acts alſo paſſed, which the Reader may ſee in their place.

And now the Parliament ending *March* 29, 1544, That War which was denounced by our King againſt *Scotland* for the Treaty broken in ſome particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the Lord *Seimor* Earl of *Hertford* was ſhortly after conſtituted by our King Lieutenant General of the North, and ſent thither with a well-furniſh'd Army: for as it was onely a Quarrel of unkindneſſe with the Scots for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of marrying his Son Prince *Edward* with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compoſe the Buſineſſe, then the Prince's Uncle. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* (whoſe ſervice he had heretofore uſed in thoſe parts) was appointed to attend him in his journey to *France*. And now conſultation being had which way to invade *Scotland*, it was reſolved, by Sea; yet ſo, as the Kings Land-Army might make a diverſion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail,) Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* (newly made Admirall of *England*) was appointed to conduct it; who ſetting Sail, ſhortly afterwards came to *New-Caſtle*, where the Earl of *Hertford*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other principall perſons

March 29.

Buchan.

1544 May 4. ſons with the Kings Army attended him. Theſe being ſpeedily ſhipped, came to *Grantham-Crag* neer *Lieth* the fourth of *May*, where ſpending ſome three or four days in diſembarking their men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews* made proviſion to receive them: Our Armie marched in three Battels, whereof the Lord Admirall had the Van, the Earl of *Hertford* the middle, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountred ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides many Foot, led (as our Hiſtories have it) by the Cardinal and divers Noble Perſons: But as they judg'd themſelves too weak, and conſequently offered not much reſiſtance, they were quickly diſcomfited, and their Ordnance taken. Whereupon our men entering *Lieth*, found more riches there (they ſaid) then they could have eaſily imagined. Marching thence to *Edinburgh*, the Townſ-men offered to yeeld themſelves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepared for defence. Nevertheleſſe, our men both forc'd the Town, and burnt it for three dayes together: At which time *William* Lord *Ever* Warden of the Eaſt-Marches, and Governour of *Berwick*, making his way by land, did (notwitſtanding all oppoſition) joyn his Forces with the reſt. The Army thus greatned, burnt and ſpoiled all places about *Edinburgh* in a crueller manner then became ſuch as would obtain the favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Nevertheleſſe, as they could not take the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, they retired to *Lieth*, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they ſhipped their great Artillery, and among them ſome fair Pieces gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships alſo were taken. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of *Lieth*, and the
May 15. Peer of the Haven; and ſo on the fifteenth of *May* the Fleet ſet ſail, while the Land-Army, deſirous to commit further ſpoil, marched to *Seton*, and ſo to *Hadington*, and *Dunbarre*, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait (which our Hiſtories call the *Peaſe*) and a great miſt happening, they made a Halt, being advertiſed that the Scottiſh Army would fall on them: But the Miſt breaking up, they marched on without reſiſtance, and ſo came to *Ranton*, within eight miles of the Engliſh Borders, which having ruined and burnt, they up-
May 18. on the 18 of *May* entered *Berwick*, without having loſt in all this Journey above 40 perſons. Our Navie in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the Scottiſh Coaſts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

The Expedition thus gloriouſly ended, the King found his Buſineſſe nothing advanced; he had done more then became a Suter for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conqueſt. Neither had this Invaſion other event then a generall deteſtati-

on

on of a Marriage ſought for in ſuch rough and unuſuall terms: But our King, who underſtood the buſineſſe otherwiſe, ſaid, That ſince he could not obtain, hee would ſtrive to chaſtiſe. Howbeit, he omitted not to deviſe how he might raiſe a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himſelf. And becauſe the Earl of *Lenox*, now deſerted by the French, ſeem'd moſt proper for this purpoſe, he reſolv'd to admit a Treaty with him: which Affair alſo upon his misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of *Glencarne* and his Brother at *Carlile, May* 17 1544, (as I finde in our Records;) which again was ſeconded in that manner, that our Army now returning, he came by ſea to *Weſtcheſter*, and ſo to the Court, where hee was well received by our King: And at laſt this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Thomas Wriotheſley* (lately made * Baron and * Chancellor upon *Audley*'s death,) the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *William Paget*, by way of Indenture, *June* 26 1544. It is to this effect.

1544

May 17.

* Jan. 1.
* May 14.
June 26.

That for the ſecurity of the ſaid Earl of *Lenox* againſt the power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of *Arrain*, and the ſafety of the Realm of *Scotland*, It is agreed, That the ſaid Earl will obſerve the Articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of *Glencarne* and others at *Carlile*, *May* 17 1544.

That he will be the Kings ſervant and Subject, and ſerve him againſt all that ſhall impugne his Graces Title and Authority in *Scotland*, or elſe-where.

That he will ſurrender into his Majeſties hand the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*, as alſo the Ile of *Bute*, and help him to win the Caſtle of *Roſſe* therein.

That when the King, having the direction of the Realm, ſhall have made him Governour, the ſaid Earle ſhall never call Parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the Kings advice.

That he ſhall fore-ſee that the Kings Pronept be not conveyed out of *Scotland*, but ſtrive to get her perſon into his cuſtody, and to deliver her into the Kings hands.

That becauſe the King hath upon his earneſt ſuit given him leave to marry his Graces Neice the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, the ſaid Earl bindeth himſelf to endow her with the yeerly value of 500 Marks Sterling.

That the King, in conſideration of the loſſe which the ſaid Earl ſhall ſuſtain in *France* by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs poſſeſſions in *England* of 1700 Marks Sterling.

That the King wil aid the ſaid Earl in *Scotland* for two or three months with 500 men; beſides ſuch men as his Grace will ſend for to take and keep *Dumbritton*.

That

1544

That the King having obtain'd direction of that Kingdom, will constitute the said Earl Governour.

In which Treaty, though our King bestowed the Lady *Margaret Dowglas* upon him, and that there wanted not some, who thought it best she should be reserved upon all events, when the young Queen through any accident should die, Hee chose rather yet to gratifie this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetuall obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an Ancestor of that happy Off-spring which hath followed since.

Auguſt. The Earl now possess'd of his Lady, was sent shortly after into *Scotland* with twelve or fourteen Ships, and about six hundred men, under the command of certain *English* Knights: these coming to the Castle of *Dumbritton*, were received with great joy, and feasted by *Striveling*, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when *Lenox* had privately told him that the Castle was promised our King, hee seem'd suspended betwixt Affection and Duty. Though at last, considering that it neither stood with his honour, nor the safety of the Country, to surrender into any forrain hands, he took Arms, and forced *Lenox* and a few of the English who were with him to their Ships, whence they set sail for the Isle of *Arrain*, and burnt all the houses there; and after to the Isle of *Bute*. Some say yet that *Striveling* would have seiz'd on the person of *Lenox*, had he not fore-seen the danger, and escaped; and that he landed in the Earl of *Anguis* his Country neer the Castle of *Dunvin*, and afterwards burnt it; and took *Caintyr* and spoyled it, and all this with the help onely of 140 men more hee had out of his own Country: concerning which exploits, he advertised our King then at *Boulogne*, himself returning in the mean time to *Bristol* (whence hee had his Ships) and staying there till the Kings arrivall in *England*, who soon after commanded him, with some Ships, to scour the Scottish Coast.

Leſleus.

Among the Kings Preparatives for War, that of Money was the most difficult: For though hee had much enrich'd himself with the Revenues of the suppresst Abbies; and besides, received great Subsidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Provisions had exhausted his Treasure. Besides, hee found the money of his Kingdom much drayned away by his crafty Neighbors; while they cryed it up in their Country. For remedy of which inconveniences, he both enhaunced our Gold from forty five shillings to forty eight shillings the ounce; and Silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings: and together caused certain base moneys newly coyned to be made currant; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cryed down in *Edward* the VI his time, and call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*. Howsoever, it serv'd for the present to exchange both for commodities at home

Hollinsh.

home and abroad. Though about two yeers after our Records mention, that the Low-Country men finding the Alloys (it seems) rejected it. 1544

Men and money being now provided, there remained yet not a few difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the Kings absence. Among which, because the greatest was difference in Religion, he endeavoured to quiet all parts, as finding it impossible to unite them. That of the Roman Catholicks he had already so curb'd, as they could hardly make head again: and for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time scarce more then pretenders. Therefore he caused a Letany or Procession to be set forth in English, which much satisfied them, as hoping the rest of Divine Service might follow in the same Tongue. And indeed, our Records tell us, that another English Procession for Festival dayes was afterwards added. As for the Civill Administration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus: The Queen was constituted General Regent of the Realm: Not yet so much, that her soft sex was thought lesse capable of Ambition, as that the Roman-Catholicks (whom he thought onely could stir) would take no dependance from her; she being observed to incline a little to the Reformed. To direct her Counsels yet, the King appointed the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurleby* Bishop of *Westminster*, and Sir *William Petre* Doctor of Law, one of the principall Secretaries, to be joyned in Commission for those Affairs, and on some occasions *William* Lord *Parre* of *Horton* to be called to them. It being provided further, if occasion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* should be the Kings Lieutenant or principall Captain. Besides which generall order for Affairs in his absence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who should stay there and observe all motions: And for this purpose, the Bishop of the Diocesse in every County (for the most part) and six or seven other Noblemen, or Justices of the Peace were nominated; *Francis Talbot* also Earl of *Shrewsbury* was made Lieutenant of the North. And now assurance being given that the Imperiall Forces were in readinesse, hee commanded his Army (which consisting of thirty thousand men, was divided into three Battails) to passe the Seas. The Van-gard apparrelled in blue-Coats-garded-with-red, with Caps and Hose party-coloured and sutable (their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull) were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like habit, by the Lord *Russell*, lately made Lord Privie-Seal, with whom went *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* Marshal of the Field, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentle-

July 9.

Dec. 6. 1542.

1544 June. Gentlemen and others, not a few Welsh and Irish filling up the numbers. These landing at *Calais* about Whitsontide, marched directly to *Montreuil*, where the Count *de Bures* Admiral of *Flanders* with ten thousand Foot, and about three or four thousand Horse joyning with them, they laid siege to the Town, which Monsieur *de Biez* Mareschal of *France* defended; while, at the same time, the Battel, apparelled in the like Bizarre fashion, (the Colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the Conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* the Kings Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-alan* Earl of *Arundel*, Marshall of the Field, *William Pawlet* Lord *St. John*, *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and others, expected the Kings coming; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and see what the Emperor did.

Febr. 29. The Emperors Ambassadors formerly mentioned being returned from our King with good satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in person did meet: the Emperors chief business was, to require aid against the Turk and French their Confederate: which *Francis* also suspecting, sent an Herald to require a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors to come thither: but hee was rejected with ill words. And now the Emperour endeavouring to divide the Protestants, proposed so fair and advantagious a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approved by the rest of the Confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a Contribution by Pole throughout all *Germany*, for a War against the Turk, and half a yeers pay for four thousand Horse, and four and twenty thousand Foot against the French. In regard whereof, the Emperor promised to commit the Business of Religion to certain good learned men, who should write some pious Reformation; wishing the Princes also to do the same: to the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observed till a General Councel were held in *Germany*, or at least a Nationall: And that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augsburg* suspended, and the Anabaptists punished. There was an agreement also to meet again (which followed at *Wormbs*) and so June 10. 1545. the Diet ended *June* 10.

The Pope being advertised of these passages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being resolved to tolerate no Reformation whereof himself was not Authour. Therefore he writ a sharp Letter to the Emperour, *Dat.* 25. *Aug.* wherein he remonstrateth the inconveniences would follow, if any thing were e-

stablisht

ſtabliſht in Religion without his intervention: excluding further the Proteſtants wholly from having any voice therein. 1544

This while the French, under the conduct of *François de Bourbon Duc d' Anguien*, obtain'd at *Seriſoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory againſt the Spaniard, commanded by the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto*; wherein, as the Spaniards conceived, was ſome fatality; their Writers obſerving, that the Battell of *Ravenna* and *Gelves* were loſt upon the ſame day. Howſoever, the French were not a little glorious; yet, as *Francis* knew the League betwixt our King and the Emperour was directed chiefly againſt him, hee prepared for defence: And the rather, that he had heard of a ſecond Treaty, (which was at *Gonzaga's* coming over into *England*, as I take it) wherein both Princes had agreed to march ſtrait on to *Paris* without beſieging any Town, or ſtaying by the way. Beſides, the Emperour had now recovered *Luxemburg*. This made *Francis* reſort to the extreme Remedy in caſe of Invaſion, called the *Ban and Arrereban*, by which all men holding under certain Tenures, are bound for a certain time, at their own coſts and charges to ſerve in perſon, or at leaſt to provide (according to their degree) Horſe and Foot againſt the Enemy: which *Francis* yet converted to a Foot only, and thus he got together an Army of about forty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. As this yet could not ſecure him againſt two ſuch puiſſant Adverſaries, hee diſpatched ſeverall Ambaſſadors to both Princes, with power to offer great and advantageous Conditions of Peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the Emperour (who promiſed our King to march directly to *Paris* with a great Army) had taken divers towns in *Champagne*, as the way unto it, though loſing unfortunately *René* Prince of *Orange* at *S. Diſier*, who was the ſecond of that Family that had died in his quarrell, his Mothers Brother *Philibert de Chaalon* having been ſlain at the Siege of *Florence*. 1530. And now both Armies marching ſo, as the Imperialiſts held the one ſide, and the French the other ſide of the River of *Marne*, news was brought to either Camp, that our Army was landed in *France*, and had beſieged *Boulogne*. The particularities whereof, out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

April 11. *die Paſch.* Sandoval.

July.

Our King, who paſs'd the Seas in a Ship with Sails of Cloth-of-Gold, arrived at *Calais* the 14 of *July* with a Royall Train. July 14. The next day the Emperor's High-Admiral attended him, and July 15. gave account in what eſtate and forwardneſſe his Maſters Army and Affairs were about that time: he adviſed our King alſo to proceed to *Paris* without amuſing himſelf about any thing by the way. But he who knew well what Towns the Emperour had taken in his way, would not be diſſwaded from the ſame liberty: Therefore he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with Forces

1544

to inveſt *Boulogne*, in which Monſieur *de Verven* a young Gentleman, but aſſiſted by *Philip Corſe* a brave and old Souldier, commanded. His Forces conſiſted of a Gariſon of about two thouſand five hundred paid, and as many more able Townſmen.

July 21. The Duke in a ſhort ſpace took (notwithſtanding reſiſtance) the lower Town, lying on the River of *Pont-de-bricq*, and the

July 22. Watch-Tower before *Boulogne*, (call'd the *Old-Man*, or the *Tour d' ordre*, thought to be built by *Julius Cæſar*;) This haſtened the Kings coming; ſo that diſpatching the Emperour's Admirall, hee marched forward in this equipage, *July* 25: Firſt, the

July 25. Drums, Vifleurs, Trumpeters and Officers at Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-Herald next before the King's Banner; after which followed *Don Bertran de la Cueva* Duke of *Alburquerque* (Commander of the Emperor's Auxiliary Forces;) next whom came the Kings Majeſty armed at all pieces, upon a great Courſer; then the Lord *Herbert* bearing the Kings Head-piece and Spear, followed by the Henchmen bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of *Calais* with a Princely Train, an hundred Horſe of *Alburquerques* Company (whereof ſix were barded with Cloth-of-Gold) met him: Alſo the Earl of *Eſſex* (chief Captain of the Men-at-Arms,) and Sir *Thomas Darcy* with many other Horſemen (who ſet themſelves in parade) ſo that the Light-Horſe and Demy-Lance went firſt, then the Guard on Foot, after them the Pike-men, amongſt whom the King rode before the men-at-Arms; for the Wings, fifty Archers on Horſeback, and as many Harquebuſiers were appointed, and ſo they came to *Marquiſe*, where the Army then encamped that night. The next day (being the 26) marching towards *Boulogne*,

July 26. the Duke of *Suffolk* met the King, who took his Quarter on the Northſide of the Town neer the Sea; divers Skirmiſhes paſſing in the mean time.

July 28. The 28, *John* Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admirall, the Lord *Clinton* and about 900 men, who had ſcowred the Seas towards *Scotland*, landed in the Haven at *Boulogne*.

July 29. The 29, Sir *Thomas Poynings* came to give the King account of all that paſs'd at *Monſtreul*, and in his return took *Hardelot* Caſtle.

Auguſt 3. The third of *Auguſt* our Battery began on the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, two Batteries more being afterwards planted againſt it.

Auguſt 6. The ſixth of *Auguſt* Monſieur *de Bures* came from *Monſtreul*; to whom our King gave a brave Courſer richly furniſh'd.

Auguſt 13. The 13 of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Hertford* came to the Camp; and divers Companies of Almaines and Flemmings joyned with our men: Many Sallies and Skirmiſhes (in the which the French ſtill had the worſe) paſſing in the mean while.

Auguſt 19. Certain French Troops alſo endeavouring early in the morning to get into

into the Town, were defeated and kill'd; ſome nevertheleſſe eſcaping into it. Certain Troops of German Horſe came now alſo to the Camp, who were muſtered before the King the next day. 1544

The 24 of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Norfolk* from before *Montreul* came and adverti ſed the King how the Affairs paſs'd there. Auguſt. 24.

The 27, Alarm was given upon diſcovering of ſome French Troops. Auguſt 27.

The 29 and 30, our men approaching ſtill to the Wals, ſhort Skirmiſhes paſt. Aug 29,30.

Septem. 1, our men got the Bray, not yet without loſſe of brave men on both ſides. Septemb. 1.

The ſecond of *September* ſome of our men giving a falſe Alarm to the Caſtle, at the breach which our Canon had made, other of our men brake up certain doors into the Caſtle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, wee retired with loſſe. Septemb. 2.

The third, Sir *Chriſtopher Norris* Maſter of the Ordnance, and chief director of the Batteries, was hurt with a ſhot from the Caſtle. While things paſs'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy of Victuals (being ſent from S. *Omer* to the Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Imperialiſts kill'd. Nevertheleſſe, our Engliſh ſaved and reſcued ſome part. Septemb. 3.

The 4 of *Septemb.* the Pioneers having brought their Work to the Counter-mure of the Caſtle, two Mines were ſprung, which ſhivered the Wall; but made no great overture. Septemb. 4.

The fifth, our men ſapping the Wals, the French kill'd certain Pioneers. Septemb. 5.

The ſixth, another Salley was made, and ſome Workmen were kill'd. Septemb. 6.

The ninth, the Town being brought almoſt to terms of yeelding, certain Ambaſſadours from *Francis*, being *John* Cardinal *du Bellay*, *Pietre Raymond premier* Preſident of *Rouen*, and others, demanded Audience, their Buſineſſe being to treat of a generall Accord; concerning which the Earl of *Hertford*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *William Paget* and Sir *Richard Rich* were appointed to negotiate with them at *Hardelot* Caſtle: our King not doubting in the mean time to carry the Town. Septemb. 9.

September 11, fire was given to the Mine under the Caſtle, the effect whereof the King went to ſee, not without ſome danger, the ſtones flying very far off: whereupon, our men preſently giving on, many were ſlain on both parts. Septemb. 11.

The 13, Monſieur *de St. Blimont*, and Monſieur *de Aix* came out of the Town, and treated of ſurrendring it. Septemb. 13.

The fourteenth, it was yeelded upon condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Victuals and Artillery behinde them. It was thought yet the place might have held Septemb. 14.

1544 out longer, but that *Philip Corſe* was kill'd, with whom (it ſeemed) both their courage and good fortune ended. And ſo, about two thouſand ſouldiers, and as many others going out of the Town, paſſed towards *Monſtreul* in our Kings ſight, beſides divers that eſcaped another way. And thus *Boulogne* was taken, without any mention in our Diary of Canon of Wood coloured like braſſe, which ſhould be planted againſt the Caſtle, as Tradition hath it. Septemb. 14. And now an horrible Tempeſt ariſing, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and ſhipwrack'd ſome part of our Navie in the Haven. Nevertheleſſe, the French Ambaſſadours came to the Camp that night; but as their Tents were blown down likewiſe over their heads, the King courteouſly permitted them to lodge in the Town.

Septemb. 18. *September* 18, the King (attended by *Alburquerque*) entred *Boulogne* triumphantly, The Duke of *Suffolk* (the Great Maſter, who was ſent before to take poſſeſſion thereof, meeting him at the Gate, and preſenting the keyes of the Town) where, after he had viewed the places that needed fortification, he gave Audience to the French Ambaſſadours: But they hearing the Emperor had condeſcended to a Peace (which was publiſhed about this time) did leſſe inſiſt upon a Treaty with us, and ſo Septemb. 25. returned by the way of *Heſdin Septemb.* 25. Some of the Spaniſh Writers yet uſe much art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they ſay, that our King failed in his not going directly to *Paris* (as was agreed). Never conſidering in the mean while, that the Emperour (though having a much clearer way) had taken divers Towns in his paſſage; Beſides, they alledged, that our King would keep *Boulogne* for himſelf, not regarding the common Intereſt. All yet were but pretexts: whereas the reall cauſes were,

First, That *Charles* had by this means taken off *Francis* from his League with the Turk.

Secondly, That he had engaged our King in a War againſt *France*, and thereby made himſelf the freer to purſue his own Deſignes in *Germany*, where he knew the Proteſtants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War elſe-where.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of *Germany*, which hee now intended, he thought the French King could more hurt him, then our King do him good.

Septemb. 19. *The Articles of Peace concluded by theſe two Princes, were;*

Sandoval. I. That betwixt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and *Francis* the French King, and the reſt that will enter into this League, there be a firm and perpetuall Peace.

II. That the Subjects of both Princes pay Tributes, Rights, and Cuſtoms of Merchandize that they were wont to pay.

III. That

1544

III. That all places which have been taken on one part or other ſince the Truce of *Nizza*, ſhall be reſtored: and that neither part may take thence more then their Victuals or Ordnance.

IIII. That the Duke of *Areſchot* ſhall enjoy his Right in the County of *Ligny*, *&c.*

V. That all Places and Fortreſſes that have been taken from the Duke of *Savoy* by either of the Parties, or from the Marqueſſe of *Montferat*, or the Duke of *Mantua*, Duke of *Lorain*, Duke of *Stenay* in *Luxemburg*, ſhall be reſtored.

VI. That the King of *France* ſhall leave and reſtore the Abbey and Lands of *Garagana* in the Emperors hands; as alſo certain Hoſtages for performance thereof, and that he ſhall give unto the Emperour the County of *Charlois* to him and his Heirs for ever.

VII. That the Emperor and French King joyn together in a War againſt the Turk; and that the King ſhall furniſh for this purpoſe ſix hundred Lances, and ten thouſand Foot.

VIII. That *Francis* ſhall renounce all the Right he pretends to hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, the Contado of *Aſti*, as alſo the Right of Soveraignty he had in *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Liſle*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*. Moreover, That the King leave unto the Emperor and his Succeſſors all the right that he can pretend in the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and County of *Zutphen*.

IX. That the Emperor likewiſe ſhall yeeld and paſs over all Action and Right that hee may pretend unto in any State or Seigniory of the King, except the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Auſſone*, the Soveraignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Maſcon*, *Auxerre* and *Bar* upon the River *Seine*. That he ſhould renounce alſo that Right he held in the Cities upon the Border of *Some*, *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, and *Roye*; as alſo the Counties of *Boulogne*, *Guienne*, *Pontheu*; excepting *Therouenne*, *Han*, and other places mentioned in *Sandoval*, and whatſoever in the Eſtate and Limits of *Arras*.

X. That the Vaſſals of either Prince ſhall be fully reſtored unto all that they had, although they had ſerved on the contrary ſide.

XI. That the Flemmings may enjoy the Heritage that their Fathers leave them, though themſelves have not been born in *France*: And that the cuſtome call'd *Droit D'aubene* ſhall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern Priviledges on both parts ſhall remain in their force and vigour. To which purpoſe, the Emperor ſhall renounce (in favour of the King) the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Auſſone*, Soveraignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Auxerre*, *Maſcon*, and *Bar ſur Seine*; and within four

1544 four months after the publication of this Peace, he ſhall procure that his Son *Philip* Prince of *Spain* ſhall confirm the ſame.

XIII. That the Emperor in favour and confirmation of the Peace, ſhall give his Daughter the Infanta *Donna Maria*, or (in caſe he do not give her) the ſecond Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, that ſhe may match with *Charles* Duke of *Orleance* ſecond Son to the King: And that he declare his minde therein within the term of four months after the publiſhing of this Peace. And that if the Emperor will marry his Daughter with Duke *Charles*, then he ſhall give them the Eſtate of *Flanders*, which at this preſent is under his Obedience, and moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* in Dowry; and that they ſhall enter into the poſſeſſion of theſe Eſtates after the Emperors death, to deſcend upon Duke *Charles* or his Heirs Males; and that the Emperor yet living, theſe States ſhall ſwear to the ſaid *Charles*; and that *Philip* Prince of *Spain* ſhall ſwear, confirm, and approve it.

XIIII. That the Marriage being made, the Emperor ſhall conſtitute Duke *Charles* in the Government of *Flanders*.

XV. That *Francis* and his Son the Daulphin ſhall renounce for ever, and depart from any right that they held, or may pretend to hold to the Dutchy of *Milan*, or the County of *Aſti*; and that they ſhall procure within eight dayes after the publication hereof, the Daulphin's Brother *Charles*, and Madame *Marguerite* to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if *Mary* Daughter to the Emperor ſhall die without Iſſue Male, the Eſtate of *Flanders* ſhall revert to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and to his Heirs: And that the Duke of *Orleance* in this caſe may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and Contado of *Aſti*: And that in this caſe the Emperor likewiſe may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and the reſt formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke *Charles* ſhall marry with the ſecond Daughter of King *Ferdinando*, he ſhall give with her the Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Contado of *Aſti*, and all belonging unto them; the Emperor in the mean while retaining in his power the Fortreſſes of *Milan* and *Cremona*: and that the Emperor ſhall give to them and their Heirs Males the Title and Imperiall Collation of the State thereof. And that if the Duke of *Orleance* ſhall have no Heirs Males by this Marriage, nevertheleſs, that the ſaid Title and Eſtate ſhall remain to Duke *Charles*, and to his Heirs Males by a ſecond Marriage. Provided, that the ſecond Marriage be made with the good will and conſent of the Emperor and his Brother *Ferdinand*.

XVIII. That the Marriage with the Duke of *Orleance* ſhall not be deferred more then one yeer after the day of publication of theſe Preſents.

XIX. That

1544

XIX. That *Francis* shall give unto his Son the Duke in Dote the Dutchy of *Orleance* and *Bourbon, Chastellerand*, and the County of *Angoulesme*; And that if these Estates mount not to the yeerly Revenue of 100000 *livres Tournois*, that they shall be made up out of the Dutchy of *Alançon*.

XX. That if the Duke of *Orleance* shall have onely Heirs Females, each of them shall have for their Portion in Marriage 100000 *livres Tournois*: And if there shall be but one onely Daughter Heir, they shall give her 100000 *livres* in ready pay; And that if the Duke shall die first, the Emperors Daughter shall have for her life 50000 *livres Tournois* yeerly; but if it be *Ferdinand* the King of Romans Daughter, 30000 onely.

XXI. That the King of *France* shall restore to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* all the Lands that he hath taken from him (except *Montmelian* and *Piquerole*) in which the King may hold Garison all the time that the Emperor shall retain the Castles of *Cremona* and *Milan*.

XXII. That the Duke of *Vendosme* shall hold the County of St. *Paul* with the same Right that he possess'd it before the War.

XXIII. That the King of *France* shall hold *Hesdin* till it be determined whose Right it is.

XXIIII. That in the Cause of *Henry de la Britt* pretended King of *Navarre*, *Francis* shall not interpose himself otherwise then a Pacifier; nor in the War that shall be for this Cause betwixt them; nor that he shall take any part.

XXV. That the King shall give unto the Emperor a Writing in due form, in which shall be declared, That Madame *Jone*, Daughter to *Henry de la Britt*, doth swear that she will not consent unto the Marriage agreed with *William* Duke of *Cleves*; and that she never consented to it.

XXVI. That the King of Romans (that was the principal Person in composing this Peace) shall enter into, and be comprehended in it; as likewise all other Christian Princes and Republicks that will, keeping the obedience and submission that of Right they owe unto the Emperor. This being signed and sealed by the Emperor and French King, and the other above named, these following Articles were added:

XXVII. That *Francis* should restore to the Heir of *René* Prince of *Orange* the Principality thereof, in that manner that *Philibert Chaalon* enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areschot* entire satisfaction should be made for all his pretensions, according to the late Treaty of *Cambray*.

XXIX. That the King shall restore to the Duke all the Goods that on his Father's and Mother's side belong'd to him in *France*.

XXX. That

1544

XXX. That if *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* gain his ſuit in Law, the Places belonging to him ſhall be reſtor'd.

XXXI. That the Ranſom which *George* of *Auſtria* promiſed, ſhall be annulled and made void.

Septemb. 19. And this was the Subſtance of the League concluded at *Creſpie*, 19 of *Septemb.* 1544. Beſides which Articles, I finde by ſome, That it was agreed, they ſhould defend the ancient Religion, and reform the Court at *Rome:* Whereof the Pope being advertiſed, was not yet much troubled; as knowing their Intereſts ſo diverſe, that they could not long concur. Nevertheleſſe, he haſtened the intended Councel at *Trent*, both as the Emperor deſired it, and as he thought it ſafer to reform himſelf, then to be reformed. Therefore, having underſtood that both the Emperor had commanded the Divines of *Lovain* to reduce Religion into ſome Method and Articles; and *Francis* alſo had enjoyn'd the like to the *Sorboniſts*; he without more delay appointed the Councel to begin *March* 15, 1545, and his Legats there to be *Giovanni Maria di Monte*, Biſhop-Cardinal *di Paleſtina*, *Marcello Cervino* Prieſt-Cardinal *di Santa Croce*, *Reginald Poole* Deacon-Cardinal *di Santa Maria*, all faithfull to him, but *Marcello* moſt vers'd in Affairs, with Inſtructions at firſt, onely to obſerve the Emperors motions, and govern themſelves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at *Wormbs* would ſhortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous leſt the Emperor, French King, and Proteſtants ſhould agree upon ſome form of ſetling Religion among themſelves, and not a little fearfull alſo leſt our King ſhould intervene: Beſides, it troubled him much how to comport himſelf with the Aſſembly at *Wormbs*, as doubting, that if he ſent a Legat thither, he might be neglected: wherefore he commanded the Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* (his Grand-childe) to take that place as in his way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio reſident with *Ferdinand*, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to ſhew he proceeded really in calling a Councel, he gives his Legats order to repair to *Trent*, with authority (according to a Bull framed for that purpoſe) to propoſe, determine, and conclude all that was neceſſary for extirpation of Hereſie, to reform the Church, to ſettle Peace among Chriſtian Princes, &c. by the conſent of the Councel. Beſides which, he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transferre, or diſſolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrement: Nor made he difficulty to begin with a few Italian Biſhops onely of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepared when the reſt came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he ſent to *Spain* to be reſolved by the Prince and his Councel, which of the two Marriages were

moſt

most convenient. But all came to nothing by the death of the Duke of *Orleance* within eight months following: Howbeit, some places taken on either side were restored, and the Emperors Auxiliary Forces before *Montreul* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went shortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Sister the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expostulating the matter with the Emperor; he, for excusing himself, as well as satisfying our King, pretended to make some overture of receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet so, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the Germans being now departed (but not the Duke of *Alburquerque* and some *Spaniards*, who (against the Emperors will) remained in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* (who had made Inrodes into the Country with good successe) to raise the Siege from before *Montreul*, and retire to him. And now finding the season to be far advanced, and little else to be done, our King (after he had Knighted certain persons of worth) prepared to be gone, leaving the Lord *Lisle* to command *Boulogne* with sufficient Forces, and directions what to do upon all occasions. And thus 30 of *September*, he took shipping at *Boulogne*, and returned: The news whereof, being brought the Daulphin (who a good while since had raised a puissant Army) made him to advance. But the Vant-Coureurs were no sooner descried neer the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord Privie Seal (who were behinde with the Army) made ready to fight, sending first yet some to offer skirmish; but the French men fled. Our Army hereupon marching in good order to *Calais* (where shipping attended them) the Daulphin six dayes after attempted between force and stratagem to surprise *Boulogne*. For, being advertised by a Spy that our Approaches were not slighted or levelled, nor any of the three Breaches in the upper Town repair'd, and that the lower Town in many places lay open, He doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there. Thus coming neer with all his Forces about midnight, he commanded *Fouquesolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, *d'Andelot*, *Moailles*, and certain French and Italian Troops under *Pede Marsa* and others, in sufficient number, to give on. These with their shirts over their Armour, coming suddenly neer the lower Town, sent some before, who (as if in favour of us they would have given the Allarm) cryed *Bowes*, *Bowes*: hoping thus, that our men, suspecting nothing, would open the gates, and thereby give them means to seise on it till the rest did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handsomly pursued, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the Italians entering the lower Town in greater number

1544 Septemb. 1545

Septemb. 25.

Septemb. 30.

October 1.

October 3.
October 9.

October 9.

1544 then that they could be ſuppoſed people in their ſhirts, that roſe to give their fellows warning, Alarm was given. Nevertheleſs, they ſo ſurpriſed our Sentinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the houſes without much oppoſition, becauſe the Pioneers (chiefly) and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themſelves) were quartered there; our Souldiers ſcarce ſufficing to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our men eſcaping, ran to the gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themſelves; which therefore were caſt to them over the Walls in ſuch quantity, as now taking courage, they fell on the French and Italians with that fury, as they kill'd Monſieur *de Fouqueſolles*, and divers others who reſiſted, and chaſed the reſt, wounding Monſieur *de Tais*, and taking divers priſoners: And this was the ſucceſſe of the attempt on the upper parts of *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook not without hope (it ſeems) to fire ſome of our Ships, the French proſper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great number: Onely for *Monluc* himſelf, it may be doubted where he was in either of theſe Fights, ſince he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good account of his perſon. For though he ſaith, he came to the Italians, that made a ſtand neer the Church, it muſt be before our men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that ſome of the Engliſh ran away, they were no other then ſome part of the *Corps de Gard* which went to advertiſe the reſt; and for his telling the Colours of our Pioneers clothes (for teſtimony that he ſaw them in the dark) it makes little for him, ſince with more honour he might have told the colours of our ſouldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he ſeen them. Howſoever, he might ſtay ſafely in the lower Town after the ſlaughter committed by *Tais* and the Italians, till our men (as is before-mentioned) returned with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the chaſe; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not thoſe of the upper Town ſallied forth of their Breaches at laſt, to ſecond them. A little before which time, *Monluc*, ſuſpecting (it ſeems) that the Engliſh (upon the Alarm given) would fall on him, deſired (as he confeſſed himſelf) the Italians to make good their ſtand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. But our Engliſh now charging *Monluc*, went further then it or the Town. Howbeit, to ſhew his care, he ſaith that he ſent an Horſeman back, to know what was become of the Italians. But he returning anſwer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and ſome other French provided for themſelves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings* with a freſh Troop of Engliſh out of the upper Town had charged them. *D'Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were adviſed by *Monluc* to ſave themſelves; as alſo

Comment. de Monluc.

certain

certain Enſignes, who following his counſel, got up the hill towards their Army, while himſelf and a few with him, paſſed a ſhallow water, and ſo eſcaped by a longer, but a ſafer way. And thus the Daulphin, who prepared to ſend ſuccours, meeting the Run-awayes, deſiſted, and the Town was ſaved. But *Monluc*, to defend himſelf, ſaith, That for all the fear, he kept his wits ſtill about him, or elſe hee had been in danger never to have been Mareſchal of *France*. And to commend (it ſeems) his direction in running away, he ſhews how neceſſary it is for a man in danger not to be affraid; and ſays, that all the Enſignes had been loſt, had he not adviſed them to be gone; and that his counſell preſerved all: And ſuch Rodomontades as theſe did this Gaſcon uſe, who (it ſeems) was a braver man by day, then by night. All which I have more particularly obſerved out of our Hiſtories and Records, becauſe, notwithſtanding his ſhamefull flight, he ſtrives ſo much to vilifie our Nation. But how hee behaved himſelf in this Action may appear by the Daulphin's jeering him at his return, as himſelf confeſſeth; it being certain, that though hee came in later then his fellows, it was not becauſe he ſtayed longer there, but that he went a further way about. But *Monluc*, to excuſe himſelf, ſaid, It was the Daulphin's fault, that hee came not in with his whole Army: and therein he ſpoke rationally; for had the firſt Attempt been well ſeconded, hee muſt have carryed the Town in all likelyhood, one breach being open, and men ſurpriſed. Nor had he better fortune at *Guiſnes*, and other places which the French hoped to take in; for being beaten thence, he was conſtrained with his Army to retire, without doing more for this yeer. Nevertheleſſe, *Francis* had recourſe to thoſe wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms he alwayes advantaged himſelf: Therefore he deſired that his Ambaſſadours and the Emperors might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *William Paget* were ſent thither: But their deſire being, that *Boulogne* might be firſt reſtored, the Earl of *Hertford* replyed, he had no ſuch Commiſſion, and ſo broke off the Treaty: The Imperialiſts ſeeming nothing ſcandalized, that it had no better effect.

1544

October 12.

While Affairs paſſed thus in *France*, *Barbaroxa* did much ſpoil on the Coaſts of *Italy*, taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seigneur at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſhortly after died of a Calenture, being above eighty yeers old: a great age for ſuch a Pirate as ſpent almoſt all his time in fighting either with men, or the fierceſt Elements. There happened alſo in *July* this yeer upon the Coaſts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the Spaniſh and French, in which the Spaniard, under the command of Don *Alvaro Baçan* (Father of the

July 25.

1544 famous Marqueſſe *de Santa Cruz*) was ſuperiour, three thouſand French (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

Sandov. l. 26. The Emperor now in his wonted neceſſity for money, was adviſed by his Councel to ſeiſe on the Revenues of the Church: For which alſo he obtain'd a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as hee would hear what the Religious perſons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who ſaid, the right of the Church-Goods was rather divine then humane; That the Church was Chriſts Spouſe, and ſhould be decked glorioufly; That ancient *Rome* was Miſtris of the World heretofore, by S. *Auguſtine*'s confeſſion, becauſe the people were ſo devout to their gods, and ſo much honour'd Religion: Which reaſons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had hee not found other wayes to have ſupplyed his wants. Nevertheleſs, his Son *Philip* the Second ſeiſed on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be reſtored.

L. 5. de Civit. Dei.

The Glorious return of our King from *Boulogne* gave much ſatisfaction to his Subjects: yet, as he had drawn a puiſſant Enemy againſt him, he took order to fortifie his Kingdom. And becauſe the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be ſecured, he caus'd ſome Fortifications to be raiſed at *Graveſend*, as alſo at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and many other Places: hee took alſo an exact account of all his Ordnance, which hee diſtributed in the moſt neceſſary places, leſt upon an Invaſion, his Magazine being in the Tower of *London* onely, the remedy ſhould come too late. I finde alſo by our Records, that there were certain ſmall Pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, for defence of his Waggons, of his own Invention, as alſo certain forms of Bulwarks; for he was a great Souldier, and beſides, of a ſingular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in theſe kindes now daily appeared: the Piſtol, among others, coming this yeer firſt in requeſt among the French Horſe; but not the Spaniſh, whoſe manner is, not to leave their ancient forms eaſily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Let us look a while on Scotland.

June. About the time that *Lenox*, on our Kings part, invaded the Weſt of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our men on the other ſide entred the Country, and took *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and then *Coldingham*; which being advertiſed to the Governour and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about eight thouſand, and ſome Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governour ſuſpecting (as it was thought) ſome treachery among his men, poſted away ſuddenly: which cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the Scots, that they likewiſe were ready to diſband, and leave the Artillery then planted in Battery againſt the Steeple, had not the Earl of *Anguis* ſtaid ſome, and with their help conduct-

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ed it safe to *Dunbarre*. This news was brought to our King at his return from *Boulogne*; at what time also the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland*: whereupon, the said Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were dispatched thither with competent Forces. For, though at the request of the Scots by Sir *George Meldre* (sent to him when hee was before *Boulogne*) King *Henry* had granted Truce for a time; yet being newly provoked, hee resolved a War. These entring *Scotland* on the West Border, took *Dunfrise*, and brought home great spoyls; constraining also the people of those parts to condescend to a Treaty, and give Hostages for the observing thereof. Our men puffed up with this good successe, resolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralf Evers* (now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the East-Marches) and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter spoyling *Tiviot-dale* and other Places, and afterward returning to *London*, required a reward for their Service: which, by the Duke of *Norfolk*'s advice, being as much ground as they could win from the Scots, they entered the next Spring (1545); but were defeated, and slain in great number at *Ancram*; and among them *Evers* himself, a brave Lord. Divers also were taken prisoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell the occasion: Our King, for supply of his wants, having appointed certain Commissioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Maior and Aldermen; Among whom, *Read* refusing to pay his share, was sent in this Expedition, with so ill successe to it and himself, as at last, he paid more then the money imposed on him, in a Ransom. As for others, they excused themselves by their penury, in regard the King had taken up so much corn from them for his use this yeer, without repaying the price as yet; so that in effect this Benevolence passed with much grudging.

1544

March, 1545.

January.

The Daulphin and French Army being retired, as is formerly related, Monsieur *de Biez* Mareschal of *France* having gathered some fourteen thousand men together, encamped 26 of *Janury* 15$\frac{44}{45}$, neer *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a mile from *Boulogne*, yet as he had the River of *Pont-de-Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not easie to dislodge him. His designe was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Boulogne* in subjection: which the Earl of *Hertford* understanding, assembled four thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse out of the Garisons adjoyning, and with these constrained *Biez* to retire to *Hardelot*, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two brasse Pieces, and five iron, and much Baggage, and with it some of Monsieur *de Biez* his Armour.

Jan. 26.

Hollinshead.

1545 Armour. And now *Francis* finding that these enterprises succeeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the Town, hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulse the English from those Parts. Therefore he sent to *Scotland* Monsieur *de la Brosse*, and afterwards the Seigneur *de Lorges*, with an Army to joyn with the Scots for invading our Northern parts. On the other side, that he might shew how strong he was by Sea, hee commanded a great Fleet to be equipped; for which purpose *Paulin* (his old Negotiator in *Turky*) brought with him five and twenty Galleys from the *Levant*: The Pope not omitting also to furnish his part: So that he had in all an hundred and fifty great Ships, and sixty of the lesser sort, besides Galleys; his designe being to keep *Boulogne* from being relieved by Sea, while his Land-Forces besieged it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Boulogne*, which being to be finished (as was promised him) by Monsieur *de Biez*, before mid-*August*, he meant with a puissant Army to entrench himself before the Town: having for this purpose sent to leavie twelve thousand Lanskeneets, and six thousand Italians; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the Places we held in *France*. Lastly, for the more encouraging his men, he resolved in Person to be in, or at least, not far from his Armie. Coming thus to *Havre-de-Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to set sail, his faireſt Ship (being of eight hundred tun) taking fire, suddenly was burnt; yet the rest went on, under the command of Monsieur *d' Annebault* Admiral of *France*. Coming thus to *St. Hellens* Point on our Coast, *Paulin* with four Gallies was sent to discover the Isle of *Wight*, and the countenance of our men: whereupon, sixty of our Ships coming out of the Haven of *Portsmouth* in good order, exchanged some shot with
July 18. the French, till night parted them. The next day, the Ship which carried their money sank, the money being hardly saved. But one of our Ships through accident was lost. Our King this while came to *Portsmouth*, as knowing of what consequence the Place was, assembles men from all parts under the command of his Lieutenant the Duke of *Suffolk*: The French yet landed in three severall places in the Isle of *Wight*; but were as soon repuls'd: whereupon, *d' Annebault* having the winde fair, advised concerning fighting with us in the Haven at *Portsmouth*: But the channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they consulted of taking the Isle of *Wight*: but as it was requisite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both men and time would be wanting. Howsoever, they resolved to take in fresh water; which the Chevalier *d'Auxe* with some men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed; as also some others who landed afterwards in *Sussex*. These bad successes made the French crosse over to

Portet

1545

Portet neer *Boulogne*, where they landed four thousand souldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie those places they should have taken in *England*. And now the winde blowing from the Land, they set sail again for our Coast, which our King understanding, commanded his Fleet (being an hundred Sail) to offer fight to them; which the French also had charge to accept; their King not fearing to lose his hired Ships, as long as he had money to procure others: The onely difficulty was, in regard of the currents, how to use both Ships and Galleys together; for in calms, when the Galleys made way, the Ships could not stir; and without them they durst not encounter us. Auguſt. And now the French Fleet having gotten a small winde, and their Galleys coming on, made towards us: but the winde slackning again, their Galleys fel off; wherewith the winde coming about, and our Fleet investing them, an hot Fight of two hours passed betwixt them: but the night parting them, the French retired suddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appear'd no more. Our Admiral yet went to *Treport* in *Normandy*, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took Septemb. 9. divers Barks out of the Haven, and so return'd. *D'Annebault*, as soon as he came on shore, went to the King at *Arques* the sixteenth of *August*, Auguſt 16. expecting the Fort should be finished before *Boulogne*; but it was begun eight dayes onely before, and in another place, call'd *Outreau* neer low *Boulogne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but not command the entry into the Haven. But Monsieur *de Biez* assuring the King yet it would be put in defence within eight dayes more, the French Army marched on, being four and thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, who shortly after encamped upon Mount *Lambert*, being so neer *Boulogne*, as they could shoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor neerer then the Abbey of *Forrest Monstier*, which was eleven leagues off, whither his Son *Charles* Duke of *Orleance* coming, died (as is before touched) of a pestilent Fever. Septemb. 9. This made him send shortly after *Claude d' Annebault* and others to the Novemb. 1. Emperor to renew his Alliance some other way: But the Emperor, who had now engaged our King and *Francis* to a War, and therein reveng'd himself on both, thought it safer to be neuter, then to declare himself either way: Howbeit, he told the French Ambassadours, that he would not begin with their Master. In the mean while, the English Garison in *Calais* and *Guisnes*, making continuall Inrodes, kill'd Monsieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his men; which, together with the dry answer received from the Emperor, made *Francis* to retire to an Abbey neer *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Boulogne*, without adventuring to lay close Siege unto it. October. Onely, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the French Court came thither,

1545 ther, divers ſkirmiſhes paſs'd; in one of which, *Francis* Duke *d' Aumale* eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, received a blow with a Lance between the eye and the noſe, which entered (as the French Writers have it) half a foot into his head, and there broke: nevertheleſs, he coming off, endured the taking it out, and was recovered; divers others of their principall perſons yet being kill'd. And now our King reſolving to diſlodge them, ſent into *Germany* to levie ten thouſand Lanſkneets, and four thouſand Horſe: who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the Country of *Leige*, required their pay, as was promiſed; but it not coming at the time appointed, they ſeiſed on our Commiſſioners, and returned, without permitting them to depart till they were ſatisfied. This while Monſieur *de Biez*, being commanded to enter *Terre d' Oye*, took a little piece of fortified ground; which our men coming to recover, were encountred by his Horſe, and defeated: yet ſo, as (though far leſſe in number) they kill'd many of their enemies.

The Gariſon of *Boulogne* finding the French Army thus departed, enterpriſed the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with loſſe conſtrain'd to retire. The French Army alſo, through the much rain that fell, was forced to leave *Terre d' Oye*, being a mariſh ground, and full of deep ditches: Beſides, our men gathered towards them. And now this puiſſant Army returning toward *Boulogne*, did not think fit to beſiege it: which may ſeem the ſtranger, that wee neither had Forces in a readineſſe to fight with them, nor ſo ſtrong a place to defend, but that half their Army (according to reaſon of War) might have carryed it in a ſhort ſpace: Therefore they encamped themſelves onely afore *Portet*, untill the Fortification were finiſhed. This ſlackneſſe made our men ſo adventrous, that an Enterpriſe of theirs ſucceeded ill, as ſhall be told the yeer following.

July 2. Monſieur *de Lorges* (formerly mentioned) having brought his auxiliary Forces being five thouſand men) *July* 2, 1545, into *Scotland*, many Incurſions were made. Their Army yet incamped no neerer on the Engliſh ſide then *Twede*; yet as they paſs'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon, the King

Auguſt. ſent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve thouſand men to *Scotland*; who deſtroying all the Towns on the middle Marches, paſſed thence to the Weſt, and committed great ſpoils: in requitall

Septemb. whereof, the Scots ſhortly after attempted to enter *England* on the Eaſt Borders; but were defeated, and many made Priſoners, and among them Lord the *Hames* his Son, and a French Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwel's* Son: But they had their revenge; for five hundred Engliſh attempting the Weſt Borders, for the moſt part were taken or ſlain.

While our King was thus in war with *France* and *Scotland*, he

he and the Emperor were not in very good terms; Ships being arrested on either side, upon occasion (as I gather) that a Spanish Ship, coming from *San. Domingo* in the West Indies, was taken by the English. But wee had likewise our complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; also about taking certain Imposts raised by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more then to get money. Which the Protestants understanding, and fearing he would make use thereof to invade them, did easily accept an intimate request from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they sent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Bambach* and *John Sleidan* the Historian, who at length obtaining that Commissioners on both sides should meet neer *Ardres*, two months were spent in unusefull Propositions; so they returned without effecting any thing. Our King, besides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Pension, being neither willing to restore *Boulogne*, nor to suffer the Scots to be comprehended in the Treaty.

1545

July 1545.

Novemb.

Jan. 1546.

And now the Emperor fearing lest a Peace should be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at least in appearance) an Accord, on this occasion; King *Henry* having sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*, and Sir *Edward Carne* to cleer some Articles of the Treaty of 1543 with *Charles*, *Francis* about the same time had sent the Admiral *d' Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he proposed a General Treaty, though faintly, and in such terms that it took no effect.

Novemb.

Febr. 11. 1545.

This while, Arch-bishop *Cranmer* making his advantage of *Winchesters* absence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which also our King once condescended to, and gave order for in great part: but before it was brought into Act, the King received Letters from him, That this League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he suffered any Innovation; and so nothing was done. Little more happened this yeer worth relation (for home events) besides the Parliament business (whereof hereafter) but the death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, Great Master of the Kings Houshold, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Historians term him;) yet withall so discreet and affable, as hee was beloved of all sorts, and his death much lamented. Our King, for his more honour, causing him (at his own charge) to be honourably buryed at *Windsor*.

Fox.

August.

I shall return now to declare the Proceedings in matter of Religion among the Germans, and in the Councel of TRENT.

The Emperor with much industry and cunning having procured

1545 cured a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in *Germany*; his designes there being much facilitated by the recession of the Turk, who leaving the pursuit of his Conquests in these Northern Parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer Climes of *Asia*: so that the Emperor having no more businesse, accounted this yeer the most quiet of many that had preceded: though yet he were not exempt from sundry cares, some Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of Religion, many Offices were passed with the Pope for advancing the Councel; which had his beginning and progresse after this manner:

The thirteenth of *March* 1545 the Cardinal *del Monte* and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being received by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick entry into the City: But no Prelate being yet come, they sent to *Rome*, to desire that their restriction in the Bull (to the consent of the Councel) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, &c. as is before recited: which the Pope granted. The place chosen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 persons. Ten dayes after *Diego de Mendozza* the Emperors Ambassadour in *Venice* * came, and * shewed his Instructions; being, first, to promise that the Spanish Bishops should shortly be present: Secondly, to procure, that Reformation in Discipline and manners should be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legats hereupon sent to the Pope to have publick Dispatches (when occasion was) to shew *Mendozza*, and other private Letters to follow. The eighth of *April*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambassadours came, the number of Bishops yet being very few. The first Controversie was concerning the Spanish Ambassadours pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: but the businesse was ordered so as no advantage appear'd. This preparative for a Councel being divulged, produced divers and contrary effects; some resolving to beleeve all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleased them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the Diet of *Wormbs* protested against it, as partiall and factious: while *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceeded with Arms against the few *Waldese* that remained in his Kingdom in that violent manner, as without other warning or instruction, he permitted his Souldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards *Provence* and *Languedock*) to destroy more then four thousand persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more security of his City, desired a Garison from the Pope: but was answered, That the Councel could not then seem free; which more imported him, then the safety of the

* March 23.
* March 27.

April 8.

March 24.

Soave.

City

City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanced, Cardinal *Poole* came, and ſpeech was had of opening the Councel. But as the Pope's deſignes tended another way, hee ſent the Cardinal *Aleſſandro Farneſe* his Grand-childe to the Emperor now at *Wormbs*, to offer a large Contribution of Men and Money for ſuppreſſing of Hereticks; promiſing alſo to procure help from other Italian Princes; and to proceed with Spirituall and Temporall Arms. He repreſented alſo how ill the Pope took the late ſpeech of a Nationall Councel, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promiſed another for the ſetling of Religion, in caſe the Councel of *Trent* took no order therein; in the mean while proteſting, that he would ſooner yeeld up his Keys to Saint *Peter*, then ſuffer ſuch an affront. Beſides which, he had private Inſtructions to procure that the right of Inheritance of *Parma* and *Piacenza* might be inveſted in his Nephew *Ottavio*, Son to his Brother *Pietro Aloyſio Farneſe* (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the ſaid *Ottavio* had married *Marguerite* natural Daughter to the Emperor: which at laſt alſo, upon the exchange of *Camerino*, was granted. And now towards the end of *May*, there were twenty Biſhops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor *de la Ruota* aſſembled; yet as the Councel began not, the Pope being deſirous firſt to ſee the ſucceſſe of the Diet at *Wormbs*, the Biſhops deſired to be gone, but were not permitted. Nevertheleſſe, *Mendozza* returned to his former Ambaſſage at *Venice*, deſiring nothing might be done in his abſence. The Biſhops alſo weary of their ſtay, or expence, reſolved at laſt to depart: which the Pope taking notice of, diſtributed ſome money among them. This while *Herman* Arch-Biſhop of *Colen*, having made a private Reformation by the means of *Martin Bucer* and *Philip Melanchthon*, his Clergy oppugning it, complained to the Emperor, who cited the Arch-biſhop: with which, though the Pope was offended, yet he did not ſo much expoſtulate the matter with the Emperor, as deſire to conſerve his own Authority: Therefore hee cited the Arch biſhop too.

1545

May.

1543.

1544. June.

July 18.

And now in the Diet at *Wormbs* the Emperor required aid againſt the Turk; which the Proteſtants refuſed (as fearing it would be imployed againſt them) unleſs firſt good ſecurity were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Councel at *Trent* ſhould be no prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor anſwered, That he could not exempt them from the authority of the Councel (eſpecially, being call'd for their ſakes;) yet if they had any juſt objections againſt it, that they ſhould come and produce them openly in the Councel, and they ſhould have an equal hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except againſt it, proteſted thoſe were not to judge of their Cauſe, who had already condemned it: Therefore, if a Councel were had, they ſhould make one part, and Pope and Roman Catho-

Sleidan.

1545 licks the other: And as for the manner and order, that the Emperor and Princes ſhould be Judges; but for the merit of the Cauſe, that it ſhould be determined onely by the word of God. The Emperor finding thus no likelihood of Peace, diſſembled his diſpleaſure till he had made peace with the Turk, (which he did by the means of *Francis* this yeer in *October*). And ſo the Diet ended the fourth of *Auguſt*, with a Decree to hold another at *Ratisbone* in *January* following. For which purpoſe there ſhould be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either part, in *December*, to prepare Matters of Religion againſt that time. And now the Proteſtants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Councel, ſaying, it was not aſſembled in *Germany* (as was promiſed,) but in *Trent*, and by the Pope's power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in *Germany*, then becauſe the Biſhop of *Trent* was a Prince of the Empire: Beſides, that the Pope (a party) ſhould not precide in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding a Councel ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, and whence it had its Authority. But this reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it diſpleaſed the Pope and his Legats, ſince the Councel was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controverſies; ſo it made the Biſhops again take leave to be gone: and in effect, by the end of *September* few remained. The Pope finding theſe difficulties, knew not well what to reſolve; yet when motion was made for holding it in *Germany*, he refuſed, but ſent to the Emperor to adviſe with him concerning the opening the Councel, or ſuſpending it, or transferring it to *Italy*. The Emperor (as Affairs then ſtood) not much approving any of theſe Propoſitions, at laſt (in *October*) gave conſent the Councel ſhould open: Yet ſo, as they ſhould treat of matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Proteſtants. This, again, gave the Pope no little jealouſie, leſt the Emperor would make his Eccleſiaſtical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference. Howbeit, he commanded the Councel ſhould begin the thirteenth of *December*: The French Prelates, being but three, having written to their King moſt of theſe paſſages, were ſent for home; yet, at the interceſſion of the other Biſhops, two remained. The 13 of *December* being come, the Legats (after a ſolemn Faſt and Proceſſion) meeting in the Cathedral, opened the Councel, declaring, that it was aſſembled for three cauſes: 1. Deſtroying Hereſie. 2. Reforming Diſcipline. 3. Setling Peace: exhorting the Biſhops to labour ſeriouſly herein. After which, the Emperors Inſtructions to *Mendozza* (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the Legats ſaid, they would adviſe thereof: and ſo appointing the next Seſſion to be held *January* 7 following, they aroſe, and preſently ſent to the Pope, declaring

Auguſt 4.

Sleidan.

Concil. Trid.

Septemb.

Octob. 31.

Decemb. 13.

claring what was done, and desiring to know how they should begin; whether with Heresies, and if so, whether they should touch the Heresies, or Persons, or both? whether they should send forth a Declaration that the Councel was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? whether they should hasten or delay their Proceedings? in what manner the Suffrages were to be collected? &c. The 18 of *December* they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, &c. The Pope hearing thus the Councel was opened, writes, That concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet resolved; in the mean time, that they should insist on the usuall Preambles: That they should follow in their manner of Suffrages, the last *Lateran* Councel: That they should invite no Prince or Prelate, since the Indiction of the Councel was sufficient: As for the charges of the Bishops, Exemption from payment of Tenths was granted, and some other Benefits, and money given to the poorer sort: All which I have set down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a slow and uncertain beginning this great Councel had, and what a different end it took, from that it now seem'd to promise. 1545 Decemb. 18.

I will conclude this yeer with the busineſſe of our Parliament; which began the 23 of *November* 1545. Which, as it was the last the King call'd; so, supply of money being the principal Affair, it seem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at least of other mens: neither was there other excuse then the Kings necessities, which every man must think violent, when they trenched upon the reverend Foundations of Colledges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and stipendiary Priests which had continuance in perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the Kings dispose, and that they should be in the order and survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet saved, and divers Provisions made. For motive whereof, the Kings great charges in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland* were alledged; as also the abuses of the Rulers and Governours of the said Colledges, &c. Upon which therefore, and his solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the Realm, the Act passed. Novemb.

In another Act it was declared, how offenders in Usury should be punished; and a certain proportion of Ten in the Hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy way of thriving being more opposite then any thing else to

that

1545 that Industry by which all Kingdoms subsist and flourish.

That Doctors of the Civil Law, although Lay-men, whether married or unmarried, might exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to which they shall be deputed.

That two Churches, being not above a mile distant, and one of them not above the yeerly value of six pound, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a *Tales* might be granted *de Circumstantibus*: And this was much for the expedition of Justice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councel, Lord Privie Seal, and the two chief Justices, or five, four, or three of them should have power by their discretions to set the prices of all kinde of Wines, as by the Act 28 *Hen.* 8. 14 appeareth: the time was now specified to be betwixt the twentieth of *November* and last of *December*: And that if any Wine-seller should sell his Wine in grosse at any other price, That the Maior, Bailiffs, Aldermen, &c. may enter into his house, and sell it according to the rate set down.

A Subsidie also was granted by the Spiritualty of six shillings the Pound: and by the Temporalty of two shillings eight pence the Pound in Goods, and four shillings the Pound in Lands, to be paid all within two yeers. And so the 24 of *December* the Parliament was prorogued: At which time the Speaker of the Lower House making an eloquent Oration, the King in Person made this ensuing Answer; being the more memorable, that it was both full of good intention and advice, and the last he ever spake in that place.

Decemb. 24.

ALthough my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time used very eloquently and substantially to make Answer to such Orations as hath been set forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my minde and meaning, and the secrets of my heart in so plain and ample manner as I my self am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon mee to answer your eloquent Oration (Mr Speaker) say, That where you, in the name of our wel-beloved Commons, have both praised and extolled mee for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in mee, I most humbly thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have; of which Gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren: but of such small qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his Goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to mee such notable Vertues and Princely Qualities, as you have alledged to be incorporated

in

1545

in my Perſon. Theſe thanks for your loving admonition and good counſel firſt remembred; I eftſoons thank you again, becauſe that you conſidering our great charge, not for our pleaſure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great coſt which we have lately ſuſtained, as well in defence againſt our and your Enemies, as for the conqueſt of that Fortreſſe which was to this Realm moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be (by Gods grace) hereafter to our Nation moſt profitable and pleaſant, have freely of your own mindes granted to us a certain Subſidie, here in an Act ſpecified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſſe, then the profit thereof, as He that ſetteth more by your loving hearts, then by your ſubſtance. Beſides this hearty kindneſſe, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I conſider the perfect truſt and confidence which you have put in me, and as men having undoubted hope, and unfained belief in my good doings and juſt proceedings for you, without my deſire or requeſt, have committed to mine order and diſpoſition all Chantries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other Places ſpecified in a certain Act, firmly truſting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of the Common-wealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your expectation) ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is ſo great a Jewel) to be miniſhed, or poor and miſerable people to be unrelieved, you might ſay, that I being put into ſo ſpecial a truſt as I am, in this caſe, were no truſty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Chriſtian, neither a lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account muſt be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerved more godly and goodly, then you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceive. Now, ſith I finde ſuch kindneſs in your part towards me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you; affirming, that no Prince in the world more favoureth his Subjects, then I do you; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Soveraign Lord, then I perceive you do; for whoſe defence my Treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor (if neceſſity require) my Perſon ſhall not be unadventured. Yet although I wiſh you, and you wiſh me to be in this perfect love and concord; this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects ſtudy and take pains to amend one thing, which ſurely is amiſs and far out of order; to the which I moſt heartily require you: which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongſt you, but Diſcord and Diſſention beareth rule in every place: Saint *Paul* ſaith to the *Corinthians* the 13 Chapter, *Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud*, and ſo forth in the ſaid Chapter. Behold then, What love and charity is

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1545 amongſt you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptiſt; and he calleth him again Papiſt, Hypocrite and Phariſee? Be theſe tokens of charity amongſt you? Are theſe ſignes of fraternal love betwixt you? No, no, I aſſure you, that this lack of charity among your ſelves, will be the hinderance and aſſwaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I ſaid before) except this wound be ſalved and clearly made whole. I muſt needs judge the fault and occaſion of this diſcord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spiritualty: For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I muſt judge him a lecherous and carnal perſon: If I ſee a man boaſt and brag himſelf, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one againſt another, without charity or diſcretion; ſome be too ſtiffe in their old *Mumpſimus*, others be too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*: Thus all men, almoſt, be in variety and diſcord, and few or none preach truly and ſincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable perſons doing this? No, no, I cannot ſo do: Alas, how can the poor ſouls live in concord, when you Preachers ſow amongſt them in your Sermons debate and diſcord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkneſs. Amend theſe crimes, I exhort you, and ſet forth Gods word both by true preaching, and good example-giving: or elſe I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Miniſter here, will ſee theſe Diviſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected according to my very duty, or elſe I am an unprofitable Servant, and untrue Officer. Although, I ſay, the Spiritual men be in ſome fault that charity is not kept amongſt them: yet the Temporalty be not cleer and unſpotted of malice and envie: For you rail on Biſhops, ſpeak ſlanderouſly of Prieſts, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good order and Chriſtian Fraternity. If you know ſurely that a Biſhop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverſe Doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Councel, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order ſuch cauſes and behaviours: And be not Judges of your ſelves, of your phantaſtical opinions and vain Expoſitions. In ſuch high Cauſes you may lightly erre; and although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you muſt underſtand, that it is licenſed you ſo to do, onely to inform your own conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and Family; and not to diſpute, and make Scripture a railing or taunting ſtock againſt Prieſts and Preachers, as many light perſons do. I am very ſorry to know and hear, how unreverently that moſt pecious Jewel, the Word of God, is diſputed, rimed, ſung, and jangled in every Ale-houſe and Tavern, contrary

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to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame: And yet I am even as much ſorry, that the Readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly, and ſo coldly. For of this I am ſure, that charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and vertuous and godly living was never leſſe uſed, nor God himſelf among Chriſtians was never leſſe reverenced, honoured or ſerved. Therefore, as I ſaid before, Be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother; love, dread and ſerve God; to the which, I, as your Supreme Head and Soveraign Lord exhort and require you: and then I doubt not but that love and league that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall never be diſſolved or broken betwixt us. 1545

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the ſame; or elſe your labour ſhall be in vain, and your Common-wealth nothing relieved. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Aſſent to be given to ſuch Acts as have paſſed both Houſes, they ſhall be read openly, that you may hear them. And ſo they being read, the King aſſented, and roſe.

The Parliament thus ended, and notice given to both Univerſities that the Colledges were at the Kings diſpoſe, that of *Cambridge* firſt implored his favour, Beſeeching him to defend their Poſſeſſions from the covetous and greedy mindes of thoſe who knew not Learning. That of *Oxford* alſo petitioned to this purpoſe; and Doctor *Richard Cox* Dean of *Oxford*, the Prince's Tutor writ to Secretary *Paget*, to repreſent the lack of Schools, Preachers, Houſes and Livings for Orphans. And ſince the diſpoſition of Chantries, &c. was in the King's hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honeſtly, leſt Beggery ſhould drive them to Flattery, Superſtition and old Idolatry: which (ſaith he) I ſpeak not, as if I diſtruſted the Kings goodneſs, but becauſe there are ſuch a number of importune Wolves as are able to devour Chantries, Cathedral Churches, Univerſities, and a thouſand times as much: adding in concluſion, that Poſterity will wonder at us. Which particulars being in an Original from *Cox*, I have the rather inſerted, that it may be gathered what he was, to whom the tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much intreaty needed not for the Univerſities; for in our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Univerſities did humbly thank his Highneſs for the continuance of their Houſes with their Lands; which, though I beleeve, the King never meant to take away, yet I finde two of the Profeſſions were in danger of being remov'd, the King having adviſed once of placing all the Civilians in *Oxford* in one Colledge, and the Phyſicians and Chirur- 1546 45 Febr. 14. Records. Febr. 19. Octob. 1546. Octob. 1546.

1546 45

gians in another. Howsoever, nothing was stirr'd or altered, that I can finde; the King being so far from diminishing those famous Nurseries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increase and augment them. Though yet forraign Parts were astonish'd not a little, why our Parliament should put them in this hazard, they being usefull on any part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without singular prejudice to their Founders; who having separated them for the Service of God, and publick Education, laid heavie imprecations on any which should divert them from that use; as appears in the ancient Charters.

The Earl of *Surrey* (who now commanded in *Boulogne*) hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at *Oultreau*, resolves to intercept it: But as the *Rhingrave* with four thousand Lanskeneets, together with many French under the Mareschal *de Biez* stood firm, our men, not able to break them, were discomfited, and Sir *Edward Poynings* with divers brave Gentlemen slain; the Earl himself also being constrained to save himself as he could. Nevertheless, by a Letter of his to the King, *Jan.* 8. 1546, it appears there were many kill'd on the other side; which yet did so little satisfie our King (who lov'd no noyse but of Victory) that he ever after disaffected him: for which cause also he was shortly removed, and the Earl of *Hertford* appointed to succeed. Whereupon Sir *William Paget* omitted not by Letter to admonish him to seek some eminent place in the Army under the said Earls command, lest (as he said) he should be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl desirous in the mean time to regain his former favour with the King, skirmishes with the French, and puts them to the worst: But when together he certified that the French had made Canon of a greater Calibie then had been yet seen, wherewith they hoped to beat the Town to powder, and that it was worthy consideration, whether low *Boulogne* should stand, as being not defensible, the Kings Councel wish'd him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning these points. Whereupon the Earl of *Hertford* and Lord Admiral were sent over with an Army of nine thousand and three hundred men; whereof one thousand five hundred were Spaniards, two hundred were Italians, three hundred Clevois, and three thousand Lanskeneets under *Conrad Pfenning*; a greater number of forraign Souldiers then stood with exact reason of War, where there is no assured ground of a vertuous emulation. With these the Earl encamped neer *Hambletveil*, betwixt *Calais* and *Boulogne*: for as the French intended to intercept all intercourse betwixt both places, they would have fortified there; But our men got it two days onely before they came, and built two Forts on that Coast. Some fights pass'd at Sea this while, whereof

Jan. 8.

Feb.

Records

March.

1546

where of one is memorable, of ſeven or eight Engliſh in a ſmall Veſſel, who being maſter'd by a far greater number of French, entred their Ship, as pretending to ſave themſelves out of their own Barque, which now began to ſink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by caſting water on them, raiſed ſuch a ſmoak, as, through their continuall throwing of them, blinded the French, and at laſt made them run under Hatches, where at length being ſhut up, their Ship was brought away. Much fighting alſo paſs'd betwixt our Ships and the French Galleys, in Calms, while through the benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleaſed. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take head, the Lanſkeneets mutined, not without ſhew of falling on the Engliſh; but the Spaniards ſtanding firm to our ſide, all was compoſed.

The 21 of *May* the French Army came and encamped beyond *Boulogne*, neer the Church on the hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of *Hertford* come up and ſkirmiſh with them. The 23 they fought again, and took divers Priſoners of note. And now each ſide attending his advantage to fight, a Surceaſe of War for five or ſix dayes was concluded, and after it a Peace: Which, that it may ſeem leſſe ſtrange, I ſhall not ſo much alledge (for reaſon) that our Kings Treaſure was exhauſted (which the French pretend,) as that the conſideration of the imminent Councel gave all Chriſtian Princes occaſion to deſire good intelligence among themſelves, and our King particularly; who was advertiſed, that Cardinal *Poole* and others would labour to procure a Decree againſt him and his Poſterity: which, though our King regarded not otherwiſe then became a Prince of his courage; yet he thought it more conſiderable then the Pope's ſingle Bull; therefore he endeavoured to get him friends: And becauſe he was in good terms already with the Emperor, who for the ſetling of Religion each-where mediated a General Peace, he thought fit alſo to take in *Francis*, and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, *Francis* had promiſed his aſſiſtance on all occaſions: and thus the Peace took effect. Which I finde was ſo politickly handled by our King, that had his Predeceſſors obſerv'd the rule he now held, the French Writers could never have ſo much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight yeers next enſuing, he got the preſent advantage; which as the eternall Maxime in matter of Treaties, to frame Counſels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; ſince by the practice thereof onely, I dare ſay, the French have uſurped and won ſo much upon us; as knowing it impoſſible, but that betwixt Neighbouring Princes, in a little ſpace, thoſe occaſions may be found or urged, which will help them to come off

May 21.

May 23.

May 24.

1546 whensoever they are disposed. There will be no danger therefore to retort this Maxime: not yet that I approve a facility in dissolving Leagues, which should be inviolably kept, especially while the causes remain; but that they being dissolved, we may prevail our selves of the present occasion; not omitting yet any circumstance, to which in point of Oath and Honour we are obliged. This present Treaty (concluded the seventh of *June* 1546 at *Campe*, a place betwixt *Ardres* and *Guisnes*) was of this Tenor:

I. That all Injuries and Affronts since the beginning of the last War, should be forgotten, and Peace and Friendship re-established.

II. That neither should invade, nor procure nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions, or Lands, or Cities which are now in the hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one shall have free commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free passage without safe conduct, so they exceed not the number of an hundred armed persons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impositions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other within twenty yeers last past, shall be released, and no new ones imposed.

V. VI. That Rebels and Traitors shall not be entertain'd or protected: but delivered to their Soveraign within 20 dayes after requisition.

VII. That no Letters of Represails or Merke, or counter-Merke should be granted but upon the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in case of open denyal of Justice; which shall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requisition. And if any thing during this Peace shall be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the offendors to be punished, and the Peace to remain.

VIII. That the Christian King shall pay the King of *England* all Pensions due to him during his life, and also to his Successors for ever, according to the Treaty at *More*, 30 *August.* 1525. As also that Pension of Salt agreed on 30 *April*, 1527, and afterwards reduced to a certain Sum of Mony, (*viz.*) 10000 Crowns, which is to be paid yeerly at two payments during the natural life of *Henry* VIII. If the said payment appear not to be perpetual: but if it be found to be perpetual, then the French King and his heirs and Successors shall continue the said Pension for ever.

IX. The French King shall pay to the King of *England* on the Feast of Saint *Michael* (or within ten dayes after that day) which shall be *Anno Domini* 1554, for Arrerages, as well of Pensions not paid, as for his charges in Fortifications within the Town and County of *Boulogne*, since the beginning of the last War,

1546

War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this time and the said 1554, the sum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, upon the payment whereof the said most Christian King shall be free from all former Arrerages whatsoever.

X. Because the King of *England* by vertue of certain Letters of the French King Dated 29 *Jan.* 1529, claims as due unto him the sum of 500000 Crowns, *de Soliel*, 22 Sols and 6 Denyers: it is agreed that there shall be Commissioners appointed on both sides (within three months hence) to hear and end that cause; which sum the King of *France* (if it be so adjudg'd) shall pay when he pays the two Millions aforesaid. But if the Commissioners conclude nothing, the matter shall be devolved to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be chosen by them, and that shall stand which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of *France* shall suffer the King of *England* quietly to enjoy the Town of *Boulogne*, and the Castles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: *viz.* the Haven of *Boulogne* with the farther Shore, as far as the highest water comes; and the land in length as far as *Pont de Bricque*, which shall be the limit on that part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within these bounds the King of *England* shall quietly possesse, until the King of *France* hath fully paid the aforesaid two Millions (as also the Sums expressed Article X) in the time, place and manner limited.

XII. That when the said Sums are paid, at the same time the King of *England* shall surrender *Boulogne*, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him since the taking thereof, so that no Fortification shall be impair'd. Neither shall the King of *England* be bound hereby in the restoring of the said places, to leave behinde him any moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof to the day of St. *Michael* 1554, neither of the two Princes shall raise any new Fortification within the County of *Boulogne* (but those that have been begun already they may perfect.)

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The Scots are comprehended in this Treaty, against whom the King of *England* shall not wage War, unlesse new occasion be given; in which case, this present comprehension of the Scots shall receive that interpretation which is contained in the Treaty of the Date of *April* the fifth, 1515: with this alteration, that although by the said Treaty of 1515, fifteen days onely were prescribed to the French King to intimate the said Comprehension to the Scots; yet now, by reason of the distance of place, there is allowed thirty days, next following the conclusion hereof.

XVI. This

1546

XVI. This Treaty ſhall be ratified within forty dayes after the Date hereof.

Commiſſioners for our King were,

John Viſcount *Liſle*, Admiral;
Sir *William Paget*, Secretary; and
Doctor *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*.

And on *Francis* his part,

Claude d' Annebault Mareſchal and Admiral of *France*;
Pierre Raymond premier Preſident de Rouen; and
Guillaume Bouchecel, Secretary.

This peace being Proclaimed in *London* upon the thirteenth of *June*, a generall proceſſion was there made, and all the richeſt ſilver Croſſes out of the ſeverall pariſh-Churches carried, and the braveſt Copes worne, for the greater ſolemnity; But our Hiſtorians note it as fatal, it being the laſt time they were publikely uſed, ſince our King called them in ſhortly after, together with the Church plate, into his treaſury and wardrobe, without that other cauſe appeared thereof, then that he ſuſpected the warre would break out again, betwixt him and *France*, of which alſo this overture was given.

May 25. The Earl of *Hertford* being certified (during the Treaty) that the clauſe of not making any new fortification, would be prejudiciall, was commanded by our King to raiſe a fort according to a plot given; but ſuch was the prevention of this diligent Earl that he had already begun it about the thirtieth of *May*. Our King in the mean while proteſting that he liked not the Article. But the French as little liking our fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to reſtore *Boulogne*) ſome difficulty was interpoſed. Though as our King anſwered, he could not ſo much as hope to keep the Town, for the terme agreed unleſſe he had meanes to ſecure it, the Treaty held in manner above mentioned, and both Armies were diſſolved; the French yet, firſt as our King required, retiring. And ſo he remained in quiet poſſeſſion thereof, after the expence (as I finde in our Records) of 586718 li. 12 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ in the winning thereof. The charges in keeping thereof being 755833 li. 11 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. In all 1342552 li. 3 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. An exceſſive ſum, to reape no benefit thence, but a landing place in *France*, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This peace was ſeconded by a kinde Invitation of *Francis* to our King to Chriſten the *Dauphines* Daughter, which being as lovingly accepted, Sir *Thomas Cheny* was ſent over, and the child called *Elizabeth*. The two Admirals alſo were ſent

July Auguſt

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by their ſeveral Kings, to receive the oaths required for obſervance of this Treaty; and being richly rewarded returned. Howbeit this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceived it lawfull to finiſh the fort, he had begun before the Treaty, the French wanted pretexts for the like; Therefore when upon their erecting a fort at *Portet*, near the entry to the Haven (which they called *Chaſtillons garden*) our men took exceptions thereat, the *French* for their beſt Title alledged that Monſieur *de Biez* had formerly begun it by entrenching his men there; yet as this did not ſatisfie our King who knew well the difference betwixt a *Trench* and *Fortification*, He commanded Sir *William Paget* to write thus to *William Lord Gray of Wilton* who now commanded in *Boulogne*. 1546 Septem. 5.

AFter our hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, this ſhall be to ſignifie unto the ſame, That the Kings Majeſty being informed that the Frenchmen begin to fortifie at Portet, *which by their Treaty with his Majeſty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordſhip to ſpeak with the doers of the ſaid Works, and to tell them it ſhall be beſt for them to ſtay working any further untill they ſhall hear from their Maſter; which without doubt, is like to be very ſhortly; for that his Majeſties Ambaſſador hath charge to ſpeak with him in the ſame immediately. And in caſe they ſhall anſwer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monſieur* de Biez, *or (peradventure) of ſuch other whom they ſhall name to have the charge of the Works; and ſo go forwards ſtill in their Works: Then his Majeſty pleaſeth, that if you ſhall finde your ſelves able enough for the feat, you ſhall in the night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in caſe you ſhall finde your ſelves not able enough for the ſaid Enterpriſe; then to forbear the doing of it untill ſuch time as a ſtronger Force come to you from hence, which ſhall be ſent over with all diligence poſſible.*

This 5 of *Septemb.* 1546.

This alſo was ſigned by the King. Nevertheleſs, upon better advice, the King thought fit to ſend Sir *Thomas Palmer* with a Meſſage to the Lord *Grey*, commanding him immediately to demoliſh the Fort; who thereupon made that haſte, as before the Letters came he arrived at *Boulogne*, being the very day of his diſpatch; and preſently, by the aſſiſtance of the Lord *Grey*, Mr *Poynings*, and ſome others, the French-mens Work was levelled: and ſo *Palmer* return'd to certifie what was done. And now the Kings Letters being delivered, the Lord *Grey* writes, that before the receit of his Letters, he had (upon ſuch relation of his Majeſties pleaſure as was made by Sir *Thomas Palmer*) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore deſires his Majeſties Pardon. Which paſſage I have related more particularly Septemb. 5. Septemb. 6. Septemb. 7.

1546 ly out of our Records, that I might correct the error of some of our Historians, who would have our King deliver *Palmer* a Message and Letter that were contradictory: whereas it appears by our Records, that the Message was first delivered, and the business done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny, but the Lords of the Councel, knowing the Letter was sent, but not (perchance) any thing of the Message, might have occasion to think the Lord *Grey* more forward, then that he could well justifie it. Howsoever, Monsieur *de Biez* complains hereof to the Lord *Grey*, and desires to know whether it were done by his Majesties command. What he answer'd, I finde not: But it appears by the Instructions given to *Nicholas Wotton* the Kings Ambassadour with *Francis*, that he had charge to palliate the business as handsomly as he could; which also so prevail'd, that no new Fortification was erected by the French during our Kings time. Besides, our Records tell us, hope was now given, that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom: which, though much entertain'd at first by our King, and judg'd the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Councel, was not yet so throughly embraced, lest (perchance) by Confiscations, Suppressions, &c. *Francis* might become greater then stood with the Interest of State or Neighbourhood: And for *Paget*, he said openly, it was but a trick to get *Boulogne* again; *Francis* being not able to give any security for performance of this offer, which might countervail the immediate surrendring of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earnest, both as he treated of a Confederation with the Protestants at this time; who yet (as I finde by our Records) rejected it, unless he relinquish'd the Papal Authority: And, as he lived in such jealousie of State with the Emperor; which together with the apprehension of the Assembly at *Trent*, now daily encreasing, might for more then one reason dispose him to seek Friends else-where, as well for defending himself against his Forraign Enemies, as establishing an absolute Power and Jurisdiction at home. And with this concurrs that which *Fox* relates: That during the stay of *d' Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Mass in their Realms unto a Communion: and that both were so throughly and firmly resolv'd therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or else to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* (as himself confessed) to pen a form to be sent to the French King to consider of. But through the death of both Princes successively not long after, these and all other their Designes ended: Though yet for the time which remained, their former love and correspondence was

Records.

Fox. August.

was so reviv'd, as *Francis* is said (by the French Writers) never to have rejoyced heartily after the news of our Kings death was brought him. But I leave the censure of these passages free to the Readers judgment, without delivering any opinion, otherwise then as the Collections out of our Records seem to inferr. 1546 *Thuanus Hist.*

Let us see now what was done by the Emperor and the Councel of Trent.

THe Emperor in the later end of 1545, being in *Flanders*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster* (formerly mentioned) resided with him on our Kings part: And because one of the Businesses of the French about this time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Winchester* to hinder it, and propose the Lady *Elizabeth*. Also speech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand*'s Daughters: But because neither of these took effect, I shall mention them no otherwise. Yet the Bishop of *Westminster* return'd not home, as being imployed by our King into *Germany*, to give intelligence of that which pass'd. For now in *January* 1546 the Protestants met at *Franckfort*: And as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they consulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword should be drawn against them. January.

This while the Assembly at *Trent* holding, the *Breve* for exempting the Bishops from payment of their Tenths came: Yet as this did rather accommodate then secure them, 300 Foot and some Horse, being gathered out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they pass'd to Church, being now, besides the Legats and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Arch-Bishops, twenty eight Bishops, three Abbots, and four Generals (in all forty three;) among which was *Richard Pate*, heretofore Ambassador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him stiled Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Robert Venant* titular Arch-Bishop of *Armach*; together with *Olaus Magnus* Arch-Bishop of *Upsaile*; all which had been some yeers entertain'd with Pensions from the Pope: Besides, there were about twenty Divines, which though they had no seat in the Councel, were admitted to stand there; as also ten Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent*'s election: And moreover a seat was particularly appointed for the Ambassadors which should assist there. And now question being of the Style of the Councel, the few French which were there, required, that to *Sacro-sancta Synodus* should be added *Universalem Ecclesiam representans*: But this was rejected; both Jan. 5. Jan. 5.

1546 to exclude the Proteſtants admittance under this Title, as alſo all Laicks; and, as it might be thought in ſome ſort prejudicial to the Pope's ſupreme Authority. And ſo, *Jan.* 7. (being the ſecond Seſſion) they decreed an Exhortation to the Prieſts and People to ſerve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, &c. The thirteenth of *January* it was moved that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Hereſie, Reformation of Diſcipline, and eſtabliſhing of Peace. And concerning this there were four opinions.

Jan. 7. Sess. II.

Jan. 13.

Jan. 18.

The Imperialiſts ſaid, before they touched matter of Doctrine, it was neceſſary to take away thoſe tranſgreſſions whence Hereſies have ſprung.

The ſecond opinion was, To begin with Doctrine, ſince Faith being the Baſis of Religion, it was a greater ſin to erre therein, then in Manners: and therefore that the Pope had placed it firſt in his Bull.

The third was, That the two Points of Reformation and Faith ſhould not be diſ-joyned, there being no Doctrine which hath not its abuſe, nor Abuſe that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of ſome Doctrine. And that this was the beſt way to give a ſpeedy and happy concluſion to the Councel, which they ſhould chiefly endeavour; there being no advantage likely to enſue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth ſort (and among them the French particularly) would have had the Point of Peace firſt treated of, and that other Princes might be required to ſend their Ambaſſadors and Prelats thither; And that the Lutherans might be invited to come and unite themſelves to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The Legats having heard their opinions, and commended their wiſdom, ſaid, that becauſe the hour was late, the deliberation important, and the opinions various, they would think upon it. Order alſo was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on Mundayes and Fridayes. The Legats hereupon advertiſed the Pope of that which paſſed, deſiring his advice, and that he would take order for ſupporting of the poorer Biſhops; it being better they ſhould not be there, then ill ſatisfied. Howbeit, the Pope delayed his Reply, as having his minde wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farneſe* had with the Emperor the yeer preceding. This much perplex'd the Legats, as not knowing how to proceed: Nevertheleſs, upon private conference among themſelves, they agreed to treat of Matter of Faith and Reformation together: but withall, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many Prelats were on their way. Cardinal *Poole* propoſed, that ſince in all ancient Councels ſome Symbol of Faith was publiſhed, they ſhould do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of

Jan. 22.

Faith

Faith there was some difficulty; since to recite the old, would not convince the Lutherans, who believ'd it as well as the Catholicks: Besides, that it were to confess, that they durst not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further dispute hereof, it was resolved by the Major part for the Affirmative; and in the Third Session (*Feb.* 4.) the Creed was barely recited; the Cardinal *de Monte* disliking that any Point should be added afterwards, lest some inconvenience should follow. The next Session was adjourn'd to *April* the 8, upon the aforesaid pretence, that many Prelats were on their journey. 1546 Febr. 4. Ses. III.

The Court of *Rome*, who now understood of that which pass'd, (though heretofore much startled at the name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally liked this late Decree, as being worthy the proceeding of a General Councel: Others yet approving it onely as it was dilatory, while there wanted not some, who took occasion to pasquil it. Concil. Trid. *lib.* 2.

This while the Emperor being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratisbone*, and as the Councel of *Trent* did hold: Yet, lest he should alarm the Protestants, he took with him onely his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horse. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propositions made on the Emperors part, the Affair insisted on was matter of Religion; where the Point of Justification being brought in question, took up much time, without having other conclusion, yet, then perplex'd and abrupt: Insomuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recall'd his Divines, and *Martin Bucer* return'd to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*; which, whether it were that the Protestants fore-saw the Emperors intention was to amuse them with Conferences, while himself prepar'd for War; or that otherwise they found no hope of coming to an Agreement, is uncertain: Howsoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, seemed much offended at their departure; though, as during these Conferences *Martin Luther* died in the LXIII yeer of his age, hee doubted not more easily to appease Controversies, as believing *Luther* to be of so violent a spirit, as he would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an affront, in case the Protestants should come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made Preparations for War; which yet he could not keep so secret, but the Protestants understood it, and fortified themselves. Whereupon also *Philip* Count Palatine Nephew to *Frederic* the Elector, was dispatched into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had besides, his private Businesse; which (as our Records tell us) was to obtain the Princess *Mary*, our Kings Daughter. Neither did our King seem averse, when Jan. 27. March 20. April. March.

1546

Frederic the Elector would perform certain Conditions required of him: but as this took no effect, I shall come to the particular of his publick Business, treated chiefly by *John Bruno*; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Protestants. The Conditions proposed by our King were to this effect:

Records That if the said Princes would send some wise and discreet Agents fully instructed, and with them the names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what cases, and whether they will stand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majesty shall enter the League; his Majesty would be pleased to enter a League with them defensive against all men, and for all causes, and will be bound to such a rate of Aid as may befit his Honour and Quality; So that he may have the first place in the League, which for more honour, should be called *The League Christen*: with such conditions likewise, That no other should be admitted to this League, but such as are already entertain'd into the same, without his Majesties consent. And because they would look for a greater Aid at his Majesties hands then of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majesty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voyces to two of any other Prince. Concerning the union of the said Princes together, and of his Majesty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majesty thanketh them that they are content to follow the advice of his Majesty upon such considerations and Conferences as their learned Men and his shall have together in his Majesties presence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the Primitive Church, or General Councels had before five or six hundred yeers: For which purpose his Majesty promiseth to take pains to be present himself, and trusteth (such men being sent from them as be learned, and men of upright judgements, without affection, and of good conformity) to be the Causer of such a conjunction in Religion in all Christendom, as shall tend to the glory of God. For the which purpose his Majesty requireth them now when they shall send some Commissioners to conclude the League Defensive, to send also the names of ten or twelve men, to the intent his Majesty may chuse four, five, or six out of the same; which his Majesty requireth to have sent hither according to the promise already made, as soon as may be.

March 27. To which the Protestants finally answered, That if our King would depositate an hundred thousand Crowns in some part of *Germany*, where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would preferr his friendship before the French, who now treated with them.

April. 10. But this again was rejected by our King, since for a bold demand they offered nothing

1546

nothing equivalent: yet he continued his Treaty with the Palatine, ſo far forth as he might detain the Proteſtants from ſuffering the French to gather men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Boulogne*, and from ſubmitting themſelves to the Councel of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he ſaid, was the true Rule. But the Germans, who knew at what diſtance our King lived, did not much regard any advices which were not ſeconded with mony: therefore they truſted to themſelves, and our King (as above ſaid) made Peace with the French.

On the other ſide, as the Emperors preſence operated much in *Germany*, ſo the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little ſtrengthen his Party. Beſide, the Pope offered him twelve thouſand Foot, eight hundred Horſe, and 300000 Duckats in money (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him aſſiſtance from others, without omitting particularly to promiſe his beſt aſſiſtance in a Spiritual way; while, to make the Proteſtants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he ſent to his Legats in the Councel of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new difficulties) in matter of Faith: and to make no haſte in point of Reformation, though urged by the Emperor. Hereupon, the Legats commanded certain Fryars and Divines to extract thoſe Articles out of the Lutherans Books which ſeemed contrary to their Faith. Where (among others) the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was firſt examined. And here their Divines differed; ſome affirming they were all one, the Scripture it ſelf being derived unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, St. *Auguſtines* words were urged, *That he ſhould not beleeve the Scriptures, but for the authority of the Church.* Which therefore ſhould firſt be ſetled, and then uſed for deciding of Controverſies, and convincing the Lutherans. But then the queſtion was, Which, and what was the Church? and whether the Hierarchy, and more properly the Councel whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought ſafe to call theſe things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to paſſe, that it being all taught, ſome part was not put in writing: Some holding, that the Church had its perfection before any of the Apoſtles writ, and would have continued ſo, if nothing had been ſet down in writing. But that this queſtion and the like being not formerly propoſed by the Lutherans, might well be omitted for Peace ſake; which clauſe was check'd by Cardinal *Pool*, who ſaid, it was fitter for a Conference in *Germany*, then a Councel: Adding, that one of two things was to be done, that is, either the Lutherans brought to receive all the Roman Doctrine;

Sleid. *li.* 17.

Febr. 22. I.

1546 ctrine; or when they would not, that all their Errors ſhould be diſcovered, to ſhew the world how impoſſible it was to come to an Agreement.

II. Then it was reſolved, that a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture ſhould be made as they are accepted by the Roman Church, without regarding whether the Jews received them or not. But here ſome difficulties were urged; ſome of thoſe Scriptures having been alwayes received, others (though doubtful) having by uſe yet obtained Canonical Authority: that is to ſay, the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, that of St. *James*, the Second of St. *Peter*, the Second and Third of S. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Apocalyps*, and ſome particles of the Evangeliſts. Beſides which, there were in the old Teſtament Seven Books never averred, and ſome Chapters of *Daniel* and *Heſter*, and eſpecially the Book of *Baruch*, as wanting his beginning; though ſome eſteem'd it a part of *Jeremiah*. At length, all the Books uſually put in the Latin Bible were judg'd Canonical, and Traditions to be of equall Authority with the Scripture: Nevertheleſs, doubts were raiſed concerning putting the Books of the Scripture into order. This while *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, Biſhop of *Juſtinopolis* in *Iſtria*, coming to the Councel, was repulſed: For, as he had been imployed in *Germany* againſt the Lutherans with ſo little advantage to the Pope, as while he laboured to confute the Proteſtants, himſelf became one; ſo they would not admit him, though he pretended his buſineſſe was onely to purge himſelf, but remanded him to the Pope, who ſhortly after deprived him of his Biſhoprick.

March 8.

III. And now that being declared without more adoe to be holy Scripture, which the Roman Church had received, queſtion aroſe concerning the Tranſlation of it. Some ſaying, that to underſtand onely the Latin Text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the Tranſlator; and therefore that the Originals ſhould be viewed, and a Tranſlation made which the Councel ſhould declare Authentick. But if this ſhould ſeem a long Work, it were good (at leaſt) to verifie their Latin Tranſlation with the Original Text: Howbeit, the greater part ſaid it was neceſſary to hold the Latin Tranſlation to be Divine and Authentick, ſince otherwiſe they would be obnoxious to the Lutherans, and a gate opened to innumerable Hereſies: For if men might examine Tranſlations, All would be reduced to Pedantiſme, and now Grammarians would give the law. Beſides that, Inquiſitors could not convince Hereticks without knowledge of the Original Tongues. Many other Points coincident hereunto were likewiſe handled, too long to be here rehearſed.

IV. Then they came to the Expoſition of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers were declared as the Rule thereof.

In

1546 V.

In concluſion, it was required, whether all theſe determinations were to be enacted under the *Anathema* : In which, after much doubt, a middle courſe was held. So that the eighth of *April*, Seſſion IV, two Decrees were read; one to Authoriſe the Scriptures read in the Roman Church, and the Traditions received there, both concerning Faith and Manners : The ſecond to declare the vulgar Tranſlation to be Authentick, and that it ſhould not be expounded contrary to the ſenſe delivered by the Church, and unanimous conſent of the Fathers : The Penalty in the firſt Decree being *Anathema*, in the ſecond ſuch as pleaſed the Ordinary. And ſo the next Seſſion was deferred till the ſeventeenth of *June*, and theſe Decrees printed; which, at length, being publiſhed in *Germany*, it was thought ſtrange, that five Cardinals, and XLVIII Biſhops onely, ſhould ſo eaſily determine theſe great Points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary.

Seſs. IV. April 8.

About this time our King was certified by *Edmud Harvel*, his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, that the French laboured to procure a Cenſure againſt him in the Councel. But as the Peace formerly mentioned between King *Henry* and *Francis* was ſhortly after concluded, ſo this took no effect.

And now the Pope thought fit to add divers to the number of thoſe Cardinals and Prelats at *Rome* he uſed to adviſe with concerning the Councel; admoniſhing the Legats together at *Trent*, Firſt, Not to publiſh any Decree henceforth, without approbation from *Rome*. Secondly, Not to ſpend time in Points not controverted. Thirdly, Above all things, to take heed of diſputing the Papal Authority. Which being done, he required the Biſhops and Abbots of the Swiſs to come to the Councel : he alſo proceeded againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Colen*, condemning, excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the Lutherans : Furthermore, he intreated the Emperor to execute the Sentence. But he conceiving the Arch-Biſhop was at his devotion; and beſides, knowing that ſuch a rigorous proceeding would but Alarm the Proteſtants, and force the Arch-Biſhop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this requeſt : and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxe* had ſignified unto him, that he ſaw cleerly the Pope's intentions were wholly bent to eſtabliſh his own Authority : And therefore, that it was time to aſſemble a National Councel in *Germany*, or to treat ſeriouſly of matter of Religion in the Diet.

April 11.

April 16.

And now the Councel in Congregation propoſed the Point of Original Sin : But the Spaniſh Prelats deſired rather a Reformation of the abuſes in Preaching and Lectures; Adding, that they had expreſs Letters from the Emperor, not to enter yet into matters of Doctrine : which alſo the intelligence found in our Records doth particulary affirm. The Legats (on the other

Concil. Trid. May 2.

1546 ther ſide) urged the Pope's Bull. In concluſion, both Points were reſolved, and the Theologians enjoyned to handle matter of Faith among themſelves, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome Canoniſts to treat of a Reformation. According to which order, Lectures and Preaching being firſt ſpoken of, ſome diſſention appear'd: The Biſhops deſiring the ordering of theſe things ſhould immediately depend on them: But the Legats concluding to maintain the Pontificial Authority, by which theſe duties were committed to Friars Mendicants, &c. This Controverſie finding no iſſue, the Pope writ unto the Councel, that they ſhould begin with Original Sin; obſerving yet a due reſpect unto the Emperor. Notwithſtanding, the Legats thought fit the buſineſſe of Reading and Preaching ſhould firſt be diſpatched, which was not without ſome contention: For as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum Imperii* among the Popes for conſerving their Juriſdiction, to exempt Biſhops from their Arch-Biſhops, and Abbots and Friars again from Biſhops, &c. ſo ſome wrangling paſs'd; while each part ſtrove to maintain its Authority: The Biſhops complaining of the vanity and covetouſneſſe of the Preaching Friars; and theſe again objecting the negligence of Biſhops, and idleneſſe of Pariſh-Prieſts. But all at laſt, was (in a ſort) reconciled, the Biſhops being allowed Authority over the Regulars, onely when they would hold it as from the Pope. After which, the Point of Original Sin being brought into Examination, Cardinal *Paceco* a Spaniard, ſaid, it was not yet time, nor untill the buſineſſe of *Germany* were riper. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion was argued; yet ſo, as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the Diet at *Ratisbone*; which, beginning towards the end of *May*, made the Prelats intentive to its Proceedings. Our King not omitting alſo to inform himſelf of what ſhould paſſe by the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*'s means, whom he had imployed thither. But little good followed of this Diet: For while the Roman Catholicks would not allow that Controverſies of Religion ſhould be decided in a National Councel (as the Proteſtants deſired;) nor they again ſubmit to the Councel of *Trent*, being in their opinion, a moſt partial and factious Aſſembly, the Emperor knew not what well to reſolve: he would have been glad of ſuch a Peace as might have conſerved his Authority, without caring much to hear of Errors diſcovered in either of the oppoſite Parts; or that they had found out ſome witty and new diſtinction. But there is not any thing more hard then to deviſe how a free and equall Councel may be held, or who ſhould be a competent Judge of the emergent differences; ſince, as any of thoſe who are Parties in the Buſineſſe, cannot properly exerciſe that Function; ſo, to appeal to any other that were of a different Religion, ſhould be not onely to call the parts, but the whole

May.

May.

whole into queſtion. Nevertheleſſe, it may be demonſtrated, that a more even courſe may be kept herein then hath been hitherto practiſed, and a more indifferent for all mankinde: Which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid Decrees of Religion, ſo in ſome ſort or other ſhould intervene; In which caſe, certainly the Spirit of God would preſide. 1546

The Emperor this while having made many ſecret Proviſions for War, certain notice thereof came to the Proteſtants at the Diet, who becauſe hee had made Peace with *France*, and Truce for one yeer with the Turk, did eaſily conjecture it was intended againſt them; eſpecially it being related that the Pope and *Ferdinand* did arm; ſo that every thing was in confuſion. The Emperor uſed much induſtry to draw all thoſe Proteſtants who were not Colleagued with the reſt at *Smalcald*, nnto his party, telling them this War was onely againſt Rebels, and promiſing them the Exerciſe of their Religion. June.

The Proteſtants, on the other ſide, declared in a publick Remonſtrance, That the Emperors intentions were far other then he pretended; exhorting therefore both them and one another to ſtand firm.

This while the Councel held the Fifth Seſſion, and two Decrees paſſed: 1. Concerning *Originall Sin*, and the *Benefit of Baptiſme, &c.* 2. Concerning *Lectures and Preaching*; wherein the Biſhops and Clergy were commanded to be diligent and carefull. This being done, the French Ambaſſador *Petrus Daneſius* made a long and eloquent Oration, ſhewing the affection their Kings had ever born to the Chriſtian Religion: and how that *Gregory* the Firſt had for this cauſe given the Title of *Catholique* to *Childebert*; And that his King had therefore ſent him Ambaſſadour thither, deſiring firſt, that ſome determination might be made in Religion; then that thoſe Priviledges ſhould be conſerved, of which *Lodovicus Pius* was in Poſſeſſion, and all the ſequent Kings; and that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church of *France* might be confirmed. To whom no Anſwer was given but a Complement. Sess. V.

The Decrees being now printed and publiſhed in *Germany*, gave much occaſion of diſcourſe and unſatisfaction. The Emperor himſelf not liking that in the buſineſſe of Reformation, the ſmaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controverſies in matter of Faith had been thus ſtirred, and eſpecially that of Original Sin, as being almoſt reconciled in ſome former Conferences in *Germany*. And now the Cardinal of *Trent* having abſolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants, and thoſe which refuſed the Councel of *Trent*, (which by the Cardinal *Farneſe* his means was formerly treated June 26. Sleid. l. 17.

1546

Sleidan. *Concil. Trident.*

of) all sides prepar'd for War : The Pope also sending men and money in that proportion which is above mentioned, or (as some will have it) besides the twelve thousand Foot, only five hundred Horse, to be maintained for six months at his charge, and 200000 Crowns in money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the present yeer) the half of all the Revenues of the Churches of *Spain*, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monasteries of these Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thousand Crowns, upon condition that during the said six months, the Emperor might make no Accord with the Protestants without him ; and that of all which was gotten, hee should have a certain portion : And that when the time was expired, if the War did continue, they should treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Protestants to submit to this Councel : for which end also he treated with them, professing that he did not undertake this War for cause of Religion, but

Sleidan. l. 17.

respects of State, and because some denyed to obey his Laws, and had confederated themselves mutually, and with Strangers against him, and usurped other mens Possessions, and chiefly Ecclesiastical, procuring to make Bishopricks and Abbeys hereditary to their Families ; and that having divers ways endeavoured to reduce them, they were still more insolent. The Protestants, on the other side, did strive to clear themselves unto the World from imputation of Rebellion, shewing, that Religion onely was cause of this War, which the Pope and Councel of *Trent* had kindled against them : Requiring from

July 4.

the Emperor performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his dignity in *Francfort*, which they pretended he had broken in

July.

this abrupt making of War. They sent also to *England* and *France* (being newly reconciled) to borrow mony. But our King answered, That the course of things being now altered, he could not resolve on any thing without better information. Nevertheless, that upon their standing firm together, he might furnish some money upon fitting conditions. This caused the Protestants to make new Levies at home : And the rather, that the Pope had about this time by Bull published, that the War was for Religion.

July 11. July 20.

And now *Philip* Lantgrave of *Hesse* having his Forces ready, comes into the Field, and the Duke of *Saxe* after ; whereupon they both were proscrib'd by the Emperor (then being at *Ratisbone*) who breaking up the Diet, commanded another to be held the first of *Febr.* 1547.

June 18.

This while the Councel of *Trent* sitting, the Secretary declared (in the name of the Legats) that the next point to be examined, was that of *Divine Grace* ; and they should the rather

follow

1546

follow this Order, becauſe it was uſed in the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, which they intended to condemn. Nevertheleſſe, the the Imperialiſts urged ſtill a Reformation: But being overruled, certain Theologians were appointed to gather the Lutherans opinions.

That of Juſtification, Faith and Works was propoſed in XXV Articles. But when the point of Juſtification by Faith was urged, the word FAITH was found ambiguous; yet at laſt all agreeing, that Juſtifying Faith was an Aſſent to all things revealed by God, and propoſed by the Church as neceſſary. It was further diſtinguiſhed into a ſolitary, dead, meerly Hiſtorical Faith, and a lively one working by Charity. Then was diſputed which of theſe did juſtifie; and ſome affirmed both: the firſt whereof was to be underſtood yet as the Baſis and Ground of the later: And here many School ſubtilties ariſing, were hotly purſued by the Dominicans on the one ſide, and Franciſcans on the other; the former holding (with *Luther*) that all our Works without Faith are ſin; the Franciſcans oppoſing, that man by his naturall free-will may obſerve the Law, and do good, and thereby prepare himſelf, *ex congruo*, for Grace, ſince God fails not him who doth what hee can. After this they fell to examine the nature of Grace, of Juſtification, of Imputation, &c. Concerning which the Reader may finde more *in Concilio Tridentino*. Onely I ſhall obſerve (as conducing to my Hiſtory) that theſe Diſputes were thus purpoſely ſpun out, partly, by the procurement of the Emperor, who ſtill deſired that nothing ſhould yet be decreed in matter of Faith; and partly by the induſtry of the Court of *Rome*, who ſtudied to hinder the Reformation.

The Emperor now, that he might divide the Proteſtants, encourageth *Maurice* Duke of *Saxe* Coſen-German to the Elector, and Son-in-law to the Lantgrave, to invade the States of thoſe proſcribed Princes: to which alſo he was ſufficiently diſpoſed. This while the Pope did a little temporize: For though he knew the Emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was ſo manifeſt an uſe of his Aſſiſtance; yet withall, he did not deſire *Charles* ſhould be too abſolute in *Germany*, leſt afrerwards he ſhould turn his Arms upon *Italy*, and give the Law to his Country and Religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conſerve Peace. Neither were the Catholicks themſelves in *Germany* over forward to take his part, leſt under colour of reducing Religion to its former ſtate by Arms, he would overthrow their Liberty. For preventing whereof, as well as divers other ſuſpicions among the Proteſtants (that the Councel of *Trent* was aſſembled onely to condemn them) he ſent again to the Pope, to deſire that the Coun-

1546 cel might continue, and the Legats might treat onely of a Reformation. To which, becauſe he knew ſome were averſe, he directed a particular Meſſage unto the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, telling him, that if he offered to diſſolve the Councel, he would cauſe him to be thrown into the River *Adice*. The Pope finding the Emperor thus in earneſt, continues the Councel; writing yet to the Legats, that they ſhould entertain the time: And for this purpoſe Faſtings, Prayers, and a Jubile (now publiſhed for the good ſucceſſe of this War) did ſerve.

July 10. Neither was it without cauſe; the Proteſtants Army being now drawn neer *Tiroll* to hinder the Italians from joyning with the Imperialiſts. The danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous ſort of Biſhops, many were deſirous to retire, while ſome fled from the Councel. But the Cardinal of *Trent* newly returned from *Rome*, comforted thoſe which remained. And now the Pope's and other the Italian Auxiliary Forces paſſing by *Trent* into *Germany*, another way then the Proteſtants

Auguſt 15. expected, they at laſt at *Landſhut* in *Bavaria* joyned with the Emperor; who beſtowed upon *Ottavio Farneſe* (their General) the Order of the *Toiſon*, and took a muſter of his men: The Proteſtant Army being at *Donawert*, which they had newly taken, and in that readineſs, that they attended only their advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this poſture a while, to tell a notable accident which happened at *Malines* in *Brabant*, 7 *Auguſt*,

Auguſt 7. 1546. Certain barrels of Powder, to the number of ſeven hundred, being ſtowed in the bottom of a great Tower, Lightning falling thereon, and kindling it, the Tower was raiſed from his foundations on high, and ſcattered in the air; the ſtones whereof flying every way, threw down two hundred houſes in the City, and as many in the Suburbs, kill'd five hundred men, and hurt two thouſand; the winde whereof brake glaſs-windows every-where, and opened many locks. Beſides which, it had this prodigious effect, that it dryed up all the water in a ditch adjoyning, being a Pike deep, and levelled the earth, rooting up together many trees; of which kinde, it was obſerved, that thoſe which loſt onely their leaves and fruit, budded again, and bore in Autumn.

Stow. But it ſeems more ſtrange which *Stow* relates, that in *England* this yeer a Potter falling aſleep *April* 27. could not be wakened in fourteen dayes and nights, finding himſelf yet afterwards as if he had taken but one nights reſt.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, who commanded the Proteſtant Army, being compoſed of ſeventy or eighty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe and an hundred Canon, thought it unjuſt to begin the War till they had ſent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that name; but

as

1546

as a Pretender to be Emperor. He on the other side, little regarding the Language, endevoured one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole passage whereof may be seen in *Luys d' Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Nassau*, did recommend the Book to me, more then once, as a Master-piece in its kind.

While these Armies coast each other, the Legats in *Trent* (now free from the Soldatesq;) advised how to delay the time, admitting new matters, which also their intemperate disputes did furnish. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* projecting also, That the former Controversie should be renew'd of Preparatory Works, Observance of the Law, &c. Whereupon the point of Free-will was brought into question, and certain Opinions of the Reformers, therein odiously proposed. From whence arose a question, whether Believing and not believing were in our power? and many things said thereupon, (it seeming at last equally absurd to believe all things to be in our Power, and nothing.) These Points again begot distinctions, and at last brought in the Article of Predestination, which with the consequences was so hard, as being disputed by the Prelates and Divines in a hundred Congregations, and afterward reduced into a form of Decree by the Cardinall *Santa Croce*: yet he had so much ado to content all sides, that from the beginning of September to the end of November, each day some words therein were altered; yet so, as at length it past, and was sent to the Pope, who remitted it to the learned men at *Rome*, by whom it was approved, as being conceived in such terms, that all parts might fit and apply it to their own Opinions. In the point of Reformation, the qualities required for the Promotion of Prelates was handled, and many good things said, but the means how to observe them were as little found, as how to bind their superiours to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers discourses, it was thought fit to leave off this Point: Much was said also, concerning Matters of Residency; The particulars whereof produced that Controversie, as in the year 1562. and 1563. came to a great height. The present contention was between the Spanish Prelats; who for the magnifying of the Episcopall dignity, held that Residence was *Ex jure Divino*; and the Italian Bishops, who for sustaining the Popes Authority, said, It was Commanded by him only, and therefore might be dispensed with, &c. But this dispute being put off by the Legats, the Ancient Canons for Residency were Revived, and some new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the abuse of Exemptions of Regular and Secular Priests from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, was moderated.

Auguſt 20.

The

1546 Septemb. The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Protestants, expostulated the matter with him. But the King denyed, He intended any Aid to the Protestants; saying yet, that if he sought Friendship abroad he was not to be blamed; since the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Bishop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on those that refused the Bishops Authority, and the Councel of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly named, yet that He was taken for a Lutheran. Nevertheless, that He Treated not with the Protestants, and therefore wish'd the Emperor to have a better opinion of him, since if He would have given credit to his advice, He needed not to have entred those dangers He was in. And now the Pope hearing how things pass'd, commanded the Cardinal *Farnese* to return. For though the Emperor by secret fomenting that emulation for Command which passed between the Duke of *Saxe* and *Lantgrave*, was in a good way to compass his ends; yet because He made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recall'd the Cardinal, and permitted some of the Italian Gentry to come with him. Nevertheless, about the midst of October, the two Armies met so near together about *Giengen* in *Suabe*, that only a little River parted them. Where also the Protestants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialists; some blows yet past, and *Donawert* was regain'd by *Ottavio Farnese*: Shortly after which the Duke of *Saxe* was constrain'd to retire to his own Country, for the defence thereof, against *Ferdinand* and *Maurice* who invaded it; and the *Lantgrave* to his. Of which our King was particularly advertised by *Somerset* his Herauld, who accompanying *Bruno*, (now returning from *England* to the Protestant Army) observ'd all Occurrences. The Protestant Forces now being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League, treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor, when they might have some honest Caution for the exercising of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by writing, though otherwise promise was made by the Imperiall Ministers, that they should not be molested. And thus the Emperor recovered much great Ordnance, and huge summs of Money from some Cities by way of Reparation for their faults, and rested absolute Soveraign of the upper and greater part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the rest, and to constrain *Herman* Archbishop of *Colen* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawfull Councell in *Germany*) to surrender his Archbishoprick. Which state of things being advertised hither, Our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this purpose also acquainting him with some Passages, which might give him just occasion to be Jealous of *Francis*. For though (by the advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*) to make his Authority at home

Records.

October

October 13.

Novemb. 23.

Novemb. 4.

Jan. 25. 1547

October

home more entire, He had lately Condemned to the fire certain Citizens of *Meaulx*, who Combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet He treated with the Proteſtants at this time. 1546 Sleid.

The Pope alſo hearing of that which paſs'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduc'd to the Emperors obedience: Inſomuch, that though His Forces were much diminiſhed, (between thoſe that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that ran away) He yet recall'd the reſt about the middle of December, upon pretence that they had ſtayed the 6 Months which he had promiſed; Alleadging for further excuſe, That he was not able to ſuſtain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, ſince the heads of the Rebellion (as he termed them) were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Juſtification, replyed, That he was not made partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the prejudice of the Catholique Faith, in tolerating Hereſie, which might have been exterminated. Beſides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he ſhould have participated of the Profits and ſpoils of the Warr. And not content herewith, he denyed the Emperor the further Revenues of the Spaniſh Clergy. So that though the Imperiall Miniſters at Rome told him, He had done nothing unleſs he perfected his Work, they could not prevail. For further teſtimony alſo of his diſpleaſure to the Emperor, raiſing a Faction in *Geneva* againſt the *Dorcaes*, being the Emperors friends. Decemb.

Neither did he (as ſome have it) fear, that the Emperor (having ſo much to do in *Germany*) could haſtily invade him, or trouble him, otherwiſe then by according with the Proteſtants, and cauſing them to repair to the Councel of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to diſſolve, though Seven months had paſt, without publiſhing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithſtanding he knew that the Emperor would be diſcontented at his rigid proceedings in matters of Doctrine, he uſed the Florentine Motto, *Goſa fatta capo ha:* And thereupon writ to the Legats, that they ſhould hold a Seſſion, and publiſh the Decrees already made; which alſo was done, the Proteſtants yet queſtioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that ſubmitted, *Ulms* was one; where alſo the Emperor wintered, with intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Proteſtants underſtanding, thought fit (though once ſuing for Peace) to ſend ſeverall Ambaſſadors into *England* and *France* to demand ſuccours (though in vain) both Kings dying ſhortly after. January. 13.

While buſineſſe of Religion was thus treated of abroad, our king by Proclamation did ſeverely forbid the Tranſlation of July 8.

1546 Regn. 34. 35.

of the New Teſtament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other then is permitted by Parliament: As alſo the Engliſh Books of *Frith*, *Wicklife*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King moſt ſtudiouſly ſuppreſt; both that becauſe he would have his Subjects decline the bitter language and Doctrine to be found in ſome of them, and that hee would introduce his own, or at leaſt a more ſober Reformation. Whereof alſo hee was more ſenſible, that women began now ordinarily to diſpute controverſies, and urge the Text: inſomuch, that *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman, defended her ſelf therewith againſt her perſecuters; July 16. though not ſo, but that ſhe was burnt for it. Beſides, the Queen her ſelf did this yeer run no little danger: for as ſhe began about this time to give ear unto thoſe who declaimed againſt the abuſes of the Roman Church, ſhe thought her ſelf ſo well inſtructed in Religion, that ſhe would debate with the King thereof: which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the anguiſh of a ſore leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he loved not to be contradicted in his opinions, eſpecially, as he ſaid, in his old age, and by his Wife. This again was exaggerated by *Stephen Gardner* Biſhop of *Winchester* ſo far, that by repreſenting the hazard ſhe incurr'd by contrarying the Six Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading of forbidden Books, and teaching openly her doctrine, the King gave *Wincheſter*, and *Wriotheſley* the Chancellor, and others leave to conſult about the drawing of Articles againſt her, which they failed not to preſent unto the King, who ſubſcribed them: Inſomuch, that her enemies expected onely a Warrant for carrying her by night to the Tower. Which the Queen accidentally having notice of, fell into that paſſion and bitter bewailing her misfortune, that the King hearing the perplexity ſhe was in, ſent his Phyſicians, and after came himſelf to her Chamber, where compaſſionating her eſtate, he uſed ſuch kinde words as did help to recover her. Inſomuch, that the next night, being attended by the Lady *Anne* her Siſter, Wife to Sir *William Herbert* after Earl of *Pembroke*, ſhe went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, where he courteouſly welcomed her, and began again to talk of Religion.

But ſhe wittingly excuſing her ſelf by the weakneſſe of her Sexe and Judgement, ſaid, ſhe would refer her ſelf in this and all other cauſes, to his Majeſties wiſdom. Not ſo (by Saint *Mary*) quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed or directed by us. But the Queen replying, that what ſhe ſaid was rather to paſſe away the time and pain of his infirmity, then to hold argument; and that ſhe hoped by hearing his Majeſties learned diſcourſe, to receive ſome profit thereby. The King anſwered, And is it even ſo (Sweet-heart?) then are we perfect friends again:

again: which also he confirmed by divers testimonies. But as her Maligners knew nothing of this reconcilement, they prepared the next day to carry her to the Tower, at a time limited by the Kings Warrant. This being come, and she happening to be merrily talking with him in his Garden, the Lord *Wriothesley* with forty of the Guard comes in; whom the King sternly beholding, and after calling to him (at some distance from the Queen) so expostulated the matter, as at last he reviled, and commanded him out of his sight and presence. Nevertheless, at the Kings return, she was an humble suter for his pardon. But the King answered no otherwise, then that she (poor soul) did not know how evil he deserved this grace at her hands. And thus, by her opportune submission she escaped: Though yet some beleeve, it was not so much the Kings intention herein to use the rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howsoever, if he were not in earnest, it was thought a terrible jest, especially to a Queen, that had the reputation of a vertuous, humble, and observant Wife. But *Winchester*, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her ruine, did himself not long after fall into the Kings disfavour, as by his submission extant in our Records doth appear: though whether on this occasion, or that he was a speciall friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was now also in disgrace with the King (as shall be told hereafter), or any other cause, is not there determined. Howsoever, the King excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his Executors, and Counsellors to his Son and Successor, *Edward* VI. 1546 Decemb. 2.

Concerning Scotish Businesse this yeer, little pass'd worth the writing, that I can find, save onely that King *Henry* sent the Earl of *Lenox* into *Ireland* with Command, that together with the Earl of *Ormond*, and a certain Lord of the out Scotish Isles (as he termed himself) who had adhered to our King, should fall upon *Scotland*: But as the Enterprise was discovered, they were forced to retire to *Dublin*, where the said Scotish Lord, who brought three Galleys with him for this Enterprise, died.

This while Cardinal *Beton* persecuting those of the Reformed Religion in that Countrey, was himself slain at St. *Andrews* in his Castle, by certain Gentlemen who surprized the place; and after defended it, until the Governour besieged and (at last) took it by the help of some succour which the French sent them in their Galleys. That kinde of Shipping being so built in those dayes, that they brook'd our Seas with no little advantage, when the times were fair. May 19.

I shall conclude this yeer with the disaster of the renowned Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the execution of his Son *Henry*

1546 the Earl of *Surrey*, which paſs'd in this manner, as our Records tell us.

The Dutcheſſe *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, having for many yeers entertained ſo violent jealouſies of the Duke her Husbands matrimoniall affection and loyalty, as it broke out at laſt to open rancor, divers occaſions of ſcandal were given: Inſomuch, that not being content with having ſurmized a long while ſince two Articles againſt him, ſhe again in ſundry Letters to the Lord Privie Seal, both averr'd the Articles, and manifeſtly accuſed ſome of his Minions, repeated divers hard uſages ſhe pretended to receive from them, and briefly diſcovered all the ordinary paſſions of her offended ſex. This again being urged in a time when the King was in his declining age, and for the reſt, diſquieted with ſcruples, that the Duke's Greatneſſe or Intereſts in ſequent times might interrupt the order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithſtanding his many important and faithfull Services, both in War and Peace, at home and abroad, he and his Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* were expoſed to the malignity and detraction of their accuſers. This again fell out in an unfortunate time: For beſides that the Lady his Dutcheſſe had now for above four yeers been ſeparated from him; his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was but newly, and perchance, ſcarce reconciled with him; his Daughter *Mary* Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* not onely inclined to the Proteſtant party, (which loved not the Duke) but grown an extreme enemy of her Brother: ſo that there was not onely a kinde of inteſtine diviſion in his Family, but this again many ſecret ways fomented.

Among which, the induſtry of one Mrs *Holland*, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appeared not a little, as deſirous (at what price ſoever) to conſerve her ſelf. Beſides, divers at the Kings Counſel diſaffected him, and particularly the Earl of *Holland*, as knowing that after the Kings death (now thought to be imminent) none was ſo capable to oppoſe him in the place he aſpired to of Protector. All which circumſtances concurring, and being voyced abroad, incouraged divers of his Adverſaries to declare themſelves: And the rather, becauſe it was notorious, how the King had not onely withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promiſed impunity to ſuch as could diſcover any thing concerning him.

Decemb. 2. The firſt that manifeſted himſelf was Sir *Richard Southwell*, who ſaid that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellour *Wriotheſley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, deſiring to be tryed by juſtice, or elſe offering himſelf to fight in his ſhirt with *Southwell*: But the Lords for the preſent onely committed

Decemb. 2. them.

them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in trouble, ſends to divers of his Friends to know the cauſe, and particularly to the Biſhop of *Winchester*: Thoſe Letters yet (it is probable) fell into the King's Councel's hands; but could not preſerve him from being involved in his Son's fortune: ſo that he was ſent for, and the ſame day, not long after his Son, committed to the Tower. Divers perſons alſo were examined concerning his Affairs. Mrs *Elizabeth Holland* being depoſed, confeſs'd, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Councel loved him, becauſe they were no Noble-men born themſelves; as alſo becauſe he beleeved too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, becauſe he was too much lov'd in his Country; But that he would follow his Father's leſſon, which was, That the leſſe others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf. As alſo, that the Duke complained that he was not of the moſt ſecret (or, as it is there term'd, the Privie privie) Councel. And that the King was much grown of his body, and that he could not go up and down the ſtairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majeſtie was ſickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill caſe through diverſity of opinions. And that if he were a young man, and the Realm in quiet, he would ask leave to ſee *Vernacle*; which he ſaid, was the picture of Chriſt given to women by himſelf as he went to death. As touching his Arms, that ſhe had not heard the Duke ſpeak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gathered them himſelf knew not from whence; And that he placed the *Norfolk*'s Arms wrong, and had found fault with him: And therefore that ſhe ſhould take no pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her needle in his houſe, but as he gave them. Furthermore, ſhe confeſſed that the Earl of *Surrey* lov'd her not, nor the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* him; and that ſhe addicted her ſelf much to the ſaid Dutcheſs.

1546 Decemb. 3, 4.

Decemb. 12.

Mary Dutcheſs of *Richmond* being examined, confeſs'd, That the Duke her Father would have had her marry Sir *Thomas Seymor*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother alſo deſired, wiſhing her withall to endear her ſelf ſo into the King's favour, as ſhe might the better rule here as others had done; and that ſhe refuſed: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford*'s Daughter, which her Brother likewiſe heard of (and that this was the cauſe of his Father's diſpleaſure) as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was ſo much incenſed againſt the ſaid Earl, as the Duke his Father ſaid thereupon, His Son would loſe as much as he had gathered together.

1547 Moreover, That the Earl her Brother ſhould ſay, Theſe new men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they ſhould ſmart for it. And that her Brother hated them all ſince his being in cuſtody in *Windſor* Caſtle; but that her Father ſeemed not to care for their ill will, ſaying, His truth ſhould bear him out. Concerning arms ſhe ſaid, that ſhe thought that her Brother had more then ſeven Rolls; and that ſome, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelott Du-lac*. And that her Father ſince the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, (who bare the King's-Arms) where the Arms of her mother (Daughter to the ſaid Duke) were rayned in his Coat, had put a blank-quarter in the place, but that her brother had reaſſum'd them. Alſo that in ſtead of the Dukes Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of maintenance purple, with powdered Furr, and with a Crown, to her judgment, much like to a cloſe Crown, and underneath the Arms was a cipher, which ſhe took to be the Kings cipher, *HR*. As alſo that her Father never ſaid that the King hated him, but his Counſellors; but that her Brother ſaid, the King was diſpleaſed with him (as he thought) for the loſſe of the great journey. Which diſpleaſure, he conceived, was ſet forward by them who hated him, for ſetting up an Altar in the Church at *Boulogne*. And that her Brother ſhould ſay, God long ſave my Fathers life; for if he were dead, they would ſhortly have my head. And that he reviled ſome of the preſent Councel, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Alſo that he diſſwaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some paſſionate words of her Brother ſhe likewiſe repeated, as alſo ſome circumſtantiall ſpeeches, little for his advantage; yet ſo, as they ſeemed much to cleer her Father.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* being examined, he knew no untruth directly by the Earl of *Surrey*, but ſuſpected him of diſſimulation and vanity: And that a ſervant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was received again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one *Paſquil* an Italian as a Jeſter, but more likely a Spy, and ſo reputed. He mentioned alſo one *Peregrine* an Italian entertain'd by the ſaid Earl; adding, that he lov'd to converſe with Strangers, and to conform his behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein ſome ill device.

One *Thomas Pope* alſo informed the Councel, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the time of the Commotion of the North) ſhould ſay in the preſence of an hundred perſons, that the Act of *Uſes* was the worſt Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirmed thoſe words before the Lord *Audeley*, late Lord Chancellor. Theſe depoſitions, together with others (as it ſeems) being brought to the King's Judges at *Norwich*, they ſignified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Councel, dated *Jan.* 7. that the King's Solicitor and Mr. *Stamford*

Stamford had brought the Inditements; and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indited thereupon of High Treason; and that they made haste to bring the said Inditement to *London*; desiring further to know whether Sir *Thomas Paston*, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, Sir *John Peer* and others should be of the same Jury. Upon the 13 (the King being now dangerously sick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraigned in *Guild-hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Maior, and other Commissioners. Where the Earl, as he was of a deep understanding, sharp wit, and deep courage, defended himself many ways: sometimes denying their accusations as false, and together weakning the credit of his adversaries; sometimes interpreting the words he said, in a far other sense then in that in which they were represented. For the point of bearing his Arms (among which those of *Edmund* the Confessor are related) alledging that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. And finally, when a witnesse was brought against him *vivâ voce*, who pretended to repeat some high words of the Earls by way of discourse, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the said Witnesse should return a braving Answer; the Earl replyed no otherwise to the Jury, then that hee left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not strike him again. In conclusion, hee pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inquest, not of the Peers, because the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon also judgment of death was given, and he beheaded at Tower hill. And thus ended the Earl; a man learned, and of an excellent wit, as his compositions shew. 1547 January. 19.

This while the King (though his sickness encreased) omitted not to give order to seize on the Duke's goods, and together to inform himself of all which might be materiall against him. Not forgetting also to cause *Wriothesley* to advertise the King's Ambassadours in forreign Parts, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conspired to take upon them the Government of the King during his Majestie's life, as also after his death to get into their hands the Lord Prince; but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain bruits, they were willed to communicate the premisses. But the Duke, who had now as much merit of ancient service to plead for him, as any Subject of his time could pretend to, thought fit from the Tower to write unto the King in this manner.

Most gracious and mercifull Soveraign Lord, I your most humble Subject prostitute at your foot, do most humbly beseech your Highness to be my good and gracious Lord. I am sure some great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majestie of

1547 of ſome untrue matter againſt me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life I never thought one untrue thought againſt you, or your Succeſſion, nor can no more judge or caſt in my mind what ſhould be laid to my charge, then the childe that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majeſtie in any point of untruth, I would declare the ſame to your Highneſſe. But (as God help me) I cannot accuſe my ſelf ſo much as in thought. Moſt noble and merciful Soveraign Lord, For all the old ſervice I have done you in my life, be ſo good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accuſers and I together may be brought before your Royall Majeſtie; or if your pleaſure ſhall not be to take that pains, then before your Councel: Then if I ſhall not make it apparant that I am wrongfully accuſed, let me, without more reſpite, have puniſhment according to my deſerts. Alas, moſt mercifull Prince, I have no refuge but onely at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Chriſt's Paſſion have pity of mee, and let me not be caſt away by falſe enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unleſſe it were ſuch as are angry with me for being quick againſt ſuch as have been accuſed for Sacramentaries. And as for all cauſes of Religion, I ſay now, and have ſaid to your Majeſty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of ſuch vertue and knowledge, that whatſoever Laws you have in times paſt made, or hereafter ſhall make, I ſhall to the extremity of my power ſtick unto them as long as my life ſhall laſt. So that if any men be angry with me for theſe cauſes, they do mee wrong. Other cauſe I know not why any man ſhould bear me any ill will: and for this cauſe I know divers have done, as doth appear by caſting Libels abroad againſt me. Finally, (moſt gracious Soveraign Lord) I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have pity of me, and let me recover your gracious favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaſeth your Highneſſe to take, leaving me what it ſhall pleaſe you to appoint; and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my charge, and that I may hear ſome comfortable word from your Majeſtie. And I ſhall during my life pray for your proſperous eſtate long to endure.

Your moſt ſorrowfull Subject,
THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

Item, Moſt humbly to beſeech, my Lords, That I might have ſome of the Books that are at *Lambeth*; for unleſſe I may have

have Books to read ere I fall on sleep, and after I awake again, I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen yeers.

Also to desire that I might have a Ghostly Father sent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Also that I might have Masse, and to be bound upon my life to speak no word to him that shall say Masse; which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, To have licence in the day time, to walk in the Chamber without, and in the night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming I had a chamber without adayes. I would gladly have licence to send to *London* to buy one Book of St. *Austins, de Civitate Dei*; and of *Josephus, de Antiquitatibus*; and another of *Sabellicus*; who doth declare most of any Book that I have read, how the Bishop of *Rome* from time to time hath usurped his power against all Princes, by their unwise sufferance.

Item, For sheets.

Nevertheless, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetuall prison, without that his great Services formerly rendered, or his submission on this occasion could restore him; which was in these words, as I finde by our Records in an Originall.

I THOMAS Duke of *Norfolk*, do confesse and acknowledge my self most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegeance, to have offended the King's most excellent Majestie, in the disclosing and opening of his privie and secret Counsel at divers and sundry times, to divers and sundry persons, to the great perill of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and Regal Affairs. *T. N.*

Also, I likewise confess, That I have concealed high Treason, in keeping secret the false and traiterous Act, most presumptuously committed by my Son *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, against the King's Majestie and his Laws, in the putting and using the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confessor, King of the Realm of *England* before the Conquest, in his Scutchion or Arms: which said Arms of St. *Edward* appertain onely to the King of this Realm, and to none other person or persons; whereunto the said Earl by no means or way could make

1547 make any claim or title, by me, or any of mine or his Anceſtors.

T. N.

Alſo, I likewiſe confeſs, That to the peril, ſlander, and diſinheriſon of the King's Majeſtie, and his noble Son Prince *Edward*, his Son and Heir apparant, I have againſt all right, unjuſtly, and without authority, born in the firſt quarter of mine Arms, ever ſince the death of my Father, the Arms of *England*, with a difference of the *Labels* of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my ſaid Prince, to be born for this Realm of *England* only; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the King's Majeſtie and the ſaid Lord the Prince, but alſo given occaſion that his Highneſs might be diſturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my ſaid Lord Prince might be deſtroyed, diſturbed and interrupted in fame, body and title, of the inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confeſs by the Laws of the Realm to be high Treaſon.

T. N.

For the which my ſaid hainous offences, I have worthily deſerved by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of high Treaſon, and to ſuffer the puniſhment, loſſes and forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the King's Majeſtie's clemency and mercy to be extended to me, conſidering the great and manifold benefits that I and mine have received of his Highneſs: yet I moſt humbly, and with a moſt ſorrowfull and repentant heart, do beſeech his Highneſs to have mercy, pity and compaſſion on me. And I ſhall moſt devoutly and heartily make my daily prayer to God for the preſervation of his moſt noble Succeſſion, as long as life and breath ſhall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the 12 day of the Month of *January*, in the yeer of our Lord God, 1546, after the compu-

tation

tation of the Church of *England*, and in the 38 yeer of our Soveraign Lord *Henry* the VIII, by the grace of God King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the Faith ; and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland* the ſupreme Head. In witneſſe of all the premiſſes, I the ſaid Duke have ſubſcribed my name with my own hand, in the preſence of the Lord *Wriotheſley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord *St. John* Lord Preſident of the Councel, the Earl of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlain, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord high Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of our ſaid Soveraign Lords privie Councel, Sir *Richard Liſter*, Sir *Edward Montague* the two chief Juſtices. 1547

Without compulſion, without force, without advice or counſel, I have and do ſubſcribe the premiſſes, ſubmitting me onely to the King's moſt gracious pity and mercy, moſt humbly beſeeching his Highneſs to extend the ſame unto me his moſt ſorrowfull Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK.

Thomas Wriotheſley Chancellor,
William St. John, *E. Hertford*,
John Liſle, *Anth. Browne*,
William Paget, *Richard Rich*,
John Baker, *Rich. Lyſter*,
Edward Montague.

Notwithſtanding all which ſubmiſſions, joyned with the merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly eſcape, had not the King's death, following ſhortly after, reſerved him to more mercifull times. For our King having long laboured under the burden of an extreme fat and unwieldy body, and together being afflicted with a ſore leg, took (at the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in *January*, this yeer) his death bed ; being for the reſt not without ſenſe of his preſent condition. For he both cauſed a Church of the Franciſcans in *London* (lately ſuppreſt) to be opened again, and made a Pariſh

1547

March, 1546.

Church, endowing it with 500 Marks *per annum*; and beſtowed both the ground and buildings of the ſaid *Covent*, as alſo the adjoyning Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, on the City, for the relief of the poor: where now is the fair Hoſpital called Chriſt-Church: ſuppreſs'd the Stews on the Bank-ſide, and made his laſt Will and Teſtament, the Originall whereof yet having not ſeen, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe.

As for *Sanders* affirmation, that he was not deſirous to be reconciled to the Roman Church; and that his Courtiers (eſpecially thoſe who had profited themſelves of Abbeys) did divert him; and that the Biſhops reſted doubtfull what to anſwer, leſt they ſhould be entrapped; and how *Wincheſter* did cunningly evade the danger, I leave to his credit. Others affirming, that he deſired to ſpeak with *Cranmer*, who yet not coming ſooner then that the King was ſpeechleſſe (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him; and that thereupon *Cranmer* beſought him to give ſome ſigne of his truſt in God by Chriſt, and that the King ſhould ſtrain his hand. Howſoever, it may be collected, that he died religiouſly and penitently, when he had reigned ſeven and thirty yeers, nine months and ſix days; and after he had lived five and fifty years and ſeven months; and was carryed to *Windſor*, where he had begun a fair Monument, and founded a Colledge for thirteen poor Knights, and two Prieſts to pray for his ſoul.

Jan. 28. 1547.

And now if the Reader (according to my manner in other great Perſonages) do expect ſome Character of this Prince, I muſt affirm, (as in the beginning) that the courſe of his life being commonly held various and diverſe from it ſelf, he will hardly ſuffer any, and that his Hiſtory will be his beſt Character and deſcription. Howbeit, ſince others have ſo much defamed him, as will appear by the following Objections, I ſhall ſtrive to rectifie their underſtandings who are impartiall lovers of truth; without either preſuming audaciouſly to condemn a Prince, heretofore Soveraign of our Kingdom, or omitting the juſt freedom of an Hiſtorian.

And becauſe his moſt bitter cenſures agree, that he had all manner of perfection either of nature or education; and that he was (beſides) of a moſt deep judgement in all Affairs to which he applyed himſelf; a Prince not onely liberall and indulgent to his Family, and Court, and even to ſtrangers, whom he willingly ſaw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the Clergy, and of wiſe and grave Counſellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royall courage: I ſhall not controvert theſe points, but come to my particular obſervations. According to which, I finde him to have been ever moſt zealous of his Honour and Dignity; inſomuch, that

that his moſt queſtioned paſſages were countenanced either with home or forraign Authority : ſo many Univerſities of *Italy* and *France* maintaining his repudiating of Queen *Katherin* of *Spain*; and his Parliament (for the reſt) authorizing the Divorces and decapitations of his following Wives, the diſſolutions of the Monaſteries, and divers others of his moſt branded Actions : So that by his Parliaments in publick, and Juries in private Affairs, he at leaſt wanted not colour and pretext to make them ſpecious to the World ; which alſo he had reaſon to affect : Outward eſteem and reputation being the ſame to great Perſons which the ſkin is to the fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will preſently diſcolour and rot.

As for matter of State, I dare ſay, never Prince went upon a truer Maxime for this Kingdom ; which was, to make himſelf Arbiter of Chriſtendom : And had it not coſt him ſo much, none had ever proceeded more wiſely. But as he would be an Actor (for the moſt part) where he needed onely be a Spectator, he both engaged himſelf beyond what was requiſite, and by calling in the money he lent his Confederates and Allyes, did often diſoblige them when he had moſt need of their friendſhip. Yet thus he was the moſt active Prince of his time. The examples whereof are ſo frequent in his Hiſtory, that there was no Treaty, or almoſt Conventicle in Chriſtendom, wherein he had not his particular Agent and intereſt ; which, together with his intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all affairs, and the penſions given for that purpoſe, was one of his vaſt ways for ſpending of money.

Again, I obſerve, that there never was Prince more delighted in Interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which alſo, as his goodly perſonage and excellent qualities did much diſpoſe him, ſo they gave him a particular advantage and luſtre. Howbeit, as theſe Voyages were extreme coſtly, ſo when he made uſe thereof to conclude a Treaty, it did not alwayes ſucceed ; eſpecially where credit was yeelded to any ſingle and private word. Inſomuch, that at his laſt being with *Francis* (where he intended, upon his bare promiſe, *lier la partie* for the moſt import Affairs of Chriſtendom) he found himſelf ſo much fruſtrated and deceived.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments ; where, if gentle means ſerved not, he came to ſome degrees of the rough : though more ſparingly, that he knew his people did but too much fear him. Beſides, he underſtood well, that fowl wayes are not always paſſable, nor to be uſed (eſpecially in ſuſpected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, That none of his Predeceſſours underſtood the temper of Parliaments better then

1547 himſelf, or that prevailed himſelf more dexterioufly of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the raſher ſort, he would give them that leave, which all new things muſt have, to ſettle. Which being done, his next care was to diſcover and prevent thoſe privie combinations that were not for his ſervice. After which, coming to the point of Contribution, he generally took ſtrict order, (by his Commiſſioners) that Gentlemen in the Country ſhould not ſpare each other; but that the true or (at leaſt) neer approaching value of every mans Goods and Lands ſhould be certified. And this hee did the rather, becauſe hee knew the cuſtome of his people was to reckon with him about their Subſidies, and indeed, rather to number, then to weigh their Gifts.

As for his faults, I finde that of opiniate and wilfull much objected: Inſomuch, that the impreſſions privately given him by any Cout-whiſperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the perſons neer him had a ſingular ability; while beginning with the commendations of thoſe they would diſgrace, their manner was to inſinuate ſuch exceptions, as they would diſcommend a man more in few words, then commend him in many: Doing therein like cunning wreſtlers, who to throw one down, firſt take him up. Beſides, this wilfulneſſe had a moſt dangerous quality annexed to it (eſpecially towards his later end) being an intenſe jealouſie almoſt of all perſons and affairs, which diſpoſed him eaſily to think the worſt. Whereas it is a greater part of wiſdome to prevent, then to ſuſpect. Theſe conditions again being armed with power, produced ſuch terrible effects, asſtiled him both at home and abroad by the name of *Cruell*; which alſo hardly can be avoyded; eſpecially, if that Attribute be due, not onely to thoſe Princes who inflict capitall puniſhments frequently, and for ſmall crimes, but to thoſe who pardon not all that are capable of mercy. And for teſtimonies in this kinde, ſome urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in procinctu*, at leaſt) or two (for *Poole* was condemned, though abſent); Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights eighteen; Abbots, Priors, Monks and Prieſts ſeventy ſeven; of the more common ſort, between one Religion and another, huge multitudes. Hee gave ſome proofs yet that he could forgive; though, as they were few and late, they ſerved not to recover him the name of a Clement Prince. As for Covetouſneſſe, or Rapine, another main fault obſerved by *Sanders*, as extending not onely to a promiſcuous overthrow of Religious Houſes, but a notable derogation of the Title of Supreme Head of the Church in his Dominions: and the rather, that he ſtill retained the ſubſtance of the Roman

Catholick

1547

Catholick Religion) nothing, that I know, can on thoſe terms palliate it, unleſſe it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threatned Invaſion from abroad, and that hee had no other extraordinary means than their Revenues then left to defend himſelf. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their exceſſive numbers in proportion to a well compoſed State, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general ſort, cannot ſufficiently excuſe him; ſince, together with the ſupernumerary and debauched Abbeys, Priories and Nunneries, he ſubverted and extinguiſhed the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for ſuch as through age or infirmity being unapt for ſecular buſineſſe, would end their dayes in a devout and a retired life. Nevertheleſs, as he erected divers new Biſhopricks, increaſed the number of Colledges, and the ſtipend of Readers in the Univerſities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended ſome reparation. Though (as the Roman Catholick party conceives it) they were neither ſatisfactory for, nor equivalent to the deſolations and ruines hee procured, when yet he ſhould pretend that the Revenues and number of the Gentry and Soldateſque of the Kingdome were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing Monaſteries, his Parliaments were deeply engaged, it will be dangerous to queſtion the authority thereof, ſince things done by publick Vote, where they finde not reaſon, make it; neither have many Laws other ground then the conſtitution of the times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtfull: Inſomuch, that Poſterity might juſtly abrogate them when the cauſes thereof ceaſed, had they the power to do it. For which regard alſo I ſhall not interpoſe my opinion otherwiſe, then that this King had met with no occaſion to do that which hath cauſed ſo much ſcandal to him and his Parliaments.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetouſneſſe as a great vice in this King, I could wiſh it had been with more limitation, and ſo as he noted the other extreme (being Prodigality) for the greater fault: The examples of both being ſo pregnant in the King's Father and himſelf. The firſt, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuſes of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himſelf thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (onely when they were not manifeſtly unjuſt): and laſtly, by frugality, acquiring to himſelf the name of *prudent* at home, and *puiſſant* abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royall. Whereas this King, ſo often exhauſting his Treaſury, that he was conſtrained at laſt to have recourſe to

1547 to unuſuall and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not onely diſaffect his Subjects in great part (as appeared in the Rebellion of the Northern men and others, though to their confuſion) but expoſed his Kingdom to the Invaſion of his Neighbours: who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furniſh; and conſequently, would have aſſayled him at home, but that mutuall diviſions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in *Henry* VII is call'd by ſome Covetouſneſſe, was a royall Vertue: whereas the exceſſive and needleſſe expences of *Henry* VIII drew after them thoſe miſerable conſequences which the World hath ſo much reproached. Howbeit, there may be occaſion to doubt, whether the immenſe Treaſure which *Henry* the VII left behinde him, were not (accidentally) the cauſe of thoſe ils that followed: while the young Prince his Son, finding ſuch a maſs of money, did firſt careleſly ſpend, and after ſtrive to ſupply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was juſtly charged, being Luſt and Wantonneſs; there is little to anſwer, more then that it was rather a perſonall fault, then damageable to the Publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not onely to examine circumſtances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. That concupiſcence which in ſome is a vice, being in others a diſeaſe of Repletion, in others a neceſſity of nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did haſten the death of his Queens; he being noted more for practiſing of private pleaſures, then ſecret miſchiefs: ſo that if any undue motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate deſire to have Poſterity (eſpecially maſculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather then any thing elſe.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his time: Inſomuch, that not onely the chief Potentates of Chriſtendome did court him, but his Subjects in generall did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, ſufficiently teſtifie: which yet expired ſo quickly, that it may be truly ſaid, All his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now expoſed to obloquy, as his Accuſers will neither admit Reaſon of State to cover any where, or Neceſſity to excuſe his Actions. For, as they were either diſcontented Clergy-men (for his relinquiſhing the Papall Authority, and overthrowing the Monaſteries); or offended Women (for divers ſevere examples againſt their Sex) that firſt oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: So that although one *William Thomas* a Clerk to the Councel to *Edward*

the

the Sixth, and living about the later times of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian Book, printed *Anno* 1552, it hath not availed. 1547

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of State, Conscience or Honour, a diligent observation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, then any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave him in his grave.

FINIS.

In Feb: 1547. Newes came to Trent of ye death of Hen: 8. ye King of Engld. wch happened ye monet before, ye Fathers gave thanks to God, & went almost all to ye Bp. of Worcester congratulating yt him selfe, & ye kingdome were (as they did) delivered from ye Tyranny of a cruell p[re]lat. Imagining it was a mistake yt he had left a sonne of but 9 years of age, yt he might not be able to tread in his Fathers steps. Vi. V. Hist. of ye Counc: of Trent. f 260.

It is observable yt when Hen. 8. was cursed & banned ye Pope yet he had not one attempt made against his life. Some Rebellions he had against him, but those not so much in ye Popes quarrell, as in ye Comon Peoples who were enraged at him for dissolving ye Monasteries &c. v. Considerations touching ye true way to suppress Popery &c. p. 46.

FINIS.

An INDEX of the main Matters couch'd in this Royall STORY.

A.

Andrew Barton *the Scotish Pirat taken by the Earl of* Surrey's *two Sons, the ground of a War 'twixt* England *and* Scotland page 16

Ambassadors *sent to* Lewis *the Twelfth, to demand* Anjou *and* Guyen *for* England. 19

Articles *at the Surrendry of* Tournay *to the French for a pecuniary Ransom of* 600000 *Crowns, &c.* 77

Articles *against the Duke of* Buckingham, *who was a Duke, a Marquis, seven Earls, and twelve Barons* 110

Ambassadors *sent to* Denmark *by* Henry *the* 8, *to mediate for the resuming of* Christern *or his son to be King* 176

Articles *'twixt King* Henry *and* Luyse *Q. Regent of* France, 179

The Apologie *of* Francis *the first for eluding his Oath for not performing the Concord of* Madrid 202

The Ambassadors *of* Francis *acknowledge publickly, that it was* Henry's *meer goodnesse which made him refrain from invading* France *while the King was prisoner in* Spain. 210

Articles *'twixt* Henry *&* Francis, *whereof one was to furnish him with* 15000 *Crowns worth of* Brouage *Salt every yeer,* an. 1527. no page.

Anne *of* Bullen *characterized:* 257. *she is married to K.* Henry *before the sentence of Divorce with Queen Katherine,* 341. *Her Letter from prison to the King,* 382. *Her Speech upon the Scaffold* 385

Arguments *pro & con. for calling a Generall Councell* 353

Articles *proposed by the German Lutherans, to make King* Henry *Patron of the League* 377

An Act *of Parliament, that no French Wines should be above two pence a quart, no Malmseys or Ramneys above three pence* 401

An Act *that till* 18, *in case the Father died, the young King should be under the Mother,* 396

Aske, *Head of an Insurrection in the North* 412

An Act *whereby the Lord Maior and Sheriffs of* London *were limited*

limited to a certain number of dishes 497
An Act *whereby the King might bequeath the Crown to whom he pleased, in case his own children died.* 506
Articles *'twixt the King and the Earl of Lenox, to make him Governor of Scotland* 510
An Act *that Civilians should be capable of Church Preferments,* 534
S. Albans *the first Abbey of* England, *because* Adrian *the IIII's Father was Monk there, called* Breakspear 443
Abbeys *utterly abolished* 444
Algier *infortunate to* Charls *the V, being thrice repelled thence,* 476
Anne *of* Cleves *contracted to the Duke of* Lorain, *yet married after to King* Henry, *repudiated, and forced to be called the Kings adopted Sister, in lieu of Queen* 458
The first alienation *of Church-Lands was made in* Clement *the Sevenths time, who cut off from the Church above* 60000 *crowns worth in the Kingdom of Naples* 186

B.

Bishop Bambridge *made Cardinal,* 17. *Suspected to be poysoned at* Rome 56
A Bull *sent from* Leo *the Tenth, subscribed by* 24 *Cardinals, to confer the Title of Defender of the Faith on King* Henry, *for writing against* Luther 107
Another Bull *sent by* Clement *the Seventh, with a Rose of gold to confirme that Title,* 159
Bourbon *scaling* Rome *for the Emperor, is killed*
Burgundy *the Herald sent by* Charls *the Fifth, to tell* Francis *the First, that hee had done* Laschement *and* Meschament 202
A Bull *from* Julius *the Second, for* Henry *the Eighth to marry his Brothers Wife* 236
Buls *bear date from the twenty fifth of March;* Breves *and other Instruments from the Nativity of our Saviour* 242
Brasse *Ordnance first cast in* England 403
Beckets *bones burnt* 437
Bish. Bonner *Ambassadour in* Spain 495
The Bible *not to be read in English by Act of Parliament,* 496
Beton *the Cardinal slain in* Scotland 561
Bologne *taken by the English;* 516 *The Daulphin &* Monluc *beaten from before it* 523
Bonner *Ambassadour in* Denmark *with Sir* Rich. Wingfield 390

C.

A Character *of cautious Counsellours* 3
The Charge *of building* Henry *the Seventh's Chappel and Tomb* 4
Crosse-bowes *forbid, and long commanded* 19
Lord Clinton *and Lo.* Grey *die of the sweating sickness* 69
Cessatio à Divinis *four months in* Spain *in* Charls *the Emperors time, for exacting a Tenth against the Turk.* 92

The High Constableship *of* England *expired with the Duke of* Buckingham 112
The centum Gravamina *sent to the Pope by the Germans* 153
The Colledge *of Physitians erected* 147
Christ-church *in Oxford* 156
The Concord *of* Madrid *'twixt Spain and France* 184
The Clementine *League 'twixt the Pope, King* Henry, *the Venetians,* Lodwick, Sforza, *and the Florentines; whereof the King was Protector* 196
Cinnamon *taken in a prize by the Scots, was burnt for fuell out of ignorance* 192
Countess *of Salisbury executed,* 468
Cranmer *married to* Hosianders *daughter of* Noremberg, 448. *His moving Letters to the King in behalf of* Cromwel 456
Cromwel *notably defends his Master Cardinal* Wolsey *in the House of Commons,* 274. *He is made Earl of* Essex, *arrested by the Duke of* Norfolk *at the Councel-Table,* 456. *He is accused for a Heretick, though the the King's Vice-gerent in all Church affairs,* 528. *He is complained on to have such authority, being of so mean birth as a Blacksmiths Son,* 410. *Is beheaded, and died a Roman Catholick, notwithstanding he had bin such a destroyer of the Church* 462 *His Character* 462
Charls *the Fifth refuseth fealty to* France *for* Artois *when hee came to the Empire, because they were under a greater dignity,* 112. *He comes to* England *to be enstalled Knight of the Garter; at which time his brother* Ferdinand *was also made,* 124. *He promiseth marriage by oath to Qu.* Mary *when Princesse,* 129 *His patent to the Earl of* Surrey *to be his Admiral, &c.* 129. *He was to have a million of crowns for a Dowry with the Daughter of* England, *and she fifty thousand crowns Joynture,* 129. *Hee writes presently to King* Henry, *that he would pay his Arrears to him in French money,* 220. *Hee complains against* Wolsey, 192. *Passing from* Barcelona *to* Genoa, *hee cuts his hair by a Vow; at which time short hair came first in fashion,* 208. *He accepts the challenge sent by* Francis, *who by his Herald, gave him the Lie in the third person,* 219. *Hee suppresseth the Pirat* Barbaroxa, *and restores the King of* Tunis, *though he lost* Rhodes, 384
Cuthbert Tonstal *and Sir* Ric. Wingfield *the best Agents for release of* Francis *the I.* 194
Dr. Clerk *Dean of* Winsor *sent to Rome to present K.* Henry's *Book against* Luther 104

D.

The Lo. Darcy *sent to* Spain *with* 15000 *Archers to assist* Ferdinand, *richly rewarded* 15
The Lord Darcy *sent against the Scots* 134
The first discovery *of* Armenia, 93
A defiance *sent by* Henry *VIII and* Francis *I, to* Charles *the Emperor, by their Heralds* Clarenceaux *and* Guyen 188
The first overture of a Divorce *'twixt*

'twixt Henry and Katherine, 215
A Declaration sent from the English Parliament to the Pope, when his yoak began first to be be shaken off 303
The Divorce with Qu. Katherine 7 yeers in agitation 347
The Lord Dacres arraigned and quitted 412
The Lord Darcy beheaded 428
The Duke of Norfolk's penitent submission to King Henry from the Tower, 566. His notable submission 567

E.

The Education of Henry the the VIII 2
Empsons notable Speech before the Councel, 5. His accusation, his descent 6
Edmund de la Poole beheaded for prevention 36
The Emperors Ambassadors claw King Henry 194
An exact Relation of matters touching the Divorce 'twixt Henry and Katherine 255
The Earle of Northumberland a kinde of domestick servant to Cardinal Wolsey 312
Queen Elizabeth pronounced illegitimate by Act of Parliament, 397
The Emperor Charls baffled in a Parliament in Spain 441
Edinburgh and Lieth burnt by the English 508
The Earl of Surrey beheaded 565
Edward the VI created Prince of Wales at six yeers old 480
Q. Mary and Elizabeth legitimated again with a proviso 504
The Lord Evers slain by the Scots, 525

F.

A Fight at Sea upon the Coast of Britain 'twixt the English and French 31
Flodden Field Battel 42
Ferdinand of Spain a cunning King, his Character 63
Francis and Henry agreed, not to cut their beards till they saw each other 94
The famous Interview of both the Kings, the Visitor still to take the hand 95
The French King suffers the Duke of Albany to go to Scotland, against the article of Treaty, 122
Francis acknowledgeth Henry for his chief Deliverer 194
A Flemmish Ship pursueth a French prize as far as Tower wharf 197
Francis his two Sons so long prisoners in Spain, till they had forgot French 277
A French Plague before Naples, and the sweating Sickness in one yeer 215
Francis to pay two millions of Escus du Soliel for the release of his Sons, 278. He payeth Henry 500000 more, for not marrying Qu. Mary according to Oath and Article 287
The first fatall blow the English Church received, when the redresse of her was referred to the House of Commons 293
Fitz-Williams notable Speech in the House of Commons about Religion 295
Francis his two Sons released from Spain 300
Francis the first gives ear to the Lutherans, and makes a League with the Turk 544

Ferdi-

Ferdinand *gets* Navarr *by the help of the Englisſh* 22
Flanders *offered for a Dowry by* Charles *to* Francis, *with his Daughter, and Title of King*, 1463
Gaveſtond Glen away 496
Grey *Marquis* Dorſet, *ſent General to invade* Guyen *with his three Brothers* 20
Gouffier *Admirall of* France, *arrives in* England 75
Genoa *ſack'd by* Charls *the Fifth* 122
German Gardner *executed for denying the Kings Supremacy*, 503

H.

Hieron Buonviſo *the Popes Agent in* England *proves a Spy to the French* 19
The Halbard *uſed with the Bow an advantagious way of Arms*, 55
Henry *the Eigth his Birth, his acceſſe to the Crown*, 2 *He goes to* France *and takes* Terwin, *and gives it the Emperor*, 39. *Takes* Tournay, 40. *He refuſeth to ſend Aſtronomers to the* Lateran *Councel for reforming the Calender* 67. *He hath both his Siſter-Queens at his Court at once*, 66. *He writes a Book* de 7 Sacramentis *againſt* Luther, *which is yet kept in the Vatican*, 104. *He ſends* Clarenceaux *to* France *to denounce War*, 123. *He gets* Henry Fitz-Roy *of Miſtris* Blunt, 175. *He is invited to an Interview with the Pope and* Francis *at* Avignon, 156. *Hee is tax'd by* Luther *for his inceſtuous Marriage with Queen* Katherine, 209. *He is acknowledged* Liberator Urbis Romæ, *by the Pope and People of* Rome, 225. *Hee forſakes obedience to* Rome, *but not the Roman Religion*, 369. *He pardons Sir* Thomas More *and Biſhop* Fiſher, *though empeach'd by the holy Maid of* Kent, 176. *He unites* England *to* Wales, 381. *He cauſeth ſome Hollanders to be put to death for Hereticks*, 391. *He diſputes with* Lambert *the Prieſt, and after hangs him*, 439. *He paſſeth on to* Calais *in a Ship with ſails of cloth of gold*, 513. *The notable Speech hee made in his laſt Parliament, wherein he ſpake of the Clergy, that ſome were too ſtiffe in their* Mumpſimus, *ſome in their* Sumpſimus, *&c.* 536. *His Sickneſs*, 565. *His Death*, 569. *His Character*, 570.
Considerations touching ye only way to suppress popery 1679 Edit Lond. 1677
I.

Pope Julius *the II invites* Henry *to war with* France 16
Julius *ſummon'd to the Councel at* Lions, 16. *He had an intent to take away the Stile* Chriſtianiſſimus *from* Lewis *the XII, and conferr it on* Henry 18
James *the IV takes advantage to denounce war againſt* Henry, *when he was in* France, *by* Lion *the Herald* 37
James *the IV kill'd at* Flodden *Field* 44
An Inſurrection *in* London *by the Prentices againſt Strangers, and their notable puniſhment*, 68
All Indulgences *from* Saxony *to the ſea ſide, beſtowed by* Urban *the Second on* Magdalen *his*

Sister 72
An Interview *'twixt* Charls *the Emperour and* Francis, *at* Aiguemort 436
Sir John Nevil *beginning an* Insurrection *in the North, executed at* York 468
Ireland *erected to a Kingdome,* 475
An Interview *of the Pope and Emperour at* Lucca 476
Iron *Peeces and Granadoes first cast in* England 503
An Insurrection *in the North, called the* Pilgrimage of Grace, *for purifying the Nobility, and expelling all villan bloud, grown to be in number* 30000. 413
James *the V marrieth the Daughter of* Francis, 429. *He excuseth an Interview with his Uncle of* England, 455. *He takes upon him the Title of* Defender of the Christian Faith, *and is offered to be King of* Ireland. 455

K.

Dr. Kingston *employed Agent to Spain.* 28
Sir Willam Kingston *orethrowne Horse and Foot at Fousts by* Henry *the Eighth* 67
Queen Katherines *Letter to the King lying on her death-bed,* 403
Kildare's *Son, and five of his Uncles hang'd at Tyburn* 429
Queen Katherine Howard *incontinent with* Derham *and* Culpepper, *put to death* 473
Katherine Par Latimer's *Widow married to the King* 497
Qu. Katherine Par *offering to dispute with the King about Religion, like to be committed to the Tower,* 560. *A Discourse 'twixt her and the King* 561

L.

A League *'twixt* Lewis *of* France *and* James *the Fourth of* Scotland 27
A League *'twixt the Pope, Emperor, Kings of* England *and* Aragon *against* Lewis *the Twelfth* 29
Lewis *and his heirs bound to pay* Henry *a million of Crowns* 48
The famous League *'twixt* Henry *the VIII and* Francis 76
A Letter *all of King* Henry's *writing to Cardinall* Wolsey, 174
Luther *cited to* Rome, *&c.* 101
A League *'twixt the French and the Turk, by the Agency of* Polin 378

M.

Two Masses *composed by* Henry *the VIII himself, and sung in his Chappel* 2
Motives for King Henry *to* marry *Queen* Katherine 8
Maximilian *the Emperour serves* Henry *for* 100 *Crowns a day,* 39
The Princesse Mary married *to* Lewis *the XII, an old man, at* Paris, *and the gallant comportment of the English* 51
Le Miroir de Naples, *a great Diamond brought by her to* England : *her Jointure* 60000 *Crowns yeerly* 55
Maximilian *promiseth* Henry *to resigne the Empire to him, and Dutchy of* Milan 62
Maximilians *double dealing* 70

A mutuall *confiscation of Merchants goods in* France *and* Spain 123
Q. Margaret *divorced from* Anguis; *she complains of her Brother* Henry *the VIII* 134
Motives *to the Parliament for moneys* 145
Monasteries *pull'd down to build Churches* 213
The Molucca *Islands pawned to the King of* Portugal *by* Charles *for* 350000 *Crowns* 275
Dr. Muckrel *a Prior, calling himself Cap.* Cobler, *the Head of an Insurrection in* Lincolnshire, 410
A match *proposed 'twixt* Henry *the VIII and* Christiana *Dutchesse of* Milan 434
Masse *interdicted four yeers in* Henry *the Seconds time* 438
A Match *proposed and concluded 'twixt* Edw. *VI and* Mary *of* Scotland: *the Scots broke it,* 488
Sir Tho. More *with Bishop* Fisher, *and* 11 *Monks beheaded for denying the Kings Supremacy,* 394

P.

Pope *Eugenius had design'd a red Hat of* Henry *the VIII* 2
Polydor Virgil *an Author full of malignity against* Wolsey, *&c.* 9
Sir Ed. Poynings *sent Generall to assist* Margaret *against the Duke of* Gueldres 15
Peace *'twixt* Hen. *and* Lewis 47
The Pope *desiring aid of the English Clergy against the Turk, is denied* 57
Predictions *of* Hopkins *the Monk* 111
Pope Adrian *gave instructions to* Cheregat *his Nuncio to Germany, to confess that* In hac sancta Sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse 135
A Parliament *in* Black Friers, *wherin* 800000 l. *was demanded for a War against* France, 144
A Plot *for the French Kings escape out of* Madrid 178
The Pope *relaxeth the Oath* Francis *took when Prisoner* 195
Pope Clem. *bitterly enveigh'd against by the Emperor* Charles, *desiring the Cardinals to call a Councel without him.* an. 1506 no page.
The Pope *would have dispensed with King* Henry *to have two wives,* 302
When pit-falls *came first in use among the French Horse.*
Cardinal Pool *writes a Book* de unione Ecclesiastica 390
Peterborough *erected to a Bishoprick for Q.* Katherines *sake, who lies there buried* 404
The Parliament *put all the Universities Colledges at the King's dispose.* 537
The Popes *last Letter to K.* Henry *about Qu.* Katherine 334
The Pope *gets out of prison in the habit of a Merchant* 186

R.

The recreations *of* Henry *the VIII.* 13
Rhodes *taken by the* Turk *on S.* John Baptists *day* 134
Remarkable *passages upon the discovery of* Peru 182
Rome *sack'd by* Moncada 190
Read *Alderman of* London, *because he would give no money, was sent to fight in person against the Scots, where he was kill'd* 525
Rome *pill'g'd seven dayes by the Prince of* Aurange. 419

A Sum-

S.

A Sumptuary *Law againſt luxury in apparel* 12
Sir Jo. Stile *Ambaſſador in* Spain 21
Speeches *pro & con. for the Pope in Parliament* 364
Sleidan *Ambaſſador from the German Proteſtants to* England, 529
Scotland *homageable to* England *from all times; with a diſcourſe thereon*, 481. *Defeated five times by K.* Henry, *and laſt by the Duke of* Norfolk 484
Scots *Lords brought priſoners from the Tower to the Star-chamber two by two in new Damask gowns, diſmiſſed and rewarded* 486
Supremacy *inveſted in the King by the Parliament* 389

Sentences.

Practice of Vertue and Piety is alone a juſt excuſe for a well conſtituted Common-wealth.

Fortitude not always ſucceſſfull, nor Temperance ſafe, nor Juſtice it ſelf opportune.

Untill a due election be made, Vertue her ſelf is obnoxious.

Counterpoiſes of Reward and Puniſhment are the beſt weights to make the great Clock of the Common wealth go aright.

The firſt part of Wiſdom is to be able to give good Counſell, the ſecond to take it.

As Kings have their arts to govern Kingdoms, ſo Courtiers have their arts to govern Kings; and theſe arts are hopes and fears, which as doors to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can let themſelves in, and keep others out.

Church men are like coins, to which Vertue gives the ſtamp, but Humility ſhould give the weight.

Mony a ſeed that will make any thing ſpring up in a corrupt mind.

Outward eſteem to great Perſons, is as the skin to fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate cover, yet it preſerveth the fruit from rotting.

T.

Thomas Aquinas *oft read by K.* Henry, *therefore called* à Thomictius 33
Treport *in* France *taken by the Engliſh* 148
The Traverſes *of Duel 'twixt* Charls *and* Francis 205
The Treaty *of* Cambray *famous becauſe 't was concluded by two women* 278
Talbot *Earl of Shrewsbury like to be ruined for leavying men to ſuppreſſe the Northern Rebellion without the Kings Commiſſion*, 413
Tindals *Tranſlation of the Bible aboliſhed* 495
Trent *Councel firſt opened* 532

V.

The Vice-roy *of Naples*, Charls de Lanoy, *dead of the plague* 399
The Univerſities *of* England *more ſcrupulous of the Divorce then forrain* 325
400 Valdenſes *kill'd in* France 530

W.

The Welſhmens *ſtout Declaration* 372
The wealth *which* Henry *the VII left, amounted to neer upon two millions of pounds ſterling* 9

The first War *denounced against* France *by King* Henry 19
Wolseys *first entrance into action*, 32. *His first Speech to the King about a Favourite*, 33. *He was the first Clergy-man that wore silk for his upper garment*, 35. *Being a Butchers son, appointed to victual the Army for* France, *not without some sarcasmes*, 35. *Made Bishop of* Tournay, *of* Lincoln, *Archbishop of* York, *Cardinal* Sanct. Cæciliæ trans Tiberim *by the help of* Francis *the First*, 56. *Made Lord Chancellour by the voluntary resignation of Bish.* Warham, 57. *He was used to have his red Hat placed upon the Altar in the Kings Chappel*, 16. *He had so much of a good servant, that he would not suffer others to cozen his Master, whatsoever he did himself*, 67. *On solemn days he said Masse after the Popes manner, and had two Crosses carried before him, as if one had not been sufficient for his sins*, 90. *He took the Great Seale with him to Calais*, 120. *His motives to the Emperour, that he might be Pope: but* Adrian *the Brewer was preferred before the Butcher*, 120. *To claw the people, he caused to be preached at* Pauls *Cross that White meats might be eaten in Lent impunely*, 123. *His foul repulse for the Papacy*, 155. *Hee gets leave of the King and the Pope to demolish divers small Monasteries*, 158. *He goes Ambassadour to* France *with above* 1000 *Horse, and carrieth with him neer upon a million of crowns* 160. *He is promised the Archbishoprick of* Toledo, 169. *He becomes his Masters Judg*, 234. *He sends a Warrant to execute* Kildare *without the Kings privitie*, 208. *His rich houshold-stuffe and plate*, 263. *His declining*, 262. *He is put over to the Star-chamber, thence to the Parliament*, 265. *Accused by Parliament to be sick of the Pox*, 267. 44 *Articles against him*, 274. *His last Speech to Sir* William Kingston; *his death and Character* 313

Y.

Dr. Young *sent with a monitory Message to the French King, to war against the Pope* 519
The youngest Kildare *pack'd up in a bundle of cloth, and conveyed to* Flanders, *and so preserved* 429

In regard that this Impression passing in Presse through the hands of divers Printers, divers pages are mis-cyphered, and others have none at all, this *Index* could not be made so exact as it might have been made otherwise.

FINIS.

The INDEX.

In regard that this Impression being in Profe throughout the Heads of divers Matters could not be exactly pointed, and others have none at all, this Index could not be made fo exact as it might have been made otherwife.

FINIS.